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Speeches and Statements
of
Quaid-i-Millat
Liaquat Ali Khan
[1941—51]

Collected & edited
by
M. RAFIQUE AFZAL

RESEARCH SOCIETY OF PAKISTAN
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LAHORE

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INTRODUCTION

The services rendered by the Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat 'Ali Khan in the struggle for Pakistan and later in running the administration of the newly created state of Pakistan are second only to those of the Quaid-i-A'zam By his qualities of head and heart and devotion to duty, he won the confidence of the Quaid and the Muslim nation In the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan he was the chief organiser of the Muslim League, the principal lieutenant and the "right hand" of the Quaid-i-A'zam After the death of the Quaid, he gave a lead to the depressed nation and not only consolidated the new state internally but established its prestige in international sphere

In the present volume an attempt has been made to present as complete a collection of his speeches and statements from 1941 to 1951 as possible These speeches reveal the personality of Quaid-i-Millat and give a picture of the Muslim nation's struggle for Pakistan the efforts it made for its survival and consolidation of a nation

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Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan was born in a well-to-do Zamindar family of Karnal (East Punjab) on October 1 1895 He was the second son of Nawab Rustam 'Ali Khan The family had migrated to India about 500 years ago from Iran and claims its descent from the Persian king Nausherwan After receiving preliminary education at home according to family traditions, he was sent to M A O College 'Aligarh and he graduated in 1919 from Allahabad University to which the M A O College was then affiliated He had a distinguished career at the college After graduation he decided to go to England for higher studies and then take up some independent profession He left in September, 1919 for England and at first joined St Catherine College, Oxford and then migrated to Exeter College He took up Honour School of Jurisprudence and obtained the degree in 1921 He stayed in England for another year to complete his terms at the Inner Temple and was called to the Bar in 1922 When he was at Oxford he was one of the prominent members of the Indian *Majlis*—a debating club, generally discussing topics pertaining to the political developments in the subcontinent He was elected as Treasurer of the *Majlis* for one term

After completing his studies in England he returned to India

1922 and settled at Muzaffarnagar (U P), where the family owned big estates, but spent most of his time in Delhi Even after he settled down in Delhi, he continued to take interest in the welfare of the Muslims of Muzaffarnagar. In 1930, he became President of the managing body of the *Madrassa*—the only Muslim educational institution—at Muzaffarnagar, and held this office till the emergence of Pakistan As President, he himself contributed Rs. 5,000/- for the institution, persuaded the Nawab of Rampur to donate a similar amount and managed to get Rs 10,000/- from the United Provinces Government by approaching Dr Mackenzie, Director of Education [1] He soon got himself enrolled as an advocate of the Punjab High Court but he never seriously practised at the Bar and preferred to devote himself to activities for the uplift of his community.

After his return from abroad, prominent Congress leaders of the U P, Gobind Vallabh Pant and C Y Chintamani tried to persuade him to join the Congress, but he refused to subscribe to the Congress creed [2] He became member of the All-India Muslim League in 1923 in spite of the fact that at that time it had lost importance since Gandhi started the Non-co-operation movement in 1920 and it had hardly any prospects for a new comer

From 1923 to 1937, the Nawabzada devoted himself to the provincial politics of the United Provinces of Agra and Awadh and within a short period was amongst the front rank leaders of the province He also participated in the All-India Muslim politics When M A Jinnah, with the co-operation of other prominent Muslim leaders, put a new life in the Muslim League and held its annual session at Lahore in May, 1924, Nawabzada Liaquat attended this session In 1927, the All-India Muslim League was split into two groups—one led by M A Jinnah and the other by Sir Muhammad Shafi—on the question of the boycott of the Simon Commission Liaquat decided to boycott the Commission and sided with the Jinnah Muslim League. He was one of the members of the Muslim League delegation,[3] which was sent to the Indian National Convention at Calcutta, held to discuss the Nehru Report in December, 1928 The deputation was to present the Muslim point of view under the leadership of Jinnah and to bring about an adjustment of various points of conflict between the Hindus and the Muslims arising out of the Nehru Report The League delegation was completely disappointed with the proceedings of the Council, dominated as it was by the Hindu Mahasabha

In 1926, Liaquat was elected to the U P Legislative Council and

remained its member till 1940 He soon established a reputation as a parliamentarian of merit by his lucid and eloquent speeches He expressed his opinion on every issue in the Council purely from the point of view of national interest [4] In the U P Legislative Council, he organised the Democratic Party with himself as its leader He remained the leader of this Party till the new elections in 1937 It was in early 1938 that, after a brief period of differences with the local Muslim League, he was admitted in the U P Muslim League Assembly Party According to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman, the Leader of this Party, "He was a forceful speaker and very good at repartee with plenty of humour His admission to our party gave it great advantage and freed me still more from confining myself to Assembly work "[5] Liaquat was Deputy President of the U P. Council for six years

In the context of all-India politics, Liaquat, before the re-organisation of the Muslim League under the leadership of Quaid-i-A'zam Jinnah, believed in Hindu-Muslim unity He expressed the view that the Muslims had a "distinct culture of their own" and they had the right to preserve it "But", he said in 1932, "the days of rabid communalism in this country are numbered and we shall witness ere long the united Hindu Muslim India anxious to preserve and maintain all that rich and valuable heritage which the contact of the two great cultures has bequeathed us We all believe in the great destiny of our common motherland to achieve which common assets are but invaluable "[6]

In 1933, the Nawabzada married a second time * Begum Ra'na, his second wife a distinguished economist and educationist, later contributed to his success by her outstanding mental and social qualities The couple went to Europe for their honeymoon in the same year At that time Muslim politics in the subcontinent were at the lowest ebb The condition of the Muslim League was deplorable. In early March 1933, in a meeting of the Muslim Leauge Council efforts were made for the amalgamation of the Muslim League and the Muslim Conference which resulted in the split of the League into two sections. Nawabzada Liaquat was present at this meeting The Council again met on March 12, 1933 at New Delhi and a resolution was passed "requesting Mr Jinnah to come over to India and give a lead to Moslems in these critical times" [7] The Agha Khan, in a meeting of the Muslim Conference on February 15, 1934 also suggested that Mr Jinnah should be appoint-

*His first marriage was with his cousin Jahangira Begum.

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*His first marriage was with his cousin, Jahangira Begum

ed President of the Muslim League The split in the ranks of the League was resolved in the Muslim League session on March 4, 1934, when Jinnah, in his absence was elected the President of the "united body" of the League and authorised "to fix the date and venue of the next annual session of the League "[8] Liaquat also believed that Jinnah was the only man who could save the Muslim League and the Muslims During his stay in England he met Jinnah and persuaded him to return to the subcontinent to lead the Muslims [9]

Jinnah presided over the League session in April 1934, in which the Muslims, including the Nationalist like Mr Asaf Ali, expressed confidence in his leadership and urged him to stay on in India He was elected in October 1934 unopposed by the Bombay Muslims to the Central Legislature and came over to the subcontinent to attend its session but again left for England. He finally returned from England in January 1935 and started the re-organisation of the Muslim League. It was on April 26, 1936 that Nawabzada Liaquat, in a session of the Muslim League at Bombay, was elected the Honorary Secretary of the League in place of Sir Muhammad Ya'qub He held this office till the establishment of Pakistan except for a brief gap from July 1936 to early 1938 He resigned from the Muslim League Parliamentary Board in July 1936 due to differences with the provincial members of the Board and because the provincial leaders dominating the Board were, in the words of Liaquat, "regarded with suspicion by the majority of Muslims as having a veiled kinship with the Congress "[10] Liaquat joined the newly organised National Agriculturist Party of Nawab of Chhattari [11] He, however, did not contest the 1937 elections on any party's ticket [12] Nawab of Chhattari was invited to form the Cabinet in the U P According to a statement of Nawab Sajjad 'Ali Khan, Nawab of Chhattari offered a ministry to the Nawabzada but he declined to enter an unstable Ministry He also refused a similar offer from Pandit Pant on behalf of the Congress Party [13]

In 1937-38, Liaquat served as a member of the panel of non-official [adv]isers appointed for negotiating with the UK Board of Trade for a trade agreement between India and the United Kingdom in substitution of the Ottawa Agreement [14]

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was again elected as Honorary Secretary of the Muslim League in 1938 In an astonishingly short period, he came to command popularity and esteem by hard work, common sense and boundless devotion to the Muslim cause He whole-heartedly devoted himself to the work of reorganisation of the Muslim League and opened

its offices in different districts of the subcontinent He won the confidence of the Quaid-i-A'zam who entrusted him with new responsibilities day after day

Before the declaration of the World War II in September 1939, the Muslim League had become a strong and powerful organisation Quaid i-A'zam's hold over the Muslim masses was established with Liaquat 'Ali Khan as the "adept organiser" behind him When the Congress Ministries resigned in October/November, 1939, the Muslim League under Quaid's leadership observed on December 22 the 'Deliverance Day' all-over India which demonstrated the extent of the influence of the League on the Muslims

In March 1940, the Muslim League held its historic session in Lahore and passed its memorable resolution for the creation of 'Independent States' in areas where the Muslims were in a majority. The resolution later became popularly known as the *Pakistan Resolution* Liaquat 'Ali Khan toured all over India to popularise the idea Addressing the Baluchistan Muslim League Conference in July 1940, he remarked "The Muslim League's two-nation scheme is a glorious one and holds out hopes of a splendid future for India In case an All-India Federation is established the Muslims would everywhere be subject to Hindu rule and in a hopeless position" [15] Later Provincial Muslim League Conferences and Pakistan Conferences were held for popularising the movement The Congress was very much perturbed by the Lahore Resolution and the support it was gaining from the Muslims Efforts were, therefore, made to hold a Conference—Azad Muslim Conference—under the direct guidance of a few Congressite Muslims Nawabzada Liaquat, in a statement, asked Mr Gandhi and the Congress to refrain from such machination He stated that the Muslim League was prepared for "any test which may convince the Congress about the solid support which the Lahore Resolution had from the Mussalmans",[16] and asserted that "even threats of bloodshed and mass murders would not swerve the Muslims from their Path "[17]

By 1940, Nawabzada Liaquat had achieved popularity and confidence of the Muslims and ranked amongst the foremost leaders of the community after Jinnah. In this year, he was elected as Member of the Central Legislative Assembly In 1940 the Muslim League, recognising the importance of the work in the Assembly, had organised the Muslim League Assembly Party Previously they had worked in the Independent Party which Jinnah had organised in 1924 Jinnah was elected as the leader and the Nawabzada as the Deputy

Leader of the Party Quaid I-A'zam, after 1940, found little time to attend to the business of the Legislative Assembly As a result, Liaquat had to shoulder the responsibility of safeguarding Muslim interests in the Assembly.

During the period from 1940 to 1945, Liaquat 'Ali Khan was active in consolidating the position of the Muslim League amongst the Muslim masses. In August 1942, the Congress rejected the Cripps offer and decided to launch an "open rebellion" by resorting to mass civil disobedience movement The Muslims kept themselves aloof from the Congress movement The Muslim League passed a lengthy resolution in reply to this attitude of the Congress In order to keep the Muslims away from the Congress activities, and to strengthen the League's hold over Muslim masses, it also appointed a Civil Defence Committee in August, 1942. Liaquat 'Ali was an active member of this Committee The object of the Committee was to organise the Muslims everywhere, not with a view "to creating trouble but in view of the internal trouble that might take place or external elements which might cause trouble". By April 1943, the Committee had toured about 14,000 miles and visited each and every province of the subcontinent [18] The Committee, apart from the "immediate task of organising the Muslims to defend themselves against external and internal dangers," organised the Muslims, "especially the masses, more effectively", and imparted to them a sound and acute political consciousness and training, and brought about greater solidarity and contact between the Muslims of the various provinces [19] The Muslim League was organised in a manner "never before known in the history of India" [20] A great deal of credit for consolidating the position of the Muslim League goes to Liaquat It was in recognition of his services to the Muslim nation that Quaid-i-A'zam on 6 December 1943, putting the proposition for his re-election as Honorary General Secretary in the meeting of the Muslim League Council at Karachi to vote, described him as his "right hand" in the struggle for Pakistan He further stated that the Nawabzada had "worked and served" day and night and none could possibly have an idea of the burden he had shouldered and that he "commanded the universal respect and confidence of the Muslims. Though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough proletarian and he hoped other Nawabs in the country would follow his example." Paying a tribute to Liaquat for the services he rendered to the League, during the last seven years, Quaid-i-A'zam "wished him a long life of service to the community".[21] In this very session Liaquat was appointed member of the Parliamentary Board of three members and that of the

Committee of Action, which was to supersede the Civil Defence Committee

In the beginning of 1945, newspapers were full of rumours of a Congress-League alliance and some sort of a 'Pact' between Bhulabhai Desai, the leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party and Liaquat 'Ali Khan. Much publicity was given to this Desai had approached Liaquat in the end of 1944 to find ways and means for making some interim arrangements at the Centre and temporary re constitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council To this Liaquat stated that in his opinion the Muslim League would give a careful consideration to such a proposal It was on January 9, 1945 that Desai again met Liaquat and showed him a draft of proposals for the formation of an interim government at the Centre [22] Liaquat told him that only Mr. Gandhi "could deliver the goods on behalf of the Congress in the absence of the Working Committee" He also explained that the talks were only in their personal capacities and when Desai could speak with authority on behalf of the Congress, he "would have to approach the President of the All-India Muslim League" Liaquat, soon after this meeting, in a Press interview on January 15, explained that his meeting with Desai was not of "any political significance" [23]

Desai proceeded with these proposals and had a meeting with the Viceroy on January 20, in which he explained "his plan for the formation of a composite all-party interim Government and elucidated points arising therefrom"[24] Desai also obtained the written assent of Gandhi to negotiate on the basis of these proposals Gandhi had, however, warned him to "get everything reduced in writing before committing himself to anything and further to see to it that it had Jinnah's approval" But Bhulabhai, writes Pyarelal, the official biographer of Gandhi, it seems, allowed his over-eagerness for result to get the better of his legal acumen and foresight and failed to take the elementary precaution suggested to him" [25] The newspaper began to report daily about the 'Pact' Liaquat explained his position with regard to this question in an interview on February 8, 1945 that "without Quaid-i-Azam Jinnah being consulted, which I have not done so far, no settlement can be effected even with Mr Bhulabhai Desai" [26]

It was the publicity given to the so-called Pact and Desai's persistent efforts to push it through, in spite of Liaquat's constant denials, which gave it importance. A reference was made to this agreement in the Legislative Assembly on March 26, 1945 by Dr N B. Khare, a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council Liaquat 'Ali

Khan strongly repudiated the existence of any kind of agreement between the Congress and the League He stated that "Dr Khare has related a cock-and-bull story of some alleged secret agreement between myself and the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition Bhulabhai Desai] and he also gave details of that agreement Mr President, I should like to say most emphatically that it is an absolute fabrication It is absurd on the face of it There cannot be any agreement between two individuals who are not political orphans like the Honourable Indian Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council but who are members of the two most powerful All-India organisations in this country. If there is to be any agreement with regard to the Hindu-Muslim question, it can only be between the Congress and the Muslim League "[27] This clear and unambiguous denial of the agreement was made by Liaquat in the presence of Desai but Desai, who spoke after him, did not utter a word about it

Meanwhile, the Viceroy suggested to the Secretary of State that Bhulabhai Desai's plan afforded an opportunity "of making progress in the political sphere" The British Cabinet raised a number of questions but in the end authorised the Viceroy to transmit to His Majesty's Government any serious suggestions agreed to between Desai and Jinnah Jinnah had in the meanwhile also disclaimed any knowledge of the Desai-Liaquat Pact Desai was "undeterred by Jinnah's disclaimer and continued to canvass support for his plan "[28] The Viceroy asked Sir John Colvill to meet Jinnah, who was then in Bombay, in this context Jinnah refused any knowledge of the Pact Thus this controversy came to an end.

In May 1945, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, went to London carrying with him certain proposals On his return, he called a Conference at Simla of the prominent leaders on June 25 Liaquat participated in its deliberations as a member of the Muslim League. The Muslim League and the Congress failed to arrive at an agreed solution of the outstanding questions. One of the causes of the failure of the Simla Conference was that it was not possible to verify the claims made by the Congress and the Muslim League regarding their representative claims to being the spokesmen of their respective communities

The Viceroy announced the holding of general elections to the Central and provincial legislatures in the coming winter Both the parties started earnest preparations for the coming electoral conflict Liaquat, as General Secretary of the League, toured all over India to win over wavering Muslims to his party He asked "all Muslim students in India to come out of their schools and colleges" to help

the Muslim League in the coming general elections Addressing the students of the 'Aligarh Muslim University, he stated that the students should not take "an active part in the politics at the sacrifice of their studies" but that there comes "a time in the life of a nation, when "no sacrifice is too great" for liberating it from foreign yoke [29] The results of the elections more than confirmed the claims of the Muslim League as the only representative Muslim organisation It won every Muslim seat and in many cases the Nationalist Muslims forfeited their securities [30]

In December, 1945, Liaquat 'Ali Khan presided over the annual session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference and delivered a thought-provoking speech which has an important place in the Muslim educational literature. His interest in the educational uplift of the Muslims of the subcontinent goes back to early days of his public career At the time when his activities were confined to the U P Province, he had presided over the U P Muslim Educational Conference in 1932 and formulated "Forty Educational demands ' He whole-heartedly pursued these demands of the Muslims until these were accepted by the Government In 1936 he presided over the deliberations of the Women's section of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference [31] In 1944, in recognition to his services in the cause of Muslim education, he was elected President of the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. Under "his able guidance" the College, which had passed through extremely difficult days," was brought to the level of other institutions in the University [32] Later in 1947, he delivered the convocation address at the 'Aligarh Muslim University

In 1946, the British Government sent out a Cabinet Mission of three Ministers—Lord Pethick Lawrence, Sir Stafford Cripps and A V Alexandar—to find out a solution of the constitutional deadlock in India. Liaquat took part in the talks that followed as a representative of the Muslim League The Mission, however, failing to find agreed solution, evolved its own plan The Plan envisaged a central government with limited powers and provincial governments with all the residuary powers. The provinces were to merge themselves into three groups—Group A (Madras, Bombay, U.P., Bihar, C P and Orissa), Group B (Punjab, N -W.F P. and Sind), Group C (Bengal and Assam). Both the League and the Congress agreed to accept this proposal but soon after Nehru disavowed the grouping formula. Faced by this "evidence of bad faith", Jinnah withdrew support of the Plan.

Lord Wavell, in the meantime, tried to give effect to the short-term plan of forming an interim government. Jinnah, however,

refused to accept the nomination of a Congress Muslim and determined to show the Muslim League's strength by deciding to observe August 16, 1946 as Direct Action Day' The 'Direct Action Day' resolution was passed at Bombay on July 27, 1946 at the meeting of the Muslim League Council All Muslims who had received titles from the British Government were asked to renounce them 'as a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British" Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan after the passing of this resolution announced that although the prefix 'Nawabzada' had not been conferred upon him by the alien Government, he wished to be addressed in future as 'Mr' The 'Direct Action Day' clearly demonstrated Muslim nation's adherence to the League organisation and its leader It convinced the Government that the abstention of the Muslim League was "a matter of the gravest importance and might prove fatal to all hope of peaceful political evolution"[33] Meanwhile the Congress entered the interim government Six weeks later, on October 26, 1946, the League representatives also joined the Government

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was invited by the League to lead the Muslim League representatives in the interim Government He was given the portfolio of Finance, which the Congress had surrendered under the impression that the League "would not be able to manage Finance and would have to decline the offer"[34] and that any Muslim accepting the portfolio would "make a fool of himself"[35] It was after some hesitation that Liaquat accepted this portfolio and Chaudhri Muhammad 'Ali, then in the Finance Department, offered his services to work as "unofficial adviser" to League party in the Government His work in the Interim Government proved that he was gifted with qualities of a very high character As leader of the Muslim League Party in the Interim Government, he successfully carried out its policy He frustrated every attempt of the Congress members to dominate him and of intimidation by the British in the Interim Government Pandit Nehru tried to assume the role of something like a Prime Minister. Liaquat refused to accept such a position and remarked that the Interim Government consisted "of a Congress bloc and a Muslim bloc, each functioning under separate leader."[36] Liaquat 'Ali Khan, clarifying position of the Muslim Members in the Interim Government on October 26, 1946, stated that "there is no such thing as joint or collective responsibility Pandit Nehru is, therefore, nobody's leader except of the Congress bloc in the Government. The term leader of the Interim Government is a polite fiction. The League recognises no

other leader except its own."[37]

The Viceroy on November 20, 1946 issued an invitation for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly which was opposed by Jinnah The Viceroy, in an interview with Liaquat, told him that League representatives could remain in the Interim Government only if they accepted the long-term plan of the Cabinet Mission Liaquat's reply was that League members were prepared to resign whenever required by the Viceroy but they would not accept the long-term plan unless given the assurance that provinces would meet in sections, decide by a majority if necessary, frame the provincial and group constitutions by a majority, and further that His Majesty's Government must undertake not to implement the results unless this procedure was observed Liaquat stated that in the absence of such a guarantee, the League would not come in and negotiate It was this interview which impelled the Viceroy to ask His Majesty's Government to give the assurance that the Sections would reach decisions by a majority vote and if any other course was adopted, the result would be something approaching civil war [38]

In face of these conflicting attitudes of the Congress and the League, the British Government decided to make another effort to bring about a settlement The Viceroy on November 26, 1946 saw Nehru, Liaquat and Baldev and conveyed the invitation of the British Government to them to go to London for talks In these talks, Jinnah and Liaquat went to London to represent the League viewpoint These discussions, however, did not prove fruitful and the British Government issued a statement on December 6 Differences again arose over the interpretation of this Statement between the Congress and the League The Congress, however entered the Constituent Assembly on December 9, but the League representatives abstained from joining it The Congress now turned all its energies on one point that the Muslim League should either enter the Constituent Assembly or get out of the Interim Government The Congress and the minority members in the Council, on February 5, asked the Viceroy for the resignation of the League Members of the Government,[39] and accused the League of the total rejection of the Cabinet Mission Scheme and for a programme of 'direct action [40] When the Viceroy informed Liaquat of this new move the next day the latter stated that the League was prepared to reconsider the position, provided the British Government took the responsibility to see that the Congress "did keep on the rail laid down by the Mission for the Constituent Assembly "[41] Liaquat the very next day in a long letter to the Viceroy urged that

if the basis of participation in the Interim Government was acceptance of the statement of May 16 of the Cabinet Mission, neither the Congress nor the Sikhs had any greater right to have their representatives or nominees in the Government than the League had In the circumstances it was presumptuous on the part of the nine members of the Executive Council to demand that their Muslim League colleagues should resign [42]

The most admirable achievement of Liaquat, as the Finance Minister of the Interim Government, was his budget for 1947-48 The main principles of the Budget were discussed by Liaquat with the Congress representatives in the Cabinet The Congress members agreed with him on "general grounds" Liaquat's memorable Budget speech is "one of the most brilliant chapters of the Pakistan Movement "[43] The Budget was presented by Liaquat on February 28 The important features of the Budget, which attracted much attention and raised many controversies were, firstly the proposal for the setting up of a Commission to investigate the accumulation of wealth arising from tax evasion Of the taxation proposals, the first abolished the Salt Tax and the other raised the exemption limit for income tax from Rs 2,000/- to Rs 2,500/- The most important proposal, later interpretted in Congress circles as an attempt "to penalise the Hindu capitalists and to bring about dissension between the right and the socialist groups within the Congress"[44], was to levy a special income-tax of 25 per cent on business profits exceeding Rs 1,00,000/ The next proposal was for a tax on capital gains exceeding Rs 5,000/- Besides these, other proposals were for raising the corporation tax and the export duty on tea

The immediate reaction to these proposals was an 'enthusiastic approval' by the Assembly and the Press The *Statesman* of Delhi commenting editorially on March 1 stated that there was "nothing in the speech or the proposals to which any party could take exception In fact Congressmen and Leaguers cheered him [Liaquat] alike " The Budget, as it was presented by the first non-British Finance Minister, was acclaimed as the "first national budget and a poor man's budget Soon, however, opposition arose from Congress circles It was thought that the budget was dictated by political motives Dishonest intentions were attributed to Liaquat that he had brought in these proposals "to ruin the economic life of the country and then to go away to Pakistan " [45] These allegations were far from the truth It was his love for the poor to which quality the Quaid i A'zam had referred earlier that though a Nawabzada, he was a thorough

proletarian," and his firm belief in the Islamic teachings of social justice. In his memorable speech while presenting the Budget, he had explained the motives which had actuated him to make those proposals. He stated that "India is a land of glaring contrasts and disparities. A set of conditions in which the few are able to wield such vast power over the many can hardly be regarded as anything but a negation of the principles of social justice. And although I am one of those who consider the abolition of private property and the complete equalisation of incomes as the only remedy for these ills, I do believe in the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate among the wealthy, and the stern warning given against accumulations of wealth in the hands of individuals. It is against this background that my budget proposals have been formulated."[46]

The Congress Party had all along been financed by the Hindu capitalists who were now hit hard by these proposals. They approached the Hindu members of the Cabinet. Patel, who had lately raised funds for the Congress, took up their cause, put up an "intractable opposition" to these proposals and asked for their withdrawal but Liaquat did not yield to these pressures. However, on Mountbatten's intervention a compromise formula was evolved on March 24 in regard to these proposals.

It was in such an atmosphere of mutual recriminations and impending civil war that the Labour Government's Prime Minister Attlee, in a statement on February 20, 1947, stated that His Majesty's Government wished to transfer power to responsible Indian hands not later than June 1948 and if an agreed constitution was not worked out, the Government would consider to whom the power of the central Government should be handed over. Lord Wavell was replaced by Viscount Mountbatten.

Mountbatten on his appointment was required to find out a settlement of the communal problem. Soon after his arrival he was convinced by events and attitudes of the party leaders of the improbability of an agreed solution. The deadlock between the Congress and the League representatives in the Viceroy's Executive Council further deteriorated the situation. The Congress had given the Finance portfolio to the League under the impression, as already stated, that any Muslim would "make a fool of himself" but, as Hugh Tinker observes, the new Finance Minister "made fools of his Congress colleagues".[47] Under involute system of the Government of India, every department had to obtain financial sanction for every appoint-

ment or proposal. In addition the Finance Minister had "the power of veto". The Congress Ministers now realised that they had played into the hands of the League by offering it the portfolio of Finance. Of all Sardar Patel, who had advised the Congress to take this step, felt the pinch more bitterly Whatever proposal was made by the Congress members of the Executive Council was "either rejected or modified beyond recognition" by Liaquat Sardar Patel discovered that though he was Home Member, he "could not create so much as the post of a Chaprasi without Liaquat Ali's concurrence "[48] Such a situation within the Council so much "annoyed and irritated" Sardar Patel that he became a believer in Partition The Sardar, writes Maulana Azad, "threw his weight in favour of partition out of irritation and injured vanity He found himself frustrated at every step by the veto put on his proposals by Liaquat Ali Khan as Finance Minister It was, therefore, in sheer anger that he decided that if there was no other alternative, partition should be accepted He was also convinced that the new state of Pakistan was not viable and could not last . . (and that) . . Pakistan would collapse in a short time "[49]

So when Mountbatten suggested that "partition might offer a solution for the present difficulty", Sardar Patel readily accepted the idea Pandit Nehru was also forced to accept it and the Congress Working Committee passed a resolution to this effect. Mountbatten proceeded to draw up an outline of a plan of transfer of power with his advisers Though the plan for the partition of the country was under way, no one was making any preparation for the partition of the Indian armed forces which was so essential for the new state of Pakistan Realising its importance for the new state, Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a letter addressed to the Viceroy stated the "inadequate representation of the Moslems in the Armed Forces" and suggested their reorganisation so that at the appropriate moment, they could be readily divided between the Indian Union and Pakistan. This letter of Liaquat was discussed by the Viceroy in a Staff meeting on April 8 Ismay stressed that until and unless the Viceroy reported otherwise to His Majesty's Government, the Cabinet Mission Plan "held the field and that Plan envisaged one National Army" The Viceroy agreed that "there could be no splitting of the Indian Army before the withdrawal of the British "[50] Liaquat had not asked for actual division of the Army but had drawn attention for a preparatory action in this regard Again he stated his proposal in a memorandum entitled, Preparation of Plan for the Partition of the Indian Armed

Forces.' In this memorandum, he asked for the reorganisation of the Armed Forces in such a manner that "they can be split up when a decision on the partition of the country is taken. An essential preliminary is the preparation of a plan by the Commander-in-Chief and his staff for the partition of the Armed Forces . . . The time limit set by His Majesty's Government demands that no time should be lost in preparing such a plan." [51]

Liaquat's proposals were opposed by the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claudie Auchinleck, and Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister, supported him In the Defence Committee, Liaquat again urged that there should be a plan ready to go ahead with separation, if Pakistan was accepted. But Mountbatten evaded the issue and stated that "by unduly hastening the process of separation we may defeat our own ends and produce a situation in which the Armed Forces may be semi-organised and not reliable" Thus the issue was unnecessarily delayed and later this delay cost a terrible loss of human life.

The partition plan sent by the Viceroy on May 2, was received on May 10 and an announcement was made by the Viceroy for the holding of a Conference with Nehru, Patel, Jinnah, Liaquat and Baldev But in the meanwhile, Mountbatten showed the Plan to Nehru who opposed the proposals contained therein and characterised these as the 'Balkanisation of India' The proposed Conference was immediately postponed to June 2 Mountbatten went to England with a revised draft of the Plan and got the sanction of the British Cabinet to it In all these developments Jinnah and the Muslim League were completely ignored The Plan, published on June 3, was accepted by the Congress and the League and the transfer of power was fixed for August 15

After the acceptance of the June 3 Plan, the Muslim League had to make preparations for undertaking the difficult task of running the new state of Pakistan Quaid was to act as the Governor-General and Liaquat 'Ali Khan as the Prime Minister of the new state Both the leaders had not only to prepare themselves to assume responsibilities of the State of Pakistan but also to look after Pakistan's interests in the Partition Council, formed for the division of assets, liabilities and other connected matters between the two dominions

At the very outset, Pakistan had to face difficulties which might have disrupted it but for the excellent leadership and the high spirit shewn by the nation to meet any eventuality. To run the Government, Pakistan needed experienced officers. In the Partition Council, every Government servant was given, at Patel's insistence, the option to

serve India or Pakistan although it was known that majority of the "experienced high grade officials being non-Muslims it would be difficult to run the Government of Pakistan" As a result, after partition all the non-Muslim staff left for India The percentage of Muslim representation in the All-India Services was twenty-five But on actual calculation it was found that it was not more than eleven per cent. Moreover, this eleven per cent contained only a nominal proportion of gazetted officers To these hardships was added the tragedy that the trains bringing the staff and records from Delhi to Pakistan were attacked Thus the new dominion of India, at the time of Partition, got a going concern but Pakistan had to start, in fact, 'from a scratch'. However, the insufficient number of Civil Servants, with only a very few exception, worked for the consolidation of the new state selflessly and whole-heartedly They won the admiration of the statesmen all over the world Liaquat 'Ali Khan later paying tribute to the service rendered by the Civil Servants said "I wish to make it clear that the successful working of administration in Pakistan owes itself neither to me nor to my Ministers but to the industry and devotion of our Government servants." [52]

On the division of assets, India's behaviour was equally unfriendly Under the agreement, Pakistan was entitled to a share of Rs. 75 crores Pakistan got only Rs 20 crores and the remaining amount was to be paid immediately and the Government of India agreed to instruct the Reserve Bank of India for the payment of this amount to Pakistan But the Pakistan Government, badly needing the amount at that time, waited in vain for its transfer As a result, the Government had to face such hardships that there were occasions when it was not sure whether it "would be able to disburse salaries" of the employees. [53]

According to the decision of the Joint Defence Council, Pakistan had to receive one-third share of the Defence Forces and the military stores But Pakistan's share remained "a paper share." There was no purely Muslim regiment at the time of partition and further, the forces, assigned to Pakistan, were scattered all over the sub-continent A major portion of Pakistan's share of military stores remained in India and when the Kashmir issue arose that was also stopped Thus at the time of Partition, Pakistan inherited a disorganised and ill-equipped army

Such were the circumstances in which Liaquat 'Ali Khan assumed his new responsibilities as the Prime Minister of Pakistan. Though Quaid-i-A zam was there to guide the nation, Liaquat had no less important duties to perform in establishing the new state on sound

footings. The flags of Pakistan had hardly been raised when communal violence swept the country. The Sikhs had planned to establish a Sikh state in the Punjab The Governor of the Punjab had informed the Viceroy about it Quaid-i-A'zam and Liaquat 'Ali repeatedly drew the attention of the Viceroy to this and demanded the arrest of the Sikh leaders [54] but no action was taken against them The result was that after partition large-scale massacres took place The illorganised and illconstituted Punjab Boundary Force—established for keeping law and order—proved ineffective to meet the situation Millions of Muslims were compelled to migrate to Pakistan The situation in the Punjab was most deplorable and some people here feared that Pakistan might be attacked any moment and it would be difficult for it to defend itself Quaid-i-A'zam instructed Liaquat to go to Lahore because in case India attacked, he told him, Pakistan could be defended from Lahore and not from Karachi [55] In spite of his serious illness, Liaquat remained in Lahore throughout this holocaust and visited the border and the affected areas and tried his best to keep high the morale of the Muslims He took all possible measures to ease the situation and advised the Muslims not to retaliate He corresponded with the Indian Premier Pandit Nehru and also visited the distressed areas along with him

In lesser time than many people thought Pakistan was able to tide over its initial tribulations under the leadership of the Quaid, the hard work put in by Liaquat and his colleagues and the "sheer determination" of the people of Pakistan to defend their state Liaquat's responsibilities increased when the Quaid fell seriously ill and later moved to Ziarat During this illness, Liaquat was forced to assume almost all the responsibilities of running the state and to rely more and more "on his own judgment and initiative" [56]

On the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam on September 11, 1948, Pakistan was faced with a great crisis The same day the Indian army marched into the Haiderabad state and forcibly occupied it Pakistan and the name of Quaid-i-A'zam had been regarded until then as one and the same, and nobody had ever considered the existence of the state independent of the great leader It was widely rumoured from unfriendly quarters that after the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam, Pakistan would disintegrate and the Pakistanis would not be able to hold the country. Even the newspapers of foreign countries expressed similar views Such were the conditions that George Bernard Shaw in a letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru in September 1948 stated, "I wonder whether the death of Jinner [sic] will prevent you from coming to England. If he

has no competent successor you will have to govern the Whole Peninsula."[57] Liaquat 'Ali Khan in this critical moment in the life of the nation accepted this challenge and showed great statesmanship To keep up the morale of the people high, he toured all over Pakistan, addressed large public meetings and met the politicians It was also feared that the hard-won freedom might be threatened from some quarter in this national crisis Liaquat 'Ali Khan assured the nation about the defence measures being taken by the Government His inspiring speeches stating that he would rather "see the nation and the country starve than allow any slackening of efforts for safeguarding its independence" and that in the event of an attack on Pakistan, "myself, my colleagues and every Pakistani will shed the last drop of his blood in defending every inch of the soil of Pakistan"[58] infused courage and confidence in the nation

Within a few days after the death of the 'Father of the Nation' Liaquat 'Ali Khan was successful in bringing confidence and internal cohesion in the nation Even critics who never spared the Government gave him solemn pledges of unconditional support Liaquat's participation in the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London in October, 1948 so soon after the death of the Quaid was a positive proof of Pakistan's stability.

In the beginning, Liaquat was optimistic about the role the Commonwealth was going to play and considered it a "family of nations" where the differences between two member countries could be justly arrived at When these hopes were not fulfilled, Liaquat took up a strong attitude and complained against the "tendency" in Britain "to take Pakistan for granted". He strongly criticised such a trend of thought and declared that Pakistan was ready "to make a contribution towards the ideals of the Commonwealth, but not as a camp-follower"[59]

Economically Pakistan enjoyed an unexpected stability Its economic stability was put to severe test when in September, 1949 Britain devalued the Pound sterling and the Indian Union also promptly devalued its rupee The Government of Pakistan decided not to devalue its rupee Thus Pakistani one hundred rupees became equal to Indian one hundred and fifty rupees India immediately retaliated by refusing to accept the new rate of exchange and boycotted any trade transaction with Pakistan India also stopped the supply of coal on the impression that communication in Pakistan would collapse. This posed a serious threat to Pakistan economy To meet the situation Liaquat called a meeting of the Cabinet at Dacca In view

of India's refusal to accept the rate of Pakistani rupee, the export of jute and cotton to her was stopped To provide facilities for the purchase of jute within the country, the National Bank of Pakistan was founded Liaquat 'Ali also addressed a secret session of the Muslim League Members at the residence of Mr Nur ul-Amin in Dacca in which he stated that until India accepted the value of our rupee, not even an ounce of jute could be given to her He stated, "we shall drown the jute in the Bay of Bengal but will not give it to India '[60] No pressure from outside or inside could compel him to change the decision he had taken and the Government of India had to accept the value of Pakistan rupee after a fight of one and a half year

Internally Pakistan, under the guiding hand of Liaquat, remained united in spite of the wranglings of some of the provincial leaders for power in the various provinces In the Punjab, there started in October 1948 a conflict between the Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana. This tussle became so serious that Liaquat had no other way but to dissolve the Assembly and the Mamdot Ministry in January, 1949 and the administration of the province was entrusted to Governor Mudie. Later when the Governor refused to have the Advisers and offered his resignation, Liaquat, without any hesitation, accepted it He appointed Sardar 'Abdur Rab Nishtar as the Governor of the Province Similarly in Sind Ayub Khuhro's activities and in the North-West Frontier Province Pir Manki and Khan 'Abdul Qayyum Khan's tussle created many a time difficult situations

In spite of these unpatriotic moves of the leaders who had so far worked in unison in the struggle for Pakistan, Liaquat 'Ali went on with the work of consolidating the new state His chief concern as the Prime Minister, holding also the Defence portfolio, was to organise the Land, Naval and Air Forces and to raise their standard to a high level of efficiency He took immediate steps for nationalising the Pakistan Armed Forces keeping in view that it did not lower the standards of efficiency New centres for the training of the Army personnel were set up It was in view of this policy of nationalisation of Liaquat that Pakistan had its first Pakistani Commander-in-Chief—Muhammad Ayub Khan—in January, 1951 He also took keen interest in the matter of giving proper representation to East Pakistanis in the nation's defence forces and had instructed his Services Chiefs "to recruit as many Bengalis as possible." When he found that recruitment to the armed forces from East Pakistan was not satisfactory, he, for this purpose, "lowered the standard to the lowest limit in keeping with the efficiency of the armed forces."[61] He, however,

strongly criticised the suggestion that there should be an army of purely East Bengalis to defend East Pakistan, which should be self-contained and self-sufficient in every way He urged that "to defend and take responsibility for the defence" of every part of Pakistan was the duty of every Pakistani to whichever part he belonged He stated that "as far as I am here I shall never adopt that policy and I hope my successors in the future will never adopt a policy of that kind."[62] A major share of the credit for organising, equipping and keeping up the standards of efficiency to a high level of the Pakistan Army goes to Liaquat

Liaquat's devotion and love for the Quaid-i A'zam was unequalled to which he often gave expression in his speeches before and after the death of the great leader So was his love for the Muslim League organisation which he had gradually built up He considered the Muslim League and Pakistan as the special trusts" of the Quaid He strongly opposed a move in 1948 that as the League had achieved its objective it was not necessary to keep it alive any longer He considered the Muslim League as the "soul of the body politic" of Pakistan and the leaven and salt of the Muslim renaissance Later, when Choudhry Khaliquzzaman resigned from the Presidentship of the Muslim League in October, 1950 due to a demonstration of refugees before his house in Karachi, Liaquat 'Ali accepted this additional burden due to wide demands from the public On his assumption of duties as President of the League, he was accused by certain people of being a dictator by assuming so many responsibilities His answer to such allegations was that dictatorship "is not in my nature" and that he only wanted to awaken and unite the nation "so that tomorrow if anybody even dreams of becoming a dictator, he would not have the courage to become one"[63] It was his firm belief that only by keeping the Muslims united under the banner of the Muslim League, the work of consolidating the new state of Pakistan could be carried on effectively So when disruptionist elements appeared and began to organise separate parties, he strongly criticised them and sometimes his criticism was a bit too harsh But in view of the tremendous work which the nation had to perform, it was essential to work unitedly as a team under one properly organised political party

Liaquat had, however, "an abiding faith" in democratic institutions and in the people of Pakistan Some people advised him that the masses being illiterate and uneducated, having little experience, perhaps democratic institutions like adult franchise were not suited to Pakistan His reply to such suggestions was that the people could

attain maturity if they were given responsibility and that political education depended upon the opportunities of gaining experience He stated that dictatorships were based upon a lack of faith in the intelligence of the people and that there could be no "deterrent to the expansion of freedom than the fallacy that the people could be governed without any reference to their feelings and desires by those who considered themselves wiser "[64]

Pakistan's relations have remained generally bad with India and in Liaquat's time situations arose many a time which brought the two countries almost to the brink of war The first conflict arose on the division of assets and liabilities Riots in the Punjab and the fighting which started in Kashmir in 1947 on the accession of the state to the Indian Dominion further aggravated the situation Liaquat, however, desiring a pacific solution of the Kashmir dispute, agreed to accept the cease-fire in Kashmir and the matter was referred to the United Nations for settlement But its final solution was unnecessarily delayed due to India's refusal to accept any proposal Liaquat has been criticised for this action A final verdict on this particular question is not possible without understanding the then prevailing conditions of Pakistan and its resources

A serious situation again arose in the beginning of 1950 The immediate cause of this situation was the "most sanguinary" riots which broke out in Calcutta The newspapers of Calcutta and Bombay carried on a wide propaganda in favour of war against Pakistan India massed its mechanised brigade and other troops on the borders of East Pakistan Over 15,000 Muslims were driven out from one city, Calcutta, to East Bengal apart from evacuation of Muslims from other parts of West Bengal These happenings led to inevitable repercussions in Dacca but the Government of East Bengal took stringent measures to curb the activities of mischief makers The representatives of East Bengal and West Bengal Governments met in February, 1950 and formulated measures to meet the situation and appealed to the Press to be reasonable and less agitationist Meanwhile Pandit Nehru, Sardar Patel and other Indian leaders made speeches against Pakistan.

In these distressing conditions of Indo-Pakistan relations, Liaquat showed astuteness and statesmanship of a high calibre. He characterised the suggestion of exchange of population made by Choudhry Khaliquzzaman as a "great tragedy and a dismal prospect for both countries "[65] His tour of East Pakistan to restore the confidence and keep up the morale of the East Pakistanis was a great success He, in the course of the extensive tours, assured them about

the defence situation of this part of Pakistan, and the non-Muslim minorities about the full protection of their rights. There was the danger of the outbreak of war between Pakistan and India at any time, and Pandit Nehru stated in one of his speeches that "we were at the brink of war." It is also reported that on his return to West Pakistan from the tour, Liaquat was given the assurance that "Pakistan could wage a successful war with India "[66] The situation in both countries was thus extremely inflamable

The serious threat of war was averted by the wise and statesman-like policy of Liaquat He invited Pandit Nehru to Karachi 'to find ways and means of improving the situation " Nehru evaded the invitation on the pretext of his colleagues' ill-health and invited Liaquat to Delhi. Liaquat accepted the invitation and decided to go to Delhi The people all over Pakistan sent him letters, telegrams and held meetings in which they opposed his visit to India and expressed anxiety about his personal safety But he remained firm in his decision His reply was that his life was dedicated to "the cause of Pakistan and Islam" and everything dedicated to a cause was in the special protection of Almighty God " [67]

After a week's discussions in Delhi, a Minorities Pact was signed between India and Pakistan for preventing communal disorder. The Pact had an immediate effect in harmonising the communal tension.

Liaquat in the meantime also corresponded with Pandit Nehru for issuing a joint no-war declaration This correspondence[68] started in December, 1949 and ended in November, 1950 During this period the two Prime Ministers also met several times In all the correspondence, Liaquat's suggestions and arguments are of a practical and a realistic statesman and Nehru's role appears to be that of an idealist, expressing only good wishes and not coming to the point of solving the issues The outstanding disputes discussed in this correspondence were Kashmir, Junagadh and the neighbouring states, canal water and the vacuee property disputes. Both the leaders agreed to settle all these disputes by negotiation, mediation and arbitration. Liaquat, due to bitter experiences of the past, suggested that a clear-cut procedure with an agreed time table should be laid down which would make it binding on both Governments to carry through the settlement of disputes to final peaceful conclusion. This suggestion Pandit Nehru refused to accept and in his philosophic answer characterised it as not "becoming for proud and independent nations" to adopt such a procedure. Pandit Nehru insisted only on issing a no-war declaration. Thus this correspondence had to be dropped.

In July 1951, India again concentrated the bulk of its army on the borders of Pakistan. Liaquat informed about the situation in a Press Conference on July 15. The reaction to this news of the world opinion, particularly of the Muslim countries, showed how far Pakistan had established its position in international sphere. Liaquat sent a telegram[69] to Pandit Nehru to withdraw the Indian armed forces. He then in a later telegram offered a "peace plan" containing five points for resolving disputes between India and Pakistan, particularly that of Kashmir, but again this was rejected by Pandit Nehru. It was during this crisis that Liaquat addressing a 'Defence Day' procession stated that Pakistan "will exist so long as the world exists" and that from "today onwards our symbol is this" and he had held out his clenched fist.[70]

Liaquat 'Ali Khan maintained an independent foreign policy and did not completely align Pakistan's policy to any of the two contesting power-blocs. In 1949, to dispel the impression that Pakistan's policy was subservient to the Western bloc, he accepted an invitation to visit Moscow which, however, did not materialise. Soon after, he accepted the invitation of President Truman and visited the United States and then Canada in May—June 1959. In his speeches there, he explained the factors leading to the emergence of Pakistan, its ideology, its aspirations, its strategic position and the part it was going to play in international affairs in very forceful language. He thus brought the problems of Pakistan and the aspiration of its people to an international level He impressed the Western statesmen about Pakistan's ideology and created a place for himself amongst the statesmen of the world. However, he made no commitment of any nature in regard to foreign policy of Pakistan. Pakistan remained completely non-aligned in the life-time of Liaquat and in international sphere it supported the cause which it considered to be just. As late as March, 1951, making a statement about the foreign policy of Pakistan, he stated that "Pakistan is neither tied to the apron-strings of Anglo-American bloc, nor is a camp-follower of the Communist bloc. It steered clear of the inter-bloc rivalry and has an absolutely independent foreign policy. We have not been given assistance by any country of the world and whatever we have achieved has been through our resources. Therefore, the question of subservience in foreign policy does not arise.'"[71]

From the very inception of Pakistan, the new state took a very keen interest in fostering friendly relations with all the Muslim countries and pursuance of this policy remained the cornerstone of Liaquat's

foreign policy Deep concern of the Muslims of the subcontinent in the fortunes of outside Muslims and the Muslim states dates back to the Khilafat days and in spite of their preoccupation in the struggle for Pakistan they kept alive this interest Being a sincere and devoted Muslim, Liaquat 'Ali Khan's interest in the welfare of the Islamic world was deep and abiding As the biggest Muslim country, Liaquat stated in October, 1948, Pakistan had "certainly a great part to play, and inevitably her counsels will carry great weight "[72] Liaquat, on his way back to Pakistan after attending the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London, in 1948, stayed in Cairo on the invitation of Azzam Pasha, Secretary-General of the Arab League. There he, broadcasting to the people of Egypt, stressed that the Muslims should not only have cultural contacts but there should be the closest possible collaboration in all spheres of life. In 1949, he again on his return from England visited Egypt, Iraq and Iran on the invitation of their respective Governments During his stay in these Muslim countries, he emphasised that the only solution of the difficulties through which the Muslim world was passing was the "unity of thought and action amongst the Muslim states "[73]

Pakistan took positive steps under Liaquat's administration to bring the Muslim countries closer to each other The first session of the Motamer-i Islami was held in Karachi in February 1949. Another move in this direction was that an International Islamic Economic Conference was sponsored in November, 1949 by Pakistan and its first session was held in Karachi In his inaugural address, Liaquat urged the delegates to formulate a course of action which would benefit the people of the Muslim countries and further "strengthen the ties of brotherhood which already existed between them."[74]

During Liaquat's time, Pakistan developed the most friendly relations with Iran From the day Pakistan came into existence, the people of Iran showed a tremendous amount of goodwill and friendliness to the people of Pakistan The Shah of Iran visited Pakistan in March, 1950 and was given grand receptions at all places. With other Muslim countries Pakistan also developed friendly relations. Liaquat believed that the Muslim countries had a mission to perform and that they could not do it unless they were free, strong and united. Pakistan in this connection not only supported the cause of the Muslim countries in the United Nations and rendered every other possible help which it was capable of giving but had "concluded formal treaties of friendship with Syria, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia" by the middle of 1951 Similar treaties were also expected to be signed with Egypt.

Saudi Arabia and Yemen.[75]

The only Muslim country with which, in spite of its almost generous policy, Pakistan could not develop friendly relations was Afghanistan. Afghanistan was the only country to oppose its admission, when Pakistan soon after its birth applied for the membership of the United Nations It also persistently carried on a propaganda for the so-called "free Pakhtoonistan" But Liaquat refrained from any counter-measures in pursuance of Pakistan's ' declared policy of maintaining and promoting friendly relations with all the Muslim countries." Even in the face of grave provocations, he did not discontinue the transit and other facilities promised to the people and Government of Afghanistan which would have caused great economic loss to that country, even at the expense of Pakistan's inconvenience [76]

Liaquat's desire to come closer to the Muslim countries was strengthened by the inordinate delay in the United Nations for settling the Kashmir dispute and the growing inimical and aggressive policy of the Indian Dominion The Commonwealth's inability to resolve the Kashmir dispute was also exposed when in December 1950, Liaquat refused to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference if the Kashmir issue was not included in the agenda. When he attended the Conference Kashmir issue was discussed but all the proposals made in the Conference were rejected by Pandit Nehru. Gradually, he came to believe that the Muslim peoples should unite to defend their freedom. In July, 1950, addressing an 'Id congregation he expressed his view on this point. He stated that if there was a move on the part of "the Muslim peoples to unite with a view to defending their freedom," Pakistan would "whole-heartedly join such a move and play its full part." He further stated that if the Western democracies could enter into pacts to protect their way of life and if the Communist countries could form a bloc to defend their ideology, "why cannot Muslim peoples get together to protect themselves and show to the world that they have an ideology and a way of life."[77] Liaquat would have endeavoured, had he been given time, to find ways and means of bringing about unity in the Muslim world. The theme of the last speech he was to deliver at Rawalpindi, when he was assassinated, was also of similar nature. It was, "The world should know that the Muslim world stands together."[78]

One of the most difficult and important problems which Liaquat had to face during his Prime Ministership was that of framing a constitution for the state of Pakistan. In the struggle for Pakistan and after its achievement, it was stated from the platform and the press

that the future constitution of the new state would be based on Islamic principles. It was one thing to profess but to give it a practical shape was a problem Quaid-i-A'zam did not live long to give guidance to the nation on this particular issue. There was demand from certain extremist section of the 'Ulama for an immediate replacement of the Pakistan Penal Code and other statutes by Islamic Law and they emphasised that the Constituent Assembly or the Legislature had no right to frame any constitution or any laws "not provided for in the Quran, as interpretted by qualified Ulamā."[79] In framing the constitution of Pakistan, the preservation of the rights of the large non-Muslim minority was also to be kept in view Keeping all these considerations in view, Liaquat moved on March 7, 1949, the historic Objectives Resolution in which a balanced approach to the ideological problem was maintained His speech while introducing the resolution in the Assembly is an important document To frame a constitution on the lines indicated in the Objectives Resolution, a Basic Principles Committee was set on March 12, 1949 which presented its report the next year When the Report was published adverse comments were offered that its recommendations were not in accordance with the Objectives Resolution. Liaquat, therefore, moved in the Assembly on November 2, 1950 that the consideration of the report should be postponed so as to give full opportunity to those who might be interested in offering suggestions regarding the basic principles of the constitution For this action Liaquat was criticised for unnecessarily shelving the issue of constitution-making. But Liaquat had his own plan. He had decided to hold general elections on the basis of adult franchise, province by province and then for the central Assembly, "before grappling seriously with constitutional issue"[80] He would definitely have found out a solution of this deadlock in the constitution-making, had he been spared to carry out his plan.

Quaid-i-Millat Liaquat fell a martyr to an assassin's bullet on October 16 1951. It was the severest blow to the state of Pakistan after the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam. On his death the "last link" between the Muslim League and the popular imagination was severed. His death was more tragic for the nation, as he had satisfactorily filled in the void created after the Quaid-i-Azam's death but after him no one raised himself to that level of selflessness, self efficacy and statesmanship. His contribution in the struggle for Pakistan is such that much would have remained unaccomplished had there been no Liaquat After the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam he was put on trial to find solution of the difficulties facing the country internally and

externally. He boldly met all these difficulties by adopting a balanced and a realistic policy. It was his sincerity, selflessness, incorruptibility and political acumen which pushed him forward He not only gained popularity and love of his nation but towards the end his place was amongst a very few statesmen of the world.

He had a passion to render services to Pakistan and the cause of Islam. This devotion of service was such that once he remarked that "if I can render service to Pakistan as a *chaprasi*, I shall be the proudest man in the country" In his tenure as Prime Minister, Pakistan was not only consolidated but was put on the path of progress in every sphere of national activity He himself remained "landless" and refused to sign his claims for property whenever papers were presented to him But he had great anxiety for ameliorating the condition of the masses He was not given time to put into practical shape his ideals he often expressed in his speeches of "Social Justice" or "Islamic Socialism". Quaid-i-Millat was a practical statesman and he would have adopted effective measures for raising the standard of living of the man in the street, as it was one of the important solgans in the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan. It was with this in view that he was "determined to go ahead with agrarian reforms" scheme prepared by the Muslim League in spite of the opposition from the landlords He had warned the landlord class that they 'should not hold back today what the people would sieze from them with force tomorrow". Had he been spared for another couple of years he would have found out better solutions of the problems facing the country. The future generations of Pakistan will always be proud of the leadership of the Quaid-i-A'zam and the Quaid-i-Millat because it is very rare in the life of a nation to be bestowed with leaders of the calibre of Jinnah and Liaquat.

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CONTENTS

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali, speaking in the Assembly on the Finance Bill on March 20, 1941, denied the charges that the Muslim League was against any settlement of the communal issue and stated that the establishment of Pakistan was the only guarantee for the harmonious communal relations in future.

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan (Rohilkhand and Kumaon Divisions Muhammadan Rural). "Mr. Deputy President, I have been in this House for a short time and I have not acquired that versatality which some of the Honourable Members seem to have of dealing with every subject under the sun, and dealing with it with seeming authority and expert knowledge I shall, therefore, confine myself to the political and constitutional situation in the country, and I shall try to explain as briefly as possible, the position of the Muslim League regarding this matter Mr Deputy President, when my friend, Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan, towards the end of his speech, stated that the Muslim League Party had decided to oppose the motion for consideration of the Finance Bill, the Honourable the Leader of the House interjected. 'Will your position be successful?' '

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan (Leader of the House): "No Sir, I did not "

Mr M A Jinnah "What did the Honourable Member say?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am sorry, Sir, I seem to recollect that, but anyhow as the Honourable the Leader of the House says that he did nothing of the kind .. "

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan · "I have not said, I did nothing of the kind. I did not interject what the Honourable Member has attributed to me."

An Honourable Member "But the Honourable Member did say something?"

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan: "Yes, I did say something "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan · "I do not know what the Honourable the leader of the House said, but what we heard was what I have stated."

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan:" Sir, the Honourable Member cannot say that he heard me say something that I

did not say unless his hearing is at fault "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Anyhow as far as hearing goes, it seems to me that it is not only my hearing, but the hearing of the whole House, which is faulty "

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan "No, no I may briefly explain what I said I put merely a question to the Honourable Member—do you desire your opposition to be successful?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "If that is so, let me tell him that we do not desire that our opposition should be successful"

The Honourable Sir Muhammad Zafrullah Khan "I believe the Honourable Member to whom I put that question said 'No' "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I do not know what the Honourable Member said as he is not here to defend himself, but anyhow let me tell my Honourable friend that the Muslim League Party in this House does desire that the opposition should be successful

"Mr Deputy President, we know the hybrid Constitution under which we are working We know that the majority party, the opposition party in this House, having decided to withdraw from the battle-field of constitutionalism, the Honourable the Leader of the House, with his nominated official and non-official votes, who act as automatons, and with the ready and obliging support of the European Group which I am sorry to say, is always at the disposal of the Government . "

Mr Chapman-Mortimer (Bengal European) "Quite incorrect "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan " . . can flout the opinion of this House, and even if the House succeeded in carrying the motion for opposition to the consideration of the Bill I am not unaware of the store house of special powers of certification on which the Honourable the Leader of the House and the Honourable the Finance Member can draw We know that this House, this Indian Parliament, compared to other Parliaments of free countries, is only in the nature of a toy Parliament, but even if you play with toy soldiers you must follow the rules of the game It is a well-recognised practice in every free Parliament that if the peoples' representatives have any grievances against the Government of the day they are entitled to tell that Government—no supplies without the redress of grievances—and the opposition of the Muslim League Party is in accordance with that well established practice.

"Sir, there seems to be a good deal of confusion regarding the position of the Muslim League in connection with the so-called political deadlock I have heard it stated on the floor of this House—I have

read it related outside,—that the responsibility for the political deadlock is to be apportioned between the Congress and the Muslim League and it seems to me that if you go on repeating something long enough, even if it is absolutely wrong, the people who are mentally lazy begin to believe in that. I would try to point out that the responsibility for the so-called deadlock does not lie on the shoulders of the Muslim League It lies on the shoulders of the Congress and of the British Government. Sir, from the very beginning since the declaration of the war, the Muslim League has repeatedly made its position clear. It has not confused the question of the future constitutional development with the question of the present constitutional advancement. All that the Muslim League said was that as far as the future is concerned and all that we ask the British Government today, is that at an opportune time, as soon as possible after the war, or as soon as it is convenient to do so, the British Government should revise the Government of India Act of 1935 *de novo* in the light of the experience that may be gained by the working of that Act, and, secondly, that no Constitution should be forced down the throats of ninety millions of Mussalmans without their approval and consent. Now, I ask you, Mr Deputy President, can any fair-minded person say that it is an impossible position that the Muslim League has taken up? Some of my friends in this House and outside have stated that this means that the minority is asking for the right of veto When they talk of minorities so glibly, they seem to forget that the Muslims in the whole of India may be numerically less, but they are not a minority in the accepted sense of the term. They are a people, ninety millions strong, they are in a majority in certain parts of India and, therefore, when you talk of them as a minority, I think it is a complete travesty of fact. I am sorry that those of our countrymen who talk of our demanding a veto do not appreciate the position, and yet a person living thousands of miles away from India is able to understand what the Muslim League demands. I refer to the statement that Mr. Amery, the Secretary of State for India, made in this connection in the House of Commons in August last. I shall in a moment read out a portion of that statement so that Honourable Members' memory may be refreshed but before I do that let me tell you that it is inconceivable that you can work any constitution in the country if either the Mussalmans or the Hindus are opposed to it. It is impossible, and anybody who seems to think that a constitution can be thrust down the throats of Mussalmans without their consent and approval, let me tell you, that he is living in a paradise of his own.

"What did Mr. Amery say on this particular question? It is so

clear that I do not think that anyone could have put it better He stated

'His Majesty's Government have made it clear that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life '

I think in these few words, Mr Amery has understood the situation in India very clearly, and yet my countrymen who are in closer touch with the affairs in India go on talking of the power of veto by the Mussalmans Now Sir, what did Mr Amery say about this power of veto ? He says

'To describe the need for such agreement as a veto on constitutional progress is, I think, to do an injustice to the partriotism and sense of responsibility of those concerned '

"When my friends talk of the Muslim League asking for a power of veto, they seem to be under the impression that this country is their private property Let me tell them, India is as much mine as it is any one else's living in this country, and I am as much interested in the welfare of this country as any one else It is because of that that I say that for the sake of peace, for the sake of prosperity of India, you should not endeavour to thrust a Constitution on an unwilling people If we really wanted to obstruct in the war effort, if we really wanted to take advantage of the misfortune in which Great Britain is involved, we could have easily said like the other parties, 'You give us Pakistan here and now, and unless you promise that, we will not help you a bit ' We have done nothing of the kind I shall, Mr Deputy President, deal with this question of the Lahore Resolution, which is popularly called Pakistan, at a later stage But what I am trying to show now is to tell this Honourable House that the position that Muslim League has adopted cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be described as one of bargaining or taking advantage of a person who is in trouble and who is in an unfortune situation

"As regards the present, what do we say ? We say that it is not possible to create that enthusiasm amongst the people of India which is desired by everybody, it is not possible to make the people of India believe that this war is their own, unless you have Indian representatives, representatives of political parties, inside the Central Government and in the provinces which are being administered at present under section 93 of the Government of India Act In this connection let me tell you what the Working Committee of the Muslim League has

stated on the 16th of June last year:

'The Working Committee looks with alarm at the growing menace of Nazi aggression which has been most ruthlessly depriving one nation after another of its liberty and freedom and regards the unprovoked attack by the Italian Government against the Allies as most unwarranted and immoral at a time when France was engaged in a brave struggle against very heavy odds. The grave world situation demands serious efforts on the part of every Indian for the defence of his country and the Working Committee calls upon the Government of India to prepare the country in an organised manner to meet every eventuality. The Committee is constrained to state that the proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of Their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation.'

Now, this portion refers to the War Committees that were announced at that time and were to be formed in the various provinces.

'The Committee therefore authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying war efforts and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that, unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an all-India basis, and not provincewise, between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be served and achieved.'

"I do not think that any party could have made its position clearer than what the Muslim League did. It realises the importance of fighting this war successfully. But let me tell you quite frankly that it does not trust the judgment of the British Government completely. When it asks for associating representatives of the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to work in this common cause, it does so because it wants that the people of the country should have complete confidence in the Government which is, in the main, responsible for war efforts.

"Now, when we stated at that time that these War Committees

were really piffling things and it was not really a serious effort to associate Indian opinion with the war effort, we were told, 'No Wait and see This is a great opportunity for Indians to take an effective share in the war effort ' On the authority of no less a person than Sir Homi Mody, who has been working on these war committees, I can say that they have failed completely Sir Homi Mody himself, speaking on this motion which is under consideration, stated that it is necessary to associate Indian opinion more closely with war efforts, and it is exactly the same thing which the Muslim League had stated Therefore, all that we want is that the British Government, in their own interests and in the interests of India, should recognise that it is impossible to get that support, that full co-operation from the people of India which is most essential at this critical time, unless and until you can make them believe that it is their Government and that can never be unless there are representatives of the various political parties in the Government

"Now, Sir, as against that, let me tell you what the Congress position is The Congress position is 'nothing doing for the present unless you concede here and now what we want regarding the future ' The Congress wanted that a declaration should be made immediately that India is a free country from today It should be declared that India will have a right, not will have a right, but has a right, of framing its own Constitution by means of a Constituent Assembly elected on adult franchise, and then, later on, the famous Poona Resolution came in To my mind, that Poona Resolution was not an alternative to these two proposals. It was a device to see that that declaration regarding the freedom of India is given effect to immediately The Poona Resolution demanded that a national Government should be formed responsible to the Legislative Assembly Let me tell you that as far as the Mussalmans are concerned, we could not possibly accept any one of these three demands that have been put forward by the Congress, because the acceptance of any one of those demands means prejudging the issue regarding the future Constitution of India Therefore, the Congress position is that we are not prepared to do anything unless and until you concede our demands here and now, knowing fully well that the Mussalmans and other minorities could not possibly accept them Now, I ask you this It does not matter how often the Congress leaders may go on repeating that they do not wish to embarrass the British Government but in actual practice they do want to embarrass you, and not only that, but they want to take advantage of your misfortune. Then, Sir, after that what happens? After having

failed in their pleadings, after having failed in cajoling the British Government into accepting the demands of the Congress and letting down the Mussalmans and all other minorities, they decided to start civil disobedience, and the General of this army of Satyagrahis declared, as his war aim, the right of freedom of speech The satyagraha, according to what the Congress says, has not been started with the object of getting any one of those demands conceded, but the objective of satyagraha, according to them, is to get from the British Government the right of freedom of speech, the right to preach what they like Let me tell you not in my own words, but in the words of the General of Satyagraha, the Congress wants the right to preach that 'you will invite Herr Hitler and Signor Mussolini to take what they want If those gentlemen desire to occupy your homes, you will vacate them It they do not give you free passage out, you will allow yourself, man, woman and child, to be slaughtered.' This is the freedom of speech that they want, and can any sane person think for a moment that any Government worth the name could allow any party to have such freedom of speech ? Even if you gave the Congress this freedom of speech, there are millions and millions in this country who have neither lost courage, nor patriotism, nor self-respect and they shall resist and see that this kind of freedom of speech is not practised in this country The object is not really to gain this privilege of preaching what I have stated just now, but the object of the Congress is to coerce the British Government into accepting those fundamental demands of the Congress, and I have the authority of no less a person than Mr Gandhi when he stated that a settlement during the war between the British and the Congress is not possible as long as the Congress demand is not conceded Let me tell you, and, through you, let me tell the Government overseas, that if they allow themselves to be coerced into this position of letting down the Mussalmans and other minorities, they shall have established an infamous record for themselves No nation could ever be guilty of such an infamy as the British would be if they allowed the Congress to have their own way

"Now, Mr. Deputy President, this being the position of the Congress, that they are not prepared to look at anything as regards any settlement for the present, how can any one, any fair-minded person really accuse us that we are responsible for the deadlock. There is no question of a settlement between the Muslim League and the Congress. In November, 1939, His Excellency the Viceroy invited the leader of the Muslim League and President of the Congress and Mr. Gandhi. The Congress stated then and there that these matters regarding any

arrangement for the present were subsidiary matters, and as long as the Congress demand regarding a declaration for the independence of India and Constituent Assembly and so on was not met, they were not prepared to look at anything I ask you, how can any one really blame us that we are standing in the way of there being any change in the present position for associating Indian opinion with the Central Government and in the Provinces?

"I have heard it stated, and I think some Honourable Members stated here on the floor of the House that Mr Jinnah, I suppose by Mr Jinnah they mean the Muslim League, does not want any settlement He is always against any settlement A more unfounded allegation I have never come across Mr Jinnah at the time when the Viceroy had invited these three leaders stated that he was prepared to consider any proposal and the proposal that was made by the Viceroy, and as recently as November last year, on the floor of this House, Mr Jinnah, turning round to the Congress stated 'Let us have a settlement and put up a united demand' Sir, it is stated that, because of the claim of the Muslim League that it is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans there cannot be any settlement We do not ask any organisation to recognise our claim It is not a question of claim It is a statement of fact, and no number of denials by anybody or by any party can change facts The Muslim League today is the only authoritative and representative organisation of the Mussalmans What is the use of people coming and telling me that 'You are saying that the Muslim League is the only authoritative and representative organisation, therefore, how can there be a settlement?' Well, if we are not a representative organisation, then what authority on whose behalf, are we to have a settlement? Sir, some of the Honourable Members here stated that, because we have passed a Resolution at Lahore which is popularly known as the Pakistan Resolution, therefore, all the doors for a settlement are closed Why? Why are they closed? Am I not entitled to put forward any proposal which, in my opinion, will secure peace and prosperity and freedom for this country? Is it only the right of others, and am I only to go there to dot the i's and cross the t's? Do I say today, do I make it a condition precedent that, unless you agree to my proposal, I am not prepared to talk to you? It is an absurd suggestion that is being made by certain persons

"Now, Sir, let me briefly say a few words about my Honourable friend, Sir F E James He stated—I think I would like to state it in his own words—that 'today the policies of the major political

parties are aiming, or have already aimed, a vital blow at the settled policy of successive British Governments for the last twenty-five years with regard to India What is that settled policy? First of all, the achievement of the organic and constitutional unity of India as a whole and secondly, the establishment in this country of representative institutions on a democratic basis' I would only like to add here that when he says 'has received or is about to receive a severe blow', let me tell him that it has already received a knock-out blow, and it is no longer in the ring of Indian politics. Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir F E James, stated that he has been in the political life of this country for twenty years He reminded me of a professor at 'Aligarh An English gentleman had come out from England to teach at 'Aligarh, and the first thing in Urdu that he heard was:

'Khana mez par,
Cha mez par'

He concluded that *'mez par'* meant that it was ready, and so, whenever he wanted his carriage to be got ready, he would say, *'Gharry mez par'*—and mind you this, he continued to do after having been at 'Aligarh for over twenty years Now, Sir, as regards the democratic parliamentary system of Government, let me tell my Honourable friends that a democratic parliamentary system of Government is only possible in a country which has a homogeneous people and one society What do you have in India? You have two major communities here, I do not care whether you call them 'communities', whether you call them 'nationalities' or you call them by any other name,—whose religion is different, whose culture is different whose social life is different, whose personal laws are different, whose ideals are different, whose whole outlook upon life is different—and yet some of my Honourable friends still seem to think that the 'raising of hands and the counting of heads is the only right type of Constitution for this country. Sir, I have a very great regard for the religion, for the culture, for the social life of my Hindu friends, just as I expect them to have for mine but I will just give you an instance I read it in the papers the other day that in Bombay on the sea shore a swimming bath has been built, and it is meant for Hindus only'. Now, when my friends refuse to swim even in the sea with me, how can you ever imagine one unitary form of Government for the whole of India ...."

Mr. Govind V. Deshmukh (Nagpur Division: Non-Muhammadan): "Do they refuse to allow you to have a bath in the sea?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan: "Sir, let me tell you

in all earnestness and with all sincerity, and I appeal to every well-wisher of the country not to consider the Lahore Resolution or the Pakistan Resolution of the All-India Muslim League as a device to destroy the country We are as much interested in the welfare of India as anyone else, but we, after having had experience of so-called democratic parliamentary system of Government, have come to the conclusion that that system of Government can never work satisfactorily in this country, that if you want peace, if you want that the Hindus and Mussalmans should in future not be flying at each others' throats, you should give them equal opportunities to develop themselves according to their own ideals and according to their own culture, and that can only be if both of them have the freedom and have the power to develop themselves in accordance with their own ideals and their whole system of social life I appeal to my Hindu friends, do not think for a moment that the Mussalmans are the enemies of the country I want them to look at this problem with an open mind Look at this problem with this idea that here is a proposition, here is a proposal which we have put forward which, according to us, will secure the freedom for India at the earliest possible moment and which will establish peace and prosperity in the country Look at it from that point of view Sir I have met a number of my Hindu friends who have been opposed to this Resolution, and have come to me to discuss Pakistan They said, 'We want to understand' I said, But you are opposed to it without understanding' They said, 'Yes, but you see, Pakistan, Pakistan no, no, anyhow you explain to us' -and let me tell you, I have met very responsible Hindu gentlemen and after we had discussed it in a friendly manner as between two men we came to the conclusion that this was really a proposal which should be considered with an open mind and an open heart Sir, the same appeal I make to all my Hindu friends in the country—do not think that, merely by your saying that you are opposed to it, you will succeed in making the Mussalmans give up Pakistan The only sensible thing is—consider this proposal in the spirit in which it has been put forward before the country, and I have no doubt and I feel convinced that those who are opposed to it today will be in support of it tomorrow Sir, in this connection, let me tell my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, and other Europeans in this country and in England, that as long as you keep on dangling this carrot—*viz.*, unitary form of Government for the whole of India and democratic parliamentary system of government,--before some people, you make it impossible for the Hindus and the Mussalmans to come to a settlement

and for the country to have peaceful evolution. My countrymen, the Hindus, think that this is the best thing that would give them domination over the whole of the country, and as long they go on deriving some support and some hope from you, they will never look at any proposition, however reasonable it may be and in whatever spirit it may be put before them Therefore, my appeal to my British friends is Let us recognise the realities of the situation I daresay that you did believe in all honesty and in all sincerity that what was good for your country would be equally good for India But it is possible for a person to be mistaken Do not think that you can never make a mistake The experience has shown that what is good for your country can never prosper in this country

"Now, Sir, I would like to say a few words about the so-called expansion of the Viceroy's Council My Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, when speaking on this motion, stated that the Poona Resolution was no good, the Resolution passed by the Conference held at Bombay recently was not of much assistance But he did not tell us what his proposal was I think in a way, although he did not say so openly, he did hint that the Viceroy's offer really held the field and that was the only possible solution I hope I am interpreting him correctly"

Sir F E James (Madras. European) "May I just make that perfectly clear? My argument was that in the event of the two other propositions failing, the only remaining and possible practical proposition before the country was the Viceroy's offer"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Sir, I wish my Honourable friend had told us what his proposal was. In his speech he might have made some possible suggestions as to what, in his opinion, would be the best solution But as he has not done so, I take it that his solution is at the present moment the Viceroy's offer Sir, let me tell him and my other British friends here that we have every sympathy with those Britishers who are undergoing those terrible trials that were referred to by Sir Frederick James in his speech. If we are unable to accept the Viceroy's offer in its present form, it is not that we have no sympathy and we have no pity for the people of England who are putting up such a brave fight against very heavy odds and Nazi aggression. Therefore, I do not want this to be confused that in spite of the people of Great Britain suffering such terrible losses, we are still thinking in terms of the Viceroy's offer and its acceptance or not. At the very beginning of my speech, I stated that the Muslim League had demanded that something should be done which will give real

authority and substantial power to the representatives of the Muslim League and such other Parties as were prepared to come in in the Government at the Centre as well as in the Provinces and I stated the reasons for doing that Now, Sir, let me examine the Viceroy's offer As far as the principle of that offer goes, I have no quarrel with it As a matter of fact, the principle of that offer is exactly what the Muslim League had been demanding since the beginning of the war But when you come to giving effect to that principle, the whole thing is nullified What was the offer that was made to the Muslim League? It is on record, and it is not a secret The offer made to the Muslim League was We will give you two seats in the Executive Council' That is all. As far as the total strength of the Council is concerned, the reply was, 'I am sorry I cannot tell you' As far as the portfolios are concerned, 'it is within my discretion' As far as the question of any other Party coming in at a later stage is concerned,—the Party that is stabbing you now in the back—and as to what would happen to the Muslim League in that event, 'I am unable to give you any assurance on that point' Now, I ask you, Mr Deputy President, could any decent Party or self-respecting man accept such an offer? It is not really giving any real power and real authority to the Mussalmans and those others who may be willing to come in in the Government at the Centre It is trifling with the whole thing It is only playing with the 90 millions of Mussalmans. Let me tell you that the days are gone when people could be treated like children or could be fooled The Secretary of State stated in his statement that whether the Congress came in or whether they did not, His Excellency the Viceroy will go on with his proposal of the expansion of the Executive Council Why does he not go on with the expansion his Executive Council? I see my Honourable friend, Mr Chapman-Mortimer pointing towards the Muslim League I have just stated—perhaps my friend was not very attentive—that no decent Party could accept the offer in its present form We have never said 'No How could we? Our demand from the very beginning has been that this is the least that we want the British Government to do We do not want them to change the Constitution, we do not want them to frame any new Constitution at this critical moment. We know that there are other and larger issues in which the British Government are involved But there can be only two reasons for the British Government in not going on with their proposal One is that, either you really do not mean to part with power, or that you are still frightened of the Congress and you are afraid to do anything which might displease that mighty organisation There is an impression gaining ground

in this country that the British policy is to placate those who are out to stab them and to let down those who are out to befriend them. They want to co operate with those who do not want to co-operate with them, and they do not want the hand of friendship of those who are ready and willing to extend it to them Let me tell you that if this impression gets hold of the imagination of the people, then you will not have a single friend left in this country

"Mr Deputy President, some Honourable Members suggested, leave the Congress alone, leave the Muslim League alone, leave any other party alone, but go on with the expansion of the Executive Council. I do not know what benefit it would be either to the people of this country or how it would help in the war efforts if some of the political orphans were seated over there If you are not able to get any organised people, then don't you think you should ponder and consider over this matter? There must be 'something rotten in the State of Denmark' unless you believe that the whole 400 millions of people of India have gone mad and they are not really worth bothering about The suggestion was made by my Honourable friend, Sir Frederick James, and I saw in the papers yesterday morning that the princely order is also of the same view, that the Government should go on with the appointment of a War Advisory Council, and have on that Council representatives of the Princes and of the Provincial Governments To my mind, Sir, like the War Committees, this is another flank movement If you have the courage, why not make a frontal attack? Let me tell you that by this device, you will not succeed in either befooling Indians or getting that support which India is ready and willing to give you, but which you are not prepared to accept.

"Mr Deputy President, I have given the reasons as to why the Muslims in this country feel slighted by the treatment of the British Government. To the Government, it seems, the only party all-in-all is the Congress If you cannot get them to come with you,—and I have shown that you will never get them to come with you,—then you do not think it is worth while to bother about other nationalities and other parties in India This is really slighting the 90 millions of Muslims and playing with them We do not know how you administer the departments of the Government We do not know what money is actually required for the defence of India and for fighting this war successfully. We have no share in the power and authority of the Government, and yet you come to us and say, vote so much money blindly and trust to our judgment, and we will see to it and do what

we think fit Sir, let me tell the Government that we, the members of the Muslim League Party, are not prepared to follow blindly like that When the history of the British rule in India comes to be written, the period since the beginning of the war will be a period of suspension, and not of action Let me tell you that in your own interest, and, for God's sake, in the interest of humanity, do not appear as if you are paralysed and do not allow your judgment to be suspended Get on with the job Take the hand of friendship of those who are willing and ready to march forward with you, side by side, as equal partners in a common cause, but not as your camp followers "

REFORMS IN BALUCHISTAN

On March 6 1941, during the discussion on the general budget, Sayyid Ghulam Bhik Nairang moved in the Assembly that the demand under the head 'Executive Council be reduced by Rs 100/ " The purpose of the motion was to discuss the question of reforms for Baluchistan This matter had previously been discussed in 1939 Mr O K Caroe, Secretary, External Affairs Department stated, on behalf of the Government the difficulties in the way of reforms Speaking on the motion Liaquat Ali said

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions Muhammadan Rural) "Mr President, the Honourable the Foreign Secretary has not said anything new to what he had stated on the floor of this Honourable House in 1939, except this, that he has today told us vaguely what educational schemes the Government had in contemplation about which he had promised to tell us in 1939 The argument of the Government against giving reforms to Baluchistan as stated in 1939 and as reiterated today is that the population is so small that it is not possible for the Government to arrange for any constitution that would give freedom to the people of Baluchistan In other words, the Government case would seem to be that because the number of people is small they are not deserving to any effective voice in the administration of the Government which rules over them To my mind, the whole speech of the Honourable Member on behalf of the Government was quibbling with the constitutional position and the Govern-

ment of India Act and so on He knows fully well what the Muslims and the other people of Baluchistan want They want an effective voice, a real share in the administiation of their province What is the use of coming forward and telling us that it is not possible to have a Governor's Province, it is not possible to have a Legislature it is not possible to have highly paid Ministers? Why should the same standard of high salaries and high administrative charges be applied in every case? If the people of a province cannot afford to pay these high charges which are, shall I say, a curse of the present system of Government then they must be satisfied with what they can afford

"Now, Sir, he has told us that the Government have prepared some scheme which is likely to expand education in that province and he gave us figures of expenditure *per capita*, and the total amount that is spent, but he failed to supply the House with the percentage of literates in that province The Government may be spending forty lakhs instead of four for all that we care but what we want to know is what benefit has that money done to the people of the province That could only be judged if the Honourable Member had given us figures as to the percentage of literates in the province of Baluchistan

"Then, Sir, there is another question in connection with this matter of education I would ask the Honourable Member to tell me what percentage of this money is spent on the education of Muslims Hindus, Sikhs and of Christians, because when I ask that question, I have good reason for doing so When I visited Baluchistan last year it was brought to my notice that there were a number of institutions that were specially favoured by the Government and which benefit only a very small percentage of the population of Baluchistan Now, if that is true it is a very sad commentary on the administration of education in the province of Baluchistan

'Sir last time—although the Honourable Member did not repeat it today—when he spoke in 1939, he stated that the public opinion in Baluchistan was not being suppressed it was not being discouraged by the administration of that province and he said that recently a Muslim League Conference was held, where according to his information, the number of people who attended that conference was ten thousand

Mr O K Caroe '25 000, according to the Maulana'

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'May I point out to him that it is in spite of him The credit for that does not go to you. It shows the awakening that has come over the people of Baluchistan and I can say, Mr President,- and whenever I make any statement

I always have proof positive for making that statement,—when I visited Baluchistan last year, I was told by responsible men, men whose integrity could never be called in question, that the administration of Baluchistan was always trying to put hindrances in their way of organising themselves So much so, that the officials,—it may be news to my friend over there, but it is no news to the people of Baluchistan,—the Indian officials of the Government in Baluchistan are afraid of coming near public men in Baluchistan for fear that the Government may sit upon them This is how the Government are encouraging the people of Baluchistan to organise themselves, and to create an awakening amongst the people

"Sir, my Honourable friend, Dr Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmad, has produced a Report here which gives figures showing that the percentage of literacy of the people in Baluchistan is the lowest when compared to the percentage in the whole of India The figures are given in this small book entitled *The Progress of Education in India*, and if any Honourable Member doubts what my Honourable friend, Dr Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmad, has pointed out to me, he can look up this Report Now Sir, what this Resolution demands and what the Resolution of 1939 demanded was, in simple language, that the people of Baluchistan, as human beings, are entitled to be associated with the Government and the administration of that province I do not want to discuss the technical and constitutional problems that the Honourable Member has raised Of course, we all know that when the Government want to do something, an Act can be framed overnight So the difficulties that have been pointed out by the Honourable Member can be got over if the Government had the will to do justice to the people of Baluchistan But to me it seems, Mr President, that the Government are not going to move even a step forward than the position they had taken up sixty years ago The Honourable Member did not say very definitely,—he only dealt with the constitutional problem and the constitutional difficulties that are in his way and in the way of the Government,—he did not tell us definitely whether the Government recognised that the people of Baluchistan should be given a voice, a real voice, in the administration of that province He repeated what he had stated in 1939 that it is impossible to constitute an area which is only as big as *tahsil* of a district into a Governor's province We all know that. But it is not impossible to treat the people living in that area as human beings It is not impossible to give them that freedom, to give them that right in the administration of a province to which they are entitled

"Mr President, my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, blew hot and cold in the same breath. He said he was in sympathy with the Resolution, but he was opposed to give them freedom. . . . "

Mr Lalchand Navalrai "I never said that."

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan · "He said,—don't ask for Provincial Autonomy, because our lot in Sind has been very unhappy. I am very sorry, Sir, that my Honourable friend's lot in Sind should have been so unhappy as to make him deny freedom to people belonging to other provinces "

Mr Lalchand Navalrai "On a point of personal explanation, Sir What the Honourable Member says is not what I said. He is putting words into my mouth which I did not say I dispute it I did not say they should not get reforms, on the contrary I said give them reforms of a kind which would suit them at the present time."

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Sir, I noted down the words of the Honourable Member He said Hindus are feeling that it was a mistake to separate Sind because of the financial difficulty, and because of the experience that we have had there Am I right?"

Mr Lalchand Navalrai "Quite right"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Then, Sir, I do not think I have misinterpreted my Honourable friend so very much that he should have raised such a serious objection I was only paraphrasing his speech "

Mr. Lalchand Navalrai "It is a wrong paraphrase "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "That may be according to him, but it may not be the fault of the one who paraphrases, but it is the fault of the text

"Now, Sir, my Honourable friend stated that all this cry for freedom and for reforms for Baluchistan has come not from the people of Baluchistan but from Honourable Member in this House I hope I am quoting him correctly. I do not know on what authority he made that statement. I have first-hand knowledge that we are doing nothing more than giving true expression to the feelings of the people of Baluchistan."

Mr President (The Honourable Sir 'Abdur Rahim): "The Honourable Member has two minutes more to finish his speech."

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan: "I assure him that the people of Baluchistan are more anxious for their freedom, are more anxious to have a real and effective voice in the administration of their country than my Honourable friend, Mr. Lalchand Navalrai, is with regard to Sind."

THE FEDERATION OF INDIA

On February 18 1943 Pandit Nilakantha Das moved in the Legislative Assembly that 'this Assembly recommends to the Governor General in Council to take immediate steps for implementing Part II (the part relating to Federation) of the Government of India Act 1935 During the discussion, Sir F F James referred to the Muslims' demand for Pakistan He took a favourable view of the Muslim demand and asked that in case they achieved their goal what would be the future relationship of the independent states and also referred to the defence problem Jamnadas M Mehta severely criticised this reference to Pakistan by Sir James Speaking on the resolution, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan said

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan (Rohilkund and Kumaon Divisions Muhammadan Rural) ' Mr Jamnadas Mehta has hauled Sir Frederick James over the coals for having the audacity to mention Pakistan in his hearing I do not think that there was anything irrelevant in the speech of my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James We are considering now as to what is best for the Government of this country The object of moving this Resolution is to provide something which according to Mr Jamnadas Mehta would be a better arrangement for the Government of India Sir Frederick James pointed out that there were the hundred millions of Mussalmans who consider some other proposition as the best *means of governing India* more successfully and happily I must say that Mr Jamnadas Mehta who as a rule is very eloquent, on this occasion did not have his heart while he was supporting the Resolution I feel that he himself is not convinced of either the desirability or the feasibility of the Federal Part of the Government of India Act

Mr Jamnadas M Mehta ' Not as a permanent measure '

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat Ali Khan "He says, let us have this as a temporary measure Why? Because he feels that the Indian Members, all the Members of the Executive Council will be representative of the Members of this Honourable House But may I point out to him that there are other direct ways of achieving that object, more wholesome and happy way of achieving that object than by enforcing this part of the Government of India Act which is dead and buried and that is agreement between the parties in the country Why introduce something which you yourself do not believe in and which the hundred millions of Mussalmans are opposed to? Why create some situation which instead of improving the state of affairs is likely to make things worse than what they are today? Sir, as is well-known to every

Honourable Member of this House and the world at large, the Mussalmans of India will never accept any form of Central Government which will place them at the mercy of the majority community Much has been made by the Honourable Members who have spoken before me, and one interruption was made by Bhai Parma Nand, that this portion of the Government of India Act is what everybody had accepted at the Round Table Conference May I point out to him that Mr Jinnah, who is the leader of the Mussalmans of India today, never accepted the Federal Part of the Act "

Bhai Parma Nand (West Panjab Non-Muhammadan) · "He was nobody then "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My friend, Bhai Parma Nand, says that he was nobody then Then I would like to know who was somebody at this Round Table Conference "

Bhai Parma Nand . "I can mention Sir Zafrullah Khan was there "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Bhai Parma Nand recognises that there were some people who were 'somebodies' in his opinion "

Bhai Parma Nand "Not in my opinion but in the Government s opinion "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "In the few minutes which are at my disposal I do not want to be dragged into this dialogue with my friend, Bhai Parma Nand

"Some very pertinent questions have been asked by Sir F E. James and I feel I must say something in general terms just as he has put the questions in general terms The scheme of Pakistan, as laid down by the Lahore Resolution of the All-India Muslim League proposes the partition of India into two or three or four independent and sovereign States The meaning is quite clear They are to be independent and sovereign in every respect I quite agree with him that the tendency at present in the world is for co-operation between the various independent States of the world Surely our differences with our Hindu friends are not greater than the differences between the other nations of the world Therefore, there is no reason why these sovereign and independent States are not to be friendly to each other and work as good neighbours and as good friends and if ultimately they decide to have some sort of co-operative body for certain purposes, who am I or anybody else to stop them from doing so That opportunity can only arise when there are established completely independent States It would be for the independent States themselves to decide as to what method and machinery, if any, they would like to have for

any matters that may be of common concern to them I need not go into the scheme of Pakistan because it is well known I have not got the time at my disposal to place the reasons before the House as to why we want Pakistan It is recognised that the Mussalmans have got very cogent and very good reasons for making that demand but I find from the speech of my Honourable friend, Sir F E James, that he is worried about the defence of the country He feels that if there are more than one State in India, the defence of the country as a whole will be weakened I hope and believe that after the war, the United Nations and such other nations that believe in the future of humanity would, devise some method, some means by which the defence of a country would not assume such an important position as it does today I believe that if the world is to progress, if humanity is to survive, this repetition of man-slaughter every twenty years must be stopped, and if the United Nations are fighting this war only to defeat the present aggression and not to make any future aggression impossible, then I would say that all these precious lives that are being lost are being sacrificed in vain I have no doubt in my mind that India, as a whole—by India as a whole I mean the free and independent States of India—will not desire to exploit any other country They will be satisfied with what resources India provides them and I hope, as I have stated just now, that the United Nations who are acting together today will act together in the future for the safety of humanity and civilisation and therefore, to me the question of defence does not seem to be such a problem that we should forget everything else, and even if the United Nations fail in their mission regarding the future, the interest of the two States of Pakistan and Hindustan would bring them together to defend their territories against any foreign aggression, because if one is gone you may rest assured the other will not survive for long whether it be Pakistan or whether it be Hindustan Therefore, Sir, I have no doubt in my mind that once these two great nations inhabiting this subcontinent feel or are made to feel that they have a real stake in the country, they will see that no outsider can enter the borders of India

"Sir, the conception of Pakistan is complete freedom for the two major communities or nationalities or whatever you may like to call them the Hindus and the Mussalmans, to live their own lives, to develop their own culture and to follow their own ideals We are convinced that any scheme which would force one nation or one nationality to live under the other is bound to fail And this Federal scheme which is proposed to be enforced under this Resolution would mean the domination of Hindus over everybody else, and a situation like that, I assure

you Mr. President, will create more trouble in the country than anything else has ever done or is likely to do I am glad my Honourable friend Sir Frederick James, has referred to that portion of the Resolution which guarantees everything that any civilised government can guarantee to its minorities in the zones that are popularly known as Pakistan We do believe and firmly believe that unless a Government can satisfy its minorities, it has no right to be called a civilised Government In its own interests it must keep them satisfied because now-a-days we have found what havoc fifth columnists can play in a time of crisis Therefore, those who believe or think that that part of the Resolution is only a pious wish are greatly mistaken We know, everybody knows, that even now under the present defective scheme that is being worked in all these provinces, in those provinces where the Mussalmans are in a majority, the minorities have been treated fairly and justly. Sir, our religion, our culture, our ideals all teach us that we must treat those who are dependent upon us—and the minorities are dependent upon the majority for their safety and their rights—not only with justice but with magnanimity I was saying that this Resolution is a means to get something which the Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha have not succeeded in getting by means of various methods that they have adopted outside this House This Resolution is meant for the purpose of imposing the domination of the Hindus over the Mussalmans and everybody else "

Mr Jamnadas M Mehta "Can't you trust them ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My friend says, 'Can t you trust them ' I did try to trust them and this is the result If Pakistan has not been so popularly known before 1940, it is due to the fact that I tried to trust them and I did my utmost to trust them and to work with them We have been forced by the treatment which was meted out to the Mussalmans in those provinces where the Hindus were in the majority to adopt this scheme '

Mr Jamnadas M Mehta "Why should we trust you now ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend says, Why should we trust you ? Well, he is trusting us We are ruling in those provinces where we are in the majority and I have said just now that the minorities there have no just cause for any grievance '

Mr Jamnadas M Mehta "Little do you know, '

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'My friend, Mr Jamnadas Mehta says 'Little do I know'. In that case, he strengthens my argument for the partition of India.'

-Mr Jamnadas M Mehta "You are always stronger you do not realise"

Mr President (The Honourable Sir 'Abdur Rahim) "Order, order The Honourable Member had his speech'

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I was saying, Sir, that we are opposed not only to this scheme of Federation but to any scheme of Federation of any kind which is for the establishment of one Central Government for the whole of India and which would mean the domination of one community over everybody else I would request the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that if they try to enforce this scheme in this country under some pressure or other, they will be making the greatest mistake The only solution is Pakistan Let the Hindus be free and independent and happy in their homeland and let us be free and independent and happy in our homelands

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PANJAB PREMIER AND THE SIKANDAR-JINNAH PACT

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, in a statement issued from Srinagar on July 10 1944 condemned Malik Khizr Hayat Khan's statement regarding Sikandar Jinnah Pact

"The Hon'ble Malik Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana has issued a statement to the press wherein he makes a proposal that the dispute regarding the so-called Sikandar-Jinnah Pact should be referred to a Muslim Judge of the Federal Court for arbitration This is another deliberate attempt on the part of Malik Sahib to make the confusion created by him worse confounded with regard to the issues which are clear and which even a man with the meanest intelligence can find no difficulty in understanding

'Malik Sahib had issued a lengthy statement to the press on the 28th of April, wherein he had made certain declarations and assertions and had taken up a stand which was fundamentally opposed to the policy and programme of the All-India Muslim League and contravened its constitution and rules, apart from the question whether the so-called Sikandar-Jinnah Pact existed or of its interpretation

The Committee of Action, after carefully examining the statement of Malik Sahib, issued a notice to him to offer any explanation

which he might have in his defence before disciplinary action was taken against him for violating the constitution and rules of the All-India Muslim League and defying its policy and programme, and that was the only issue before the Committee

"The Committee gave Malik Sahib every possible facility and opportunity to explain his conduct which *prima facie* was highly detrimental to the fundamental principles of the Muslim League organisation, but he always evaded and tried to sidetrack the real issues by introducing the question of the existence of the so-called pact

"After the Committee gave its decision on the real merits of the issue whether as a member of the Muslim League Malik Sahib had committed a serious breach of discipline, having defied the constitution and the policy of the Muslim League he came out with a long and untruthful statement casting unworthy aspersions on the honesty and integrity of the President of the All-India Muslim League and the members of the Committee of Action and now even the Council of the All-India Muslim League is not regarded by him as trustworthy, although a right of appeal to the Council from the decision of the Committee of Action is provided in the constitution itself.

"Malik Sahib says that 'the President of the All-India Muslim League having publicly repudiated the existence of the Jinnah-Sikandar Pact which is the basis of my membership of the Muslim League, the question of my appealing to the League Council does not arise' Malik Sahib therefore has in advance condemned the Council of the All-India Muslim League and has declared that he has no confidence in the independence, impartiality and honesty of the 675 elected representatives of the Muslim Nation from all over the country who constitute the Council of the All-India Muslim League, and consequently proposes that the dispute regarding the interpretation of the so-called Jinnah-Sikandar Pact should be referred to a Muslim Judge of the Federal Court for arbitration

"The procedure suggested by Malik Sahib is unheard of in the history of any political organisation and is the height of travesty, and how could the Muslim League agree to such a proposal and accept Malik Sahib's insinuation that even the highest authority of the All-India Muslim League, i.e. the Council, is not to be trusted to take an independent and judicious view of any matter concerning the organisation itself and its members and do justice

"Malik Sahib should give up this game of casting aspersions all round as it will not pay him He has chosen to betray the Muslim

Nation, let him like a man face the consequences of his action

"Malik Sahib in his statement makes a request to me to give a correct and complete version of what Mr Jinnah had told him on the telephone Simply Malik Sahib should know what was said on the telephone He had attributed certain remarks to Mr Jinnah in his previous statement which were untrue and I had said so in my statement

"If there was something more why did not Malik Sahib disclose it in his own statement ? And even now it is open to him to publicly state it if it could help him, although as the time passes Malik Sahib should not put too much reliance on his memory. All that I can say is that there was nothing in what Mr Jinnah had said on the telephone to which an exception could be taken."

'PAKISTAN THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE REAL FREEDOM'

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan, interviewed on January 23 1945 in Bengalore about the reported efforts being made for the re constitution of the Viceroy's Executive Council, said

"The policy of the Muslim League with regard to this matter was laid down as far back as in 1940, when Lord Linlithgow, then Viceroy, made an offer to take in his Executive Council the representatives of the Muslim League

"Muslim League is always prepared to accept responsibility and power in the central Government as an interim arrangement under the Government of India Act 1935 on the condition that if the Congress comes in, the number of Muslims—all of whom must be the nominees of the Muslim League, as it is the only representative and authoritative organisation of the Muslims—and the Hindus in the Council should be equal and if the Congress remains out, the Muslims should be in a majority But the British Government has not so far accepted the hand of co-operation extended by the Muslim League

"The so-called deadlock is the creation of the British Government and the Congress, and the League has absolutely no responsibility for it If any proposal is made by the Viceroy I have no doubt that the Muslim League will give due consideration to it.

"With regard to the provinces the Muslim League has shown by actual practice what its policy is Whenever a Muslim League ministry is formed in any province the leader of the Muslim League party always invited the Hindu members and other accepted minorities to nominate their own representative to the Cabinet

"Muslim League always stood for honourable co-operation with others It would resist with all its might any constitution which was not based on Pakistan—the only solution of the Indian problem and the only way by which India could achieve real freedom"

MUSLIMS AS ANXIOUS FOR INDEPENDENCE AS HINDUS

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in the course of a speech on February 1, 1945, in reply to a number of addresses presented by the Bezwada Municipality, the Muslim Students Federation and other organisations, said

"Whenever there is a chance of Hindu-Muslim settlement, they (the British) try to undo it We say, England, Your slogan of the geographical unity of India will not be able to dupe us, particularly the Muslims

"We are asked how Muslims in a minority province will be benefited by the establishment of Pakistan I may ask, how will it help them here if they are to remain under one Central Government where Muslims as a whole will be in a perpetual minority—which means Hindu domination over India for all time to come? Further, the demand for Pakistan presupposes that the rights and interests of Muslims as well as of Hindus will be safeguarded Again we are being asked, why should not there be a single State with adequate safeguards and representation for Muslims? But in that case Muslims will always be dominated by Hindus throughout India, which position they will not accept Behind our demand we will create necessary sanctions and strength

"I challenge that India cannot be made independent unless Muslims are made independent India is as much a place for Muslims as it is for others It is my country and I am as anxious for its freedom as anybody else But let me also share the fruit along with Hindus."

Regarding the remarks of Dr Shyama Prasad Mukerjee that Islam had been spread in India through the sword, the Nawabzada said, "Had this been a fact there would have been no Dr. Mukerjee today and in that eventuality the problem of Pakistan would not have arisen at all On the other hand it is a historical fact that Muslim rulers were more tolerant than Hindu rulers They appointed Hindu Ministers in their States, they chose them as generals for their armies and they took them as their advisers

'As regards the British cry for geographical unity of India we shall ask them why they are fighting against Nazi Germany, who after all wanted the unification of Europe under her own domination India had never been one single unity and at present it is so because of administrative convenience We cannot achieve unity unless Hindus and Muslims unite and they cannot unite except on the basis of Pakistan '

'HINDUS AND MUSLIMS DIFFER FROM CRADLE TO GRAVE'

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressing a huge gathering of Muslims in the Sikandarabad Jami a Masjid Hyderabad on February 3 1945, said

"Muslims will not make sacrifices for the freedom of country unless they are satisfied that they will get equal opportunity to rule the country Pakistan alone can give us such opportunity The aim of Lord Wavell's slogan about the geographical unity of India is nothing but the perpetuation of British rule over us It is not that the British have any love for the Hindus and that Lord Wavell wants Mr. Savarker to be enthroned as emperor of India but it is their interest to keep the country as one unit If this system of one unit is really useful why do they break the unity of Europe achieved under Hitler and why do they want to give freedom to every nation of Europe to choose its own form of Government It is time for Hindus to realise that they cannot get anything from the British Their efforts to wrest something from British hands by ignoring Muslims miserably failed in 1942 "

Tracing the history of Muslim rule in India, the Nawabzada said that the Hindus were given most responsible posts in the Government which had not been given to them by the British during their rule of the last

200 years Citing the example of the Hyderabad State, he pointed out, how Hindu and Muslim students were given the same facilities in the Osmania University In no Hindu State were Muslims treated on the basis of equality with the Hindus

Explaining the two-nation theory, he said "From the cradle to the grave the life of the Hindu and the Muslim differs in every respect Even after death one's body is burnt and the other's buried The concept of life after death, as well, is different It is impossible to reconcile these too irreconcilables Efforts made in the past by leaders of both the communities failed "

He pointed out how the Congress always tried to break the solidarity of Muslims "In 1937 it used the weapon of Mass Contract and today has invented the weapon of constructive programme But I assure Gandhiji it would further embitter Hindu-Muslim feelings and thus prove destructive rather than constructive The Muslim League has come to stay as the only political body of Muslims At no time in the past were Muslims of India so well organised "

'CONGRESS ATTITUDE MOST UNREASONABLE'

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, gave the following interview to the Associated Press on July 3, 1945

Q "Now that both the Congress and the Muslim League have once again made their viewpoints clear, do you feel there is still a possibility of compromise on the question of the nomination of Muslim Members?"

A "On the question of the nomination of Muslim Members of the proposed Executive Council the position of the Muslim League has been made abundantly clear by Mr Jinnah in his press conference and it has been shown that the demand of the Congress for a share in the Muslim quota is most unreasonable and has no justification whatsoever

'It would be illuminating to read Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's summing up of the position of the so-called Nationalist Muslims in his autobiography He has written

'There came a time when they [Nationalist Muslims] had nothing left to call their own, no fundamental principle on which they

stood except one and that had been the very sheet anchor of their group, joint electorates But again the policy of the lesser evil presented the fatal choice to them and they emerged from the ordeal minus that sheet anchor So today they stand divested of every shred of principle or practice on the basis of which they formed their group and which they proudly hailed to their mast head of—everything except their name

'The collapse and elimination of the Nationalist Muslims as a group —as individuals they are of course still important Leaders of the Congress—forms pitiful story It took many years and the last chapter has only been written this year (1934)

"This was the position of the so called Nationalist Muslims in 1934 Today in the year of grace 1945, they have absolutely no position and are completely wiped off except a few individuals who are in the Congress for reasons of their own "

Q "What the attitude of the Muslim League is likely to be in case the personnel of the Muslim bloc in the Executive Council is not confined by the Viceroy to the Muslim League nominees ?'

A "Mr Jinnah has already given the indication on this point in his press conference and I do not think there is any need for me to say anything further "

STATEMENT ON 'DESAI-LIAQUAT PACT'

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan General Secretary of the All India Muslim League, in a statement on September 1, 1945 explained the genesis of the so called Desai Liaquat Pact and published the text[1] of the proposals which Mr Desai gave to him in confidence in the course of his talk previous year

"I am informed that Mr Bhulabhai Desai, Leader of the Congress Party in the Central Legislative Assembly has told the local pressmen of Bombay that the so-called Desai-Liaquat Pact cannot be published

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1 The following is the text of Desai Liaquat Pact —

The Congress and the League agree that they will join in forming an interim Government at the Centre The composition of such Government will be on the following lines

(a) Equal number of persons nominated by the Congress and the League. Persons nominated need not be members of the Central Legislature.

as I desired that it should remain confidential As such a statement by Mr Desai is bound to create misunderstanding I feel I must place all the facts before the public in this connection

"Mr Desai met me after the last autumn session of the Central Legislative Assembly and we informally discussed the prevailing distressing conditions in the country, economic and otherwise, and the terrible hardships and the plight of the people owing to the situation that was created on account of the war

"The war in Europe was raging in its full fury and there was no indication as to when it would end, and it was the opinion of everyone that it would take at least two years after the termination of hostilities in Europe to bring the war to a successful conclusion against Japan India was to be the main base of the Allies for military operations in the East against Japan, which meant greater sacrifices by the people of India and much greater hardships and privations than what they had been facing in the past It was recognised all round that the Government of India, with its present composition, was incapable of dealing effectively with the various problems which had arisen and were bound to arise in future

"Mr Desai, during the course of the conversations, asked me about the attitude of the Muslim League with regard to some interim arrange-

(b) Representatives of minorities (in particular the Scheduled Castes and the Sikhs)

(c) The Commander in-Chief

' The Government will be formed and [will] function within the framework of the existing Government of India Act It is however, understood that if the Cabinet cannot get a particular measure passed by the Legislative Assembly, they will not enforce the same by resort to any of the reserve powers of the Governor General or the Viceroy This will make them sufficiently independent of the Governor General

It is agreed between the Congress and the League that if such interim Government is formed, their first step would be to release the Working Committee members of the Congress

"The steps by which efforts would be made to achieve this end are at present indicated to take the following course

'On the basis of the above understanding some way should be found to get the Governor General to make a proposal or a suggestion that he desires an interim Government to be formed in the Centre on the agreement between the Congress and the League and when the Governor-General invites Mr Jinnah and Mr Desai either jointly or separately the above proposals would be made declaring that they are prepared to join in forming the Government

"The next step would be to get the withdrawal of section 93 in the provinces and to form as soon as possible Provincial Governments on the lines of coalition "

ment at the Centre and temporary re-constitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council in a manner which would secure for it the confidence of the people so that it might be able to help them in their present plight and deal more effectively than what had been done in the past with the serious situation that was bound to arise in future on account of the prolongation of the war

"I explained to him the position in the light of the resolutions that were passed from time to time by the Muslim League in this connection and told him, my personal view was that if any proposals were made to ease the situation, the Muslim League was bound to give its very careful consideration to them as it had always done in the past, because the Muslim League had always been anxious to come to the rescue of the people and assist them in their sad plight and help the country in riding over the difficult period ahead

"Mr Desai saw me again in Delhi in the beginning of January this year just as I was leaving on a tour of the Madras Presidency and he showed me some proposals which he had drafted for the formation of of an interim Government at the Centre, a copy of which he was good enough to give me and which was to be treated as strictly private and confidental, and on the basis of which he told me he was going to make an effort to bring about a change in the composition of the Government of India

'He told me his plan was to meet the Viceroy and Mr Jinnah in this connection

"I told him that in my personal opinion the proposals were such that they could be made a basis for discussion but I did not see any prospect of his making any headway unless he could either get Mr Gandhi to move in the matter personally or get his definite approval and open support for the move that he was making as Mr Gandhi was the only person who could deliver the goods on behalf of the Congress in the absence of the Working Committee

'During my talks with Mr Desai which were purely of a personal nature, I made it absolutely clear to him that whatever I had said was my individual view and I was not speaking either on behalf of the Muslim League or anyone else if and when Mr Desai felt that he could speak with authority on behalf of the Congress he would have to approach the President of the All-India Muslim League who was the proper authority to entertain any proposals on behalf of the Muslim League

"This is the history of these proposals which have been described in the press by various names such as the Desai-Liaquat Formula

Desai-Liaquat Pact and so on I have scrupulously respected the wishes of Mr Desai and have treated the draft proposals as strictly private and confidential and have not shown them to anyone, but in view of the statement of Mr Desai and the confusion that is being created I feel that the proposals should be published and hence I am releasing them to the press "

STATEMENT ON 'DESAI-LIAQUAT PACT

Clarifying the misunderstanding created and misrepresentations circulated in regard to the so-called Desai Liaquat Pact Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a statement on September 10 1945 said

"It has taken Mr Bhulabhai Desai fifteen days for his attention to be drawn to my press statement, which was published on the 1st September regarding the 'proposals for the formation of an interim Government at the Centre', and that also after his attendance at the meetings of the Congress Working Committee at Poona where he had been specially summoned It is not very pleasant to enter into a controversy publicly with regard to purely private and personal talks, but as there are certain inexactitudes in the statement of Mr. Desai I am constrained to answer him

"Mr Desai always had the liberty to publish the proposals if he so wished, but he could not expect me to agree to their being published as 'pact between him and myself In his anxiety to show that these proposals were in fact a 'pact, he states that he had prepared two copies of the document and both the documents were initialled by both of us This is not so Mr Desai initialled one copy and handed it to me and took my initial on the other The copy that I have with me bears only Mr Desai's initial and is not initialled by both of us as stated by him It seemed rather unnecessary at the time to be so formal about it, but in the light of what has happened subsequently I am glad that it was so

"Mr. Desai states that in my statement I have not explained why I denied publicly the existence of a pact between him and myself The explanation is very simple because it was incorrect to say that there was a 'pact' and that mere proposals which were only basis for discussion

were being given the status of a 'pact' for reasons best known to him

"The same afternoon as Mr Desai had brought the typed copies of the proposals to me I left on a tour of Madras and when I arrived there, press reports were shown to me that a 'pact' had been arrived at between Mr. Desai and myself

"I immediately contradicted the report Mr Desai neither contradicted my statement in the Press nor did he ever tell me privately that what I had stated was incorrect

"In the course of the debate on the Finance Bill during the last session of the Central Legislative Assembly a reference was made by a member of the Government to the reported existence of a pact between Mr Desai and myself I denied this on the floor of the House and in the presence of Mr Desai in very clear and unambiguous terms Mr Desai who spoke after me in the Assembly, did not utter a word about it

The reason that Mr Desai has now given for his remaining silent is that he still clung to the hope of finding a satisfactory solution of our immediate problems' in other words, he depended on the existence of the so-called 'pact' for finding a satisfactory solution But how could it be of any help when one of the parties was openly and publicly denying it is difficult to understand The real reason for Mr Desai's remaining silent was that he knew that there was no such thing as a pact' and he did not even privately tell me that I was wrong in my interpretation of the position with regard to these proposals

"I am afraid Mr Desai's memory has not served him well when he says that he gathered from conversations that he had had with me that I had consulted Mr Jinnah about the proposals I never gave him that impression On the contrary, on every occasion that Mr Desai had talks with me I made it plain to him that whatever I said was my personal view and that I had had no occasion to consult Mr Jinnah about the matter

'Mr Desai quotes a paragraph from the proposals and concludes that as Mr Jinnah's name appears in it, therefore, he must have been consulted about these proposals This is strange logic indeed It would mean that if a person's or a party's name is mentioned in the text of some proposals, the pre-consent of that person or party to such proposals must be presumed

'If that were so, would Mr Desai be pleased to state who had given him the authority to negotiate on behalf of the Congress and come to an agreement with the Muslim League and arrive at a settlement with the British Government on the basis of terms which were opposed to the declared policy of the Congress and its considered decision,

because the Congress is definitely mentioned as a party to these proposals? Had Mr Desai, who had told Mr Jinnah in September 1944 that he had no representative capacity and has repeatedly stated that it is only the Congress Working Committee that can speak on behalf of the Congress, been clothed with authority to negotiate and settle on behalf of the Congress? Or had the members of the Working Committee of the Congress, who were detained in Ahmednagar Fort, given him the necessary authority when he visited that place on purely professional business? Answers to these questions, I think, will be illuminating and of real interest to the public at large"

ADDRESS TO ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing the students of the 'Aligarh Muslim University on September 24 1945 said

"I ask you and all Muslim students in India to come out of their schools and colleges to help the Muslim League in the coming general elections If this University can render such magnificent services in the war for the freedom of other countries, what services can it not render for the freedom of their own nation and of their own country? You are, as the Quaid-i-A'zam has said, an arsenal of Muslim India and any big move for achieving or wresting freedom must emanate from this University

"I want you to realise that the forthcoming elections are a matter of life and death to the Mussalmans I want the Muslim students not only of this University but Muslim students throughout India to play their part boldly and honourably in an issue the result of which will either bring emancipation or perpetual domination of others

"I have already said that students should not take an active part in politics at the sacrifice of their studies, but there comes a time in the life of a nation for liberating it from foreign yoke Did not the students of Europe, the cream of Europe, suspend their studies and go to face bullets? Did they ever ponder over the question as to whether they should obtain their degrees or defend their homeland and its freedom?

"This is only the beginning of the struggle The time may come when the supreme sacrifice might be necessary to obtain the freedom

of the nation What good will degrees be to you if the future is dark and gloomy? No sacrifice is too great at this moment I don't ask but demand of you to come forward and help us in the elections There is no doubt that God willing, we shall succeed We must win and *Insh Allah* we shall win "

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS—ALL-INDIA MUSLIM EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE, DECEMBER, 1945

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan, Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, delivered his presidential address of the All India Muslim Educational Conference on December 26 1945 at Agra After surveying the Muslim educational efforts during the last fifty years and critically examining the various educational schemes of educational planning specially in so far as they affected the Muslims, the Nawabzada made concrete and valuable suggestions for the solution of these problems He said

"It is always a matter of pleasure and privilege for any one to be called upon to preside over the deliberations of this Conference which has had such a long and distinguished history On this occasion, however, I have more than one reason to express my deep and sincere gratitude to you for the honour you have conferred upon me Firstly, in electing me to preside over this session you have adopted a new line and demonstrated your appreciation of the truth that there exists a living link between politics in the higher sense and education Secondly, it is not so much an honour to me personally as a recognition on your part of the position and services of the great national organisation, the All-India Muslim League, of which I have the honour to be a humble worker Thirdly, it betokens your desire to bring the Conference into closer touch with the new trends and impulses in Muslim national life and promote fruitful co operation between the two organisations which really represent two aspects of the same movement—the movement of Islamic renaissance in this subcontinent You have had great educationists and renowned men as your presidents in the past I do not lay claim to any such distinction but as one who has been working for the Muslim nation according to the best of his lights I am, indeed, very grateful for the opportunity you have given me to place before

you the longings, aspirations and needs which stir the Mussalmans today and also, if I may, some suggestions as to how those could be met

"This Conference was the first collective effort on the part of Mussalmans to rehabilitate their scattered forces and energies and reorganise and reassert themselves as a social and cultural unit after the dissolution of Muslim Power in this land I would not like to tire your patience by recounting all the circumstances which led the late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan to establish this Conference, for they are well-known to you Suffice it to say, that in the special and complex circumstances of the latter half of the nineteenth century the great sage, Sir Syed, through his rare foresight and vision correctly grasped the realities of the situation and took the right step to stem the tide of the fast declining fortunes of the Mussalmans and put them on the right track to adapt themselves to new conditions and make use of the opportunities and possibilities under the new dispensation without deviating one jot from the fundamentals of their faith, Islam Dislodged from the position of a ruling power and having suffered untold miseries and tribulations, the Muslims' sense of pride and grievance created a deep psychological barrier between them and the new ruling power There was a natural unwillingness on their part to reconcile themselves to the changed environment They were between the devil and the deep sea On the one hand, they were suspected and discouraged by the British as potential rebels, on the other, they had to contend with the sister community which, under the impetus and encouragement given by the British, was fast developing aggressive ambitions and tendencies To cap all, the Muslims suffered from their own prejudices and bigotry fostered and kept by the obscurantist and selfish elements in their society

"Sir Syed Ahmad Khan realised that at that juncture the only sound policy was to rouse the Muslims from their torpor and urge them first of all to go in for modern education, shedding aside all prejudices and superstitions and to avoid for the time being active participation in politics It is easy today to criticise that policy, but if we view the matter in its historical perspective and consider the later developments, we cannot but feel convinced that the attitude which Sir Syed then adopted was the only sensible and practical course in the circumstances No fairer appraisal of Sir Syed's policy and movement has ever been made than the observations of late Maulana Muhammad 'Ali on this matter in his Presidential Address to the Cocanada Congress. This is what he said .

'He realised to the full that nothing would suit the temper of the Muslims of his day better than the vocation of critics of their British supplanters in the governance of India, and he also realised that such a pursuit would be as dangerous to the continuance and progress of a peaceful political movement like the Congress as it was easy'

This was the first argument that impelled Syed Ahmad Khan to keep his community under restraint in politics The second argument was no less potent The Muslims must educate themselves if they desired the uplift of their community and yet it was no easy task to reconcile Muslims to Western education even in an institution of their own which unlike Government colleges and schools would not divorce religious from secular learning The easy pursuit of a policy in which the Muslims could act as destructive critics of the hated infidel Government was sure to offer superior attractions to the dull and drab constructive programme of the educationalist and he, therefore set himself to oppose all diversions of Muslim activities into the more attractive, but for the time being less useful, political channel Reviewing the actions of a bygone generation today when it is easier to be wise after the event, I must confess I still think the attitude of Syed Ahmad Khan was eminently wise and such as I wish that some thing which he had said should have been left unsaid, I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Muslims, nor of India as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Muslims

'Be it remembered that the man who enunciated this policy was not at the time a *persona grata* to the major portion of the community which he sought to lead He was hated as a heretic because of the heterodoxy of his aggressive rationalism in interpreting the Holy Qur'an and his militant opposition to popular superstitions believed in by the bulk of the orthodox and to shackling customs consecrated by time, though wholly unauthorised by Islam He was abused and vilified by hundreds of thousands of his co-religionists, and for long the college that he had founded at 'Aligarh was the *bete noire* of the pious Muslim And yet the entire community followed his political lead without a murmur Neither fallacious arguments nor even political clap trap could have possessed such potency and it is my firm belief that his advocacy succeeded mainly because of the soundness of the policy advocated

'Thus it will be clear that the Muslims as a whole accepted the lead given by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan and concentrated on educational

progress during his lifetime They had a tremendous leeway to make up The late M A O College, which has now developed into a modern, flourishing University, was the first successful attempt made by Sir Syed to initiate the Muslims into modern educational progress and to bring about a synthesis between the Western learning and science and the culture of the East But one college, however well-equipped and well-managed, could not meet the needs of the whole community, nor was Sir Syed's aim confined to the establishment of a single institution He was really the sponsor of a broad movement known as the 'Aligarh movement, whose object was to bring about a social and cultural regeneration of the Mussalmans in keeping with the essential spirit and tenets of their Faith and the requirements of a changing world He therefore, founded the All-India Muslim Educational Conference which was intended to focus the attention and endeavour of the Mussalmans on problems of educational and social reconstruction Today, looking at the history of the Conference in retrospect, we cannot but admit that the Conference fulfilled a very important role in the national life of the Mussalmans in carrying the message of enlightenment and culture to the Muslims in the remotest corner of India and rousing them to the need of standing on their own feet, of establishing their own educational institutions and of taking their share in government institutions During the first twenty years of its existence, there is no doubt, that the Conference served as the only form for all the thinking Muslims, who wanted to promote the welfare and uplift of their people But the Muslims could not for long remain confined to activities for social reform and educational progress Conditions were quickly changing With the advance in education, political consciousness was dawning on the minds of the intelligentsia of the Muslims The sister community was agitating for political rights and the manner in which the agitation was carried on left no doubt that the Muslims would be the losers if they did not bestir themselves on the political plane The British Government itself showed willingness to associate Indians with the administration and offer political concessions though of meagre value The Muslims had always been conscious of their separate identity, not only religious, social and cultural but also political, for Islam is not a mere religion, a private matter between the individual and his God as it is understood to be in the West, Islam is an all-embracing faith, a complete philosophy and code of life, a state-concept, a polity, a social order, a culture and an outlook on life On the basis of deep historical, racial, linguistic, cultural, religious, social, economic,

psychological and temperamental differences which divide them from other peoples, always felt themselves to be a separate social and political entity with a destiny of their own They have never, of course, been averse to co-operating with others on equitable terms, but they have naturally been concerned to safeguard their civil, religious, social and political rights and to see that in any new dispensation conferring power and privileges they obtained their due share It is indeed remarkable that even at a time when the politics of India was in a very nebulous stage and self-government was not considered to be within the pale of practical politics, the Late Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, with his unerring insight, had sounded a serious note of warning that the parliamentary institutions of the British variety, based as they were on the concept of a homogeneous country and nation, were totally unsuited to a heterogeneous country like India He also upheld the idea of the separate nationhood of the Mussalmans and, though he yielded to none in his desire of friendly and neighbourly relations between the Hindus and the Mussalmans, he was quick to see the danger of any policy which implied the merger of Muslims in Hindu Nationalism and he warned his co-religionists accordingly All these factors and the new consciousness created by the All-India Muslim Educational Conference led the Mussalmans to realise that their case would certainly be prejudiced and their position seriously imperilled, if they lost any further time to organise themselves on the political plane It was on the occasion of the sessions of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference at Dacca in 1906 that the foundations of the All-India Muslim League were laid and prominent among the sponsors of the new body were men who were the leaders of the 'Aligarh movement or the products of the M A O College Thus we can fairly say that the All-India Muslim League was in a sense the off-spring of the movement generated by the All India Muslim Educational Conference When such close is the relation between the origin and development of the two bodies, you can well imagine what a great pleasure it gives me to help you in your deliberations

Foreign rule is always a cramping force, but, as I hinted above, it has been doubly so in the case of the Mussalmans in this land The Mussalmans started late and that too with certain initial disadvantages and handicaps imposed on them by the iniquitous policy of an unsympathetic government and the aggressive designs of majority community actuated by the ambition of domination With their fortunes wrecked, their economic position crippled, their social and cultural life enervated

and with poor equipment to meet the onslaught of new forces and the demands of a new age, the Muslims had to battle hard to keep a place for themselves in the educational and cultural life of the country Their problem was not merely to secure adequate opportunities for their youth to receive education, but also to see that their youths were brought up under conditions which would give them a good grounding in the tenets of their faith and the history and culture of their nation Institutions maintained by government or run by other communities did not provide such conditions and therefore, failed to attract large number of Muslim students Financial stringency prevented the Muslims for a long time from opening an adequate number of institutions under their own management The policy of the government throughout has been such as to make the rich richer and educated more educated The duty of a civilised government is to afford greater facilities to educationally backward classes and to pay greater attention to their needs and sentiments I will not go into the whole history of the difficulties they had to encounter and the struggle they had to wage in the field of education The separate schools and colleges established by Muslims have justified their existence Though they had perforce to follow a curriculum which by no means corresponded with their national and cultural ideal yet they at least succeeded in producing a considerable number of educated Muslims, who retained something of the sense of pride in the Muslim national heritage so essential for the preservation of their distinct national individuality and who could strive to obtain a share for Muslims in the new life opening out before the peoples of India I do not say that these institutions have achieved anything big from the standpoint of high ideals of our faith and national heritage In the nature of things they could not But in principle their establishment was right and today their need is greater than ever before We have fully awakened to the consciousness of our distinct cultural, social and national individuality We are not prepared to sacrifice it for any consideration whatsoever It is not an attitude of exclusivism or narrow-mindedness Our whole history proclaims that, given full freedom and opportunity to build our life according to our own genius and faith, we are capable of making the most valuable contribution to world progress and civilisation and rendering selfless services for the betterment of our neighbours and of those who may be committed to our care Today we labour under acute difficulties We do not receive adequate assistance from Government to improve and expand our existing institutions and to open new ones to meet new demands.

The doors of government institutions, especially those concerned with scientific, medical, technical, industrial and commercial education, are practically barred against us The representation of Muslims on the teaching and administrative staff and the governing bodies of government institutions is almost nil Every attempt of Muslims to secure a share in government institutions is defeated on the false plea of merit and efficiency On the one hand Muslims are given no opportunity to qualify themselves in higher education and specially in scientific and technical training, and on the other their demand for a share and representation is turned down on the plea that suitably qualified personnel is not available, and the vicious circle continues This is one aspect of the problem The other and the more important aspect is that the Muslims, consistently with their stand of separate nationhood and distinct cultural and social identity, have to make their own plans of education and to insist on freedom to carry through those plans in their institutions and further, they have to see that in government institutions they not only obtain their due share but also nothing is done to obliterate their culture and ideology or to de-Muslimise the young Muslim mind This is how education in India cannot be divorced from politics In fact complete estrangement between education and politics in any circumstance is unnatural and unhealthy The highest purpose of knowledge is to be a good citizen Man is really a 'political animal' There is not and there should not be any inconsistency and antagonism between education and politics I do not use the word 'politics' in any narrow sense Politics in its truer and larger sense means the shaping of the life of man according to certain broad and high moral principles and social laws and the adjustment of relations of the individual and the society Education is the means of preparation for the attainment of higher ends laid down by the political consciousness of man Knowledge for the sake of knowledge is an outmoded theory Such soulless doctrines arrest progress and throw nations into decay It is only when the higher self of man or a nation awakens and asserts itself that learning, literature, art, poetry and all other accomplishments catch the spark of vitality and the way to advancement and progress is thrown open Political organisation is but a manifestation of this higher self, this urge of moving forward. Politics and education being so vitally and closely linked, there is no wonder that every modern state has recognised its duty towards its people in the matter of education by establishing ministries and departments of education which control and direct educational policy and activity The control of educational policy does not mean the

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turning out of blind automatons, who have learned certain dogmas and theories parrot-fashion and whose talents and energies have been regimented to fit into some mechanical patterns to serve anybody's ulterior objects, it rather means an attempt to evoke and galvanise the energies and faculties latent in man and to discipline his intellect and impulses towards a known higher end Education is really an attempt to cultivate and harmonise the physical and intellectual faculties with a view to preparing him to contribute to the improvement of his cultural heritage and to grappel with the problems of life, find their solution, develop and evolve clear ideas and concepts, steering clear of slogans and shibboleths which have no meaning

"Viewed in this light, the question of Muslim education in India is as much a political as a social or cultural problem Apart from the intrinsic soundness of the proposition the developments which have taken place and the forces which have been at play in the educational field in India reinforce the position I have stated There have been two attempts in recent years to control and plan education--the *Wardha* and the *Vidya Mandir* Scheme and the Sargent Scheme which is still hanging fire The sinister designs of the former from the Muslim point of view became all too apparent during the short lived and unfortunate regime of the Congress ministries when an attempt was made to enforce it, the dangerous potentialities of the latter have not yet been fully realised In a learned gathering like yours, I need not go into the details of the Wardha Scheme I need only remind you that the basic ideas of this scheme cut at the root of the fundamentals of our faith and our national ideology Education is a very potent and even a dangerous weapon in the hands of a government, if it is actuated by the motive of supplanting one culture and society by another culture and society The Congress, on coming into power in several provinces, proceeded to use the vehicle of education with a vengeance in order to obliterate all non-Hindu cultures and especially the Muslim culture The scheme that they evolved had a definite political motive behind it, namely the preparation of a generation which will cease to be Muslim in thought, character and action The two basic principles of the scheme--the doctrine of *Ahimsa* (non-defence) and the ideal of territorial nationalism of *Akhand Bharat* variety militate against the cardinal beliefs of Muslims They reject the doctrine of *Ahimsa*, for their faith enjoins on them the duty of fighting in the cause of righteousness and against evil when and wherever necessary The insistence on *Ahimsa* is only meant to root out from the Muslim youths their martial spirit and traditions Similarly the

principle of territorial nationalism is opposed to the Muslim view of nationalism which is based on a philosophy of society and outlook on life rather than allegiance to a piece of territory. The emphasis laid on nationalism in the scheme is calculated to destroy the distinctive identity of Muslims and to merge them into the nationalism of the Hindu majority. The whole trend of the scheme is to impress on the mind of the Muslim child the inferiority and impotence of Muslim culture and to establish the revival and supremacy of the primitive Hindu culture of Vedic times. The scheme sought to inculcate in the Muslim children the belief that all religions are equally true and to make them study the life of the Holy Prophet only in the setting and background of Arabia, so that they may cease to hold the cardinal Islamic belief that Islam is the final truth and their Prophet is a Universal Teacher, and then the process of the merger of Muslims in the Hindu fold may be accelerated. Thus, what the Congress as a political organisation could not do openly the Wardha Scheme, had it had its way, would have achieved by slow but sure methods. The merit claimed for the scheme that it sought to impart instruction through craft is no novel feature. It has been in practice in many countries of the West. But it is doubtful whether all the subjects can be taught through a craft. The other idea underlying the scheme that the basic schools should be financed out of the proceeds from the sale of articles made by school children was very objectionable and I am glad that it was opposed even by many of those educationists who otherwise supported the scheme. The real question, however, is not what methods were adopted in the scheme but what was the ultimate object behind the facade of the educational plan and how it was sought to be achieved. However, this scheme served one useful purpose—it opened the eyes of the Mussalmans and made them realise the designs made to pave the way for their cultural absorption leading ultimately to their political annihilation.

"The other scheme known as the Sargent Scheme is also harmful from the Muslim point of view though it may not appear to contain as aggressive feature as the Wardha Scheme. But the Sargent Scheme takes no account of the sentiments and needs of the Muslims. Though the Government have never extended to Muslims that measure of substantial support and encouragement which they deserved and stood in need of, yet it is a fact that ever since the days of the East India Company and the famous Despatch on Education of Sir Charles Wood the special position of Muslims in India was recognised and in every Government resolution or the report of Committee or Commission

on Education, separate chapters were devoted to problems of Muslim Education. Contrary to the consistent practice and policy of Government, the Sargent Scheme completely ignores the importance and special needs of the Muslims. This is an affront and an injustice which the Mussalmans strongly resent The scheme proceeds on assumptions which are far removed from the realities of the situation in India The scheme presumes to guarantee 'equal educational opportunity to all', but it does not make any provision for the communities and classes who, for various reasons, are not abreast of others in educational progress and who have special cultural needs of their own It is also very regrettable that in the formulation of this scheme the accredited representatives of Muslim opinion were not consulted

"I do not propose to enter into a detailed criticism of the scheme, that is the function of our educational experts But it appears to me that the basic principles on which the whole edifice of the scheme is constructed are diametrically opposed to the ideology and aspirations of Muslims as a national entity The scheme starts on the presumption that India is a homogeneous nation and a single unit which it is not The framers of the scheme, strangely enough, close their eyes to the existence of sharply divided nationalities with divergent cultures and social orders and differing in every essential matter of life They simply ignore the unmistakable stand and the unshakable resolve of the Muslims that they shall not accept any policy or scheme, political, educational or otherwise, which does not recognise their position as a separate nation and their claim to establish independent sovereign states in the regions of their majority—a position to which they are entitled by every notion of justice and every canon of international law I really wonder whether the authors of the scheme seriously believe that such a scheme stands any chance of success or can do any good in the face of united dissent and opposition of 100 million Mussalmans of India who are not prepared to sacrifice their cultural heritage at the alter of any educational theory or intellectual doctrine The educational implications of the presumption to which I have referred are quite obvious It means in practice that the control and planning of education will be dominated by the Hindu majority and coloured by its cult and ideas The scheme envisages the establishment of a central educational authority This proposal is of a piece with the political demand of some kind of central government for the whole of India which the Muslims for obvious reasons are implacably opposed This is, indeed, in a way an attempt to prejudice the constitutional issue in one important direction and the Muslims can never

acquiesce in it Even today education is a provincial subject The provinces of India are as large as many of the states in Europe and are quite capable of dealing with educational administration The functions of the existing Central Advisory Board of Education are purely advisory Any departure from this practice is unjust and undesirable and this Conference in my opinion should enter an emphatic protest against this proposal

"Another very serious defect in the scheme is the absence of any provision for religious education To the peoples of India in general and to the Muslims in particular, religion is not a mere matter of mode of worship but it embraces and permeates their whole life from the cradle to the grave It governs their actions and movements to the minutest details and moulds their thought outlook and attitude in general It also affects collective life and sets up a social order distinct from others To a Muslim specially knowledge and intellectual culture are not an end in themselves but a means to a higher end ordained by the ethical and spiritual ideals of Islam Any educational plan, therefore, which completely divorces religion from education is bound to fail in a country like India where the life of the people is steeped in religion The Muslims have always pressed the demand for the provision of religiou education Religion is their sheet-anchor and the only enduring force which has welded together Muslims living in far-flung localities into a virile brotherhood and has given them a strong sense of national and cultural unity, overriding all those factors of race, blood, territory and even language which tend to divide The Muslims, therefore, cannot forego the demand of religious education The objection raised in certain quarters that religious education will cause discord and strife has really no force As a matter of fact, a good Muslim and a good Hindu or Christian who have been properly brought up in the traditions of their faiths are always good neighbours and live on terms of amity and mutual regard It is not religion but the materialistic teachings which breed lust for power and greed and cause bitterness and dissension It is not in India alone that the demand for religious education is so insistent After the ravages of war caused by blind materialism the people of western countries also are becoming alive to the necessity of spiritual revival In the United Kingdom a prominent place has been given to religious education in the white paper on educational reconstruction and even the Jews who form a very small minority in the population of England have been assured of the preservation of their racial and religious identity in the New Education Bill When such is the trend of educational development in the modern and progressive countries it

is, indeed, very surprising that this important aspect of education has been neglected in the educational plans of the Government of India The committee set up by the Central Advisory Board of Education cannot command the confidence of the Mussalmans it is only a committee consisting of leading Muslims that can draw up a proper scheme of religious education for Muslims It should be possible by mutual consultation to fit in the schemes of religious education for different communities into the general scheme of education The Muslims insist on the inclusion of the teaching of Arabic and Islamic history and culture besides theological studies for Muslim students in the curriculum of High Schools and they further demand that due provision be made for the study of the higher aspects of Islamic religion, history, philosophy and Islamics in general in the Universities

'I would turn for a moment to the question of the future of Urdu as our national language The activities of those who want to supplant Urdu by an artificially developed Sanskritised Hindi have filled the minds of all lovers of Urdu with apprehension Urdu is undoubtedly one of the finest gifts which the Muslims have offered to the furtherance of culture and civilisation in India Indeed, it shows to what extent the Muslims have gone to arrive at an understanding and amity with the Hindus But it is a great pity that in pursuance of political designs and ambitions, attempts are being made to snap this link of understanding between the Hindus and the Muslims The Muslims would still fain share the language with the Hindus but it takes two to do so The present tendency among the protagonists of Hindi only convinces the Muslims that they have to defend Urdu by their own efforts Any injury done to Urdu means a blow to the national identity of Muslims, for language is a powerful factor in the building up of a nationality it is the real repository of a people's historical heritage, traditions and contribution to world civilisation, it is the mirror of a people's mind, its thought, its culture and aspirations The question of protection of Urdu has become part of the Muslim national problem We should, therefore, insist on the preservation of Urdu language and script for Muslim children in all the schools and provision for the study of Urdu language and literature up to the highest standards

'Another very important problem from our point of view is the question of women's education The Central Advisory Board of Education is of the view that women's education should not be treated as a problem on its own Muslims cannot subscribe to this view Firstly, the Muslim conception of women's role and position in society is different from that of other peoples Islam confers rights and obligations on

both men and women Acquisition of knowledge is enjoined as a duty on both Muslim men and Muslim women by the Holy Prophet (peace be on him) Islam prescribes a code of conduct for both men and women and disallows promiscuous intermingling between them It is the only religion which has granted a high and dignified status and statutory rights and *individuality to women* Muslim women have played a glorious part in the history of Islam and the examples of moral dignity, service and self sacrifice they have set will for ever remain a source of inspiration to posterity They have done so within the rules of conduct laid down by Islam Women having special duties, functions and rights as well as aptitudes and capacities, their education also constitutes a special problem Moreover, in India many difficulties have been created by the general educational backwardness of women due to the neglect of men and the prevalence of un-Islamic customs, prejudices and superstitions These factors make it necessary to adopt special measures for the spread of education among women It is a welcome sign that all sections of Muslims generally are alive to the need of the education of women, for they realise that the educated woman is the best custodian of the cultural traditions of a nation and the surest guarantee of the right upbringing of the young generation But the Muslims are opposed to the blind and whole sale imitation of the social modes and educational methods of Western countries relating to women It is very necessary that a competent committee of leading Muslims should go into the question of Muslim women's education and suggest a plan which would preserve the distinctive character of Muslim women and enable them at the same time to benefit for the riches of modern science and learning

"There are two other aspects of the Sargent Scheme to which I would like to invite your attention the selective principle for the future High Schools and the restriction on University education In the present state of India with various communities in different stages of educational development and with political mistrust and rivalry any attempt to impose the selective principle for admission to High Schools without regard to the peculiar conditions and needs of various communities and classes will result in injustice and create bitterness and discontent The adoption of the economic theory of ***laissez faire*** in the field of education in the special circumstances of India will lead to disastrous results The Muslims have already much leeway to make up No restriction should therefore, be placed on those Muslim students who wish to go in for secondary education at their own cost The poor but promising Muslim students should be provided for by

reserving a certain percentage of concessions and stipends and places for them The reservation of seats for Muslim pupils should be made not on the basis of their percentage in population but in proportion to the historical and political importance of the Muslims.

"As to University education, the Central Advisory Board considers that 'the growth of universities should be in proportion to the expansion in lower stages' This shows lack of appreciation of the real value and scope of University education The need of well-trained leaders of thought and action in all the departments of life in India is greater to-day than ever before The war too has brought out the great need of higher education and research The urgent problems of health, agriculture, industry and commerce cry out for research and trained personnel on a very large scale The Board provides only 2,40,000 seats and that too after a period of forty years when the population is expected to reach sixty crores This is wholly inadequate considering the importance of University education and the needs of the country It is essential that the period during which educational expansion is sought to be carried through must be much shorter and provision should be made for University education on a more liberal scale The interest of the Muslims should be safeguarded by reserving places and scholarships for them in the same way as in the High Schools Furthermore, the Universities should continue to be completely autonomous bodies and any such body as a University Grants Committee should be purely advisory.

"The question of the cost of educational expansion as estimated by the Board need not depress us The present Government has its own conception of cost and expenditure, it cannot visualise the conditions which will come into existence on the establishment of popular governments enjoying the confidence of the people When the people are masters of their own affairs they will know how to finance the projects of educational development and how to make sacrifices for the removal of illiteracy and ignorance Other countries with far inferior resources have successfully tackled the problems of illiteracy and educational backwardness, there is no reason why the peoples of India should not be able to do so when they come into their own

"I would now crave your indulgence to place a few suggestions before you with reference to the educational needs of Muslims which appear to me to be very pressing at the present time. This is an age of organisation and expansion and no people can achieve any thing or even preserve its existence without self-help and conscious and organised

effort The Muslims, I think, should establish a Central Educational Trust and Academy of Educational Research and Information with branches in the provinces These organisations will guide, help and co-ordinate the educational effort of Muslims in all parts of India

"The Muslims have organised their commercial life by forming chambers of commerce in the provinces and an All-India Federation thereof On the same lines a federation of all the Muslim schools and colleges should be formed Its functions should be consultative and deliberative It will enable all the Muslim institutions to adopt a joint policy and common line of action to protect and advance their interests The value of such collective effort cannot be over-emphasised

"There is a woeful dearth among the Muslims of well-trained personnel to take their proper place in medical any engineering professions and commercial, agricultural, industrial and scientific pursuits It is gratifying that Muslims are awakening to the necessity of education for all these professions and vocations I would ask you to view this question from the wider aspect, of the future national existence of Muslims in this land Our goal is clear, our course is firmly set, and we are forging ahead We are bound sooner than later to realise our national destiny, Pakistan, *Insha Allah* But when it comes, let us be ready with a properly equipped and efficient personnel to make proper use of the power and opportunity coming in the wake of Pakistan and undertake and execute vast scheme for the social, economic, industrial and educational development of our people. Special efforts should, therefore, be made by Muslims to establish their own institutions to impart instruction in commerce, industry, agriculture, engineering and medicine Already efforts in this direction are being made in certain places but they should be intensified a hundredfold The 'Aligarh Muslim University, being the central national institution of the Mussalmans of India, has a special responsibility in this behalf and I am glad to be able to say that it is doing its best within its limited resources to meet these needs The University has started a College of Engineering and Technology, in spite of the acute difficulties of war time The College, of course, needs improvement and expansion for which more funds are required

"The Government so far have given no financial assistance to the College which is naturally an ever-expanding and expensive institution. We must press the demand for additional grant for this College Let us also appeal to our wealthy brethren, specially businessmen and industrialists, to contribute liberally the money required to place the College on a sound and efficient footing But one College alone will

not suffice. I am glad to know that you too are planning to open a technical College in Agra which you propose to name after Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad Ali Jinnah The great rush for admission to the limited number of seats in the Engineering College at the Muslim University shows that there is no truth whatever in the suggestion that there is a dearth of suitably qualified students for admission to technical institutions If any thing it only shows that there is a keen desire among Muslim young men for technical studies and they are denied the opportunity. During the next few years, serious efforts should be made to establish more and more Engineering and Technical Colleges

"I have noticed in recent years a great swing among Muslim youths towards scientific studies with a view to qualifying themselves for vocational pursuits In the 'Aligarh Muslim University this year scores of students had to be refused admission in the Faculty of Science for want of accommodation in hostels, class-rooms and laboratories A large number of Muslim High Schools have been raised to the status of Intermediate Colleges but most of them do not provide instruction in science It should be the duty of all Muslim schools and colleges all over India to take immediate steps to open classes in science

"Another very important subject which has been sadly neglected by most of our Muslim institutions is Commerce The Muslims in their palmy days were the pioneers of trade and commerce in the world No nation today can lead an independent and honourоble existence if it is deficient in trade and industry Commerce like other subjects has acquired the status of a science in modern times Education in commerce can succeed much better in trade and business than others The Aligarh Muslim University has recently opened a Department of Commerce which, i hope, will soon develop into a full-fledged College of Commerce with the generous support of Muslim businessmen

"India being mainly an agricultural country, the study of Agriculture also is very important for our youths A beginning has recently been made at 'Aligarh by starting degree classes in Agriculture Wherever the resources and facilities may be available, classes in agriculture should be opened in Muslim institutions and we must demand reservation of seats for Muslims in Government agricultural institutions

"The Muslims' paucity in the medical profession is well-known Only about 8 per cent of the doctors in India are Muslims and even this percentage is likely to decrease because Muslims have been finding it extremely difficult to secure admission to the existing Medical Colleges The question of health is of prime importance to a nation. The Muslims have had a reputation for robust physique and power of

endurance But the absence of an adequate number of medical personnel and medical facilities undoubtedly has a very detrimental effect on the health of our people, specially women and children Muslim youths should be encouraged to take to medical education. It is, indeed, very deplorable that, in spite of repeated representations of the U P. Provincial Muslim League, the just demand of the Muslims of the U P. for the reservation of a due proportion of seats for Muslim students in the Medical Colleges has been turned down The same, I believe, is the position in other provinces. While we should continue to press our demand in this direction we should also make a beginning by having a first-rate Medical College of our own. It is in the fitness of things that the authorities of the 'Aligarh Muslim University have realised betimes the urgent need of establishing a Muslim Medical College It is gratifying that full plan for the establishment of the College has been worked out with the assistance of a distinguished Experts Committee I understand that, through the efforts of the Vice-Chancellor, Dr Sir Zia-ud-din Ahmad and other well-wishers of the University, a sum of over 45 lacs of rupees has been collected, including a princely donation of Rs 10 lacs given by His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad to whom the Muslims of India are deeply indebted for so many benefactions for their educational advancement. The response of the Muslims to the appeal for funds for the Medical College is indeed very encouraging and indicates alike the place which 'Aligarh still holds in the affections of Muslim India and the keen desire of the Muslims for professional and vocational education. I believe steps will be taken as soon as the election campaign is over to augment the fund and to found the College at an early date

"There is one other matter connected with scientific progress to which I would like to invite your attention. India is undoubtedly on the verge of a great industrial upheaval. Our Quaid-i-A'zam has been urging Muslim businessmen to take their due share in industries, specially heavy industries Without industrial development Muslims can have no economic future I, therefore, attach very great importance to scientific and industrial research and the training of an efficient Muslim personnel for the purpose Steps should be taken to establish a Muslim scientific and industrial research institute and Muslim businessmen and industrialists should be invited to support the project The advantages of such an institute will be twofold—it will give a great impetus to Muslim trade and industry and it will produce a trained personnel of researchers and technologists who will be able to make better careers for themselves and will be ready to carry out any indus-

trial and technical projects which Muslims may launch now or after having their independent governments

"I have been talking at length about scientific, technical and commercial matters But I should not be misunderstood to mean that what is known as liberal education or the study of humanities should at all be discouraged The economic demands and requirements change from age to age and it is desirable to correlate as far as possible the instruction in schools, colleges and Universities with the requirements of the country Educational institutions also cannot be entirely indifferent to the question of employment of their alumni But, while so much may be conceded regarding the utilitarian aspect of education, it cannot be gainsaid that the real purpose and the higher end of education is to cultivate, develop and discipline the mental, spiritual and physical faculties of man and to build his character with a view to training him for useful citizenship and for his rightful role in the cultural advancement of humanity A good general grounding in cultural subjects like literature, history, philosophy, social sciences, *etc*, is essential for the right upbringing of youth, so that he may not lose his soul in the welter of mundane activities and may lead and serve his fellowmen intelligently and selflessly in whatever sphere he is working Then there should be no restriction whatever on scholars seeking to pursue the highest studies and researches in the humanities and the abstract sciences Their patient toil and hard thinking may not appear to yield immediate results but it is really they who mould the thought and conduct of generations of people and give a philosophical basis and a meaning to all their activities and movements It is their ideas and speculations which in the ultimate analysis rule the world. That is why I advocate that far from placing any restriction on University education, every encouragement and facility should be afforded for literal education and higher studies and research I have laid special emphasis on religious education and the study of Arabic, Islamic history, Islamic philosophy and Islamics in general These studies are the foundation of our national life and culture I am glad to note that this Conference has already sponsored a scheme for an All India Academy of Islamic Research and another at Aligarh I earnestly hope that this scheme will soon materialise and these bodies will contribute materially to the preservation and enhancement of the riches of Islamic culture and thought.

"In conclusion, I would ask you to think of the future of the Muslim nation and plan for it I do not propose to make any political observations on this occasion But I am sure you realise that the Mus-

lims of India after groping in the dark for a long time have at last a clear vision of their future and have taken their destiny in their own hands They are solemnly determined to a man to lead a free and honourable national existence with goodwill and toleration for all the peoples in this land This is not the occasion to go into any details of what the Muslims must do when they come into their own in Pakistan and in other parts where they are in minority As I have already stated, the national ideology of the peoples and the shape of things to come in the political field is bound to affect educational planning. Even our educationists cannot shut their eyes to this fundamental conflict of ideals They have to make up their minds and plan for the future education of their nation There are precedents in modern political history of the grant of complete educational autonomy to minorities in states and international law also recognises it The Muslims of minority provinces can and must claim educational autonomy with a share in the educational budget and the Muslims of majority provinces must use whatever power and opportunity they have even today to plan the educational advancement of Muslims It is for this Conference to give a lead in this respect and I hope it will do so The Muslim nation is moving forward with great speed and you must keep pace with its desires ambitions and aspirations This Conference has a very important part to play in the life of the nation and I have no doubt that it will do everything within its power to contribute towards the establishment of 'free Islam in free India' May God help and guide us ! *Amen* !"

NATIONAL GUARDS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE LEAGUE'

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a statement from New Delhi on January 25 1947 said

'It is a complete travesty of truth to describe the League National Guards as a private army and this is only an excuse for the indefensible conduct of the Ministry which is clearly out to supress the Muslim League in the Panjab

"I have not seen fuller reports of the Panjab Government's Action against the Muslim League National Guards in the Province and that

Government's communique purporting to explain the reaction

"The Muslim League has no private army The National Guards are an integral part of the Muslim League organisation and an attack on it is an attack on the Muslim League as such The Panjab Government's *apologia* that their action is not directed against the League will decieve no one.

"Since the National Guards came into existence in 1938, they have not once been guilty of violence or lawlessness Their activities have been confined to inculcating discipline in Muslims, maintaining order at public meetings and processions, and carrying out relief work in time of distress

"During the war, the National Guards played an important part in assisting the Civil authority in affording relief to the evacuees from Burma During the Bengal Famine, they carried out extensive relief operations , and during the recent Bihar massacres they did exemplary humanitarian work

"The fact is that the present Panjab Ministry, which is essentially Hindu in character and which continued in office with the support of a handful of Muslim quislings, is an unnatural form of Government of the Panjab where Muslims fall in majority in the population . .

"Its present action in outlawing the National Guards and arresting respected and responsible leaders of the Panjab Muslims marks the culmination of a long chain of oppression and persecution of Muslim Leaguers throughout the Province since the Ministry came into office

"The Panjab Ministry has thrown a challenge to the Muslim League organisation not only in the Panjab but throughout India, and it alone must bear the responsibility for the consequences of its insane action "

A-ICC DECISION NEGATIVES DECEMBER 6 STATEMENT

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a statement from New Delhi on January 25, 1947, said

"There has lately been considerable propaganda from a certain quarter to the effect that the Congress by the resolution of the A-ICC of January 6 has accepted the British Government's interpretation contained in their Statement of December 6, of those fundamental

principles and points of procedure regarding which Congress had put forward its own interpretations not in accord with the Cabinet Mission's Statement of May 16

"The Muslim League is also being accused of intransigence for not having rescinded its decision of July 29, 1946 and for not participating in the Constituent Assembly when it re assembled on January 20

"In the Constituent Assembly itself, Congress is taking decisions unilaterally on issues of far-reaching constitutional importance, although at this stage it was authorised by the Statement of May 16 only to 'settle preliminaries'

"Threats have also been uttered on the floor of the Assembly that Congress would proceed with the work of constitution-making although as many as 76 million out of 80 million Muslims of British India may continue to remain unrepresented on that body

"The Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League is meeting in a few days and will undoubtedly express its considered opinion on the developments which have taken place since the British Government's statement of December 6, following the London talks

"Meanwhile I would like to point out that the A-ICC resolution of January 6 has completely negatived the principle of decision by simple majority vote in the Sections by insisting on a vote for a province or a part of a province (clearly meaning N-W F P and Assam) in Sections B and C and to the small minority of Sikhs in Section B

"In the course of his speech at the A-ICC, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has also categorically denied that Congress had agreed in the past or would agree in the future to a reference to the Federal Court of other questions of interpretation, by either side, as they arose from time to time

"If the Congress still maintains that it has accepted the Cabinet Mission's Plan as again interpreted by the British Government's Statement of December 6, I would ask it to answer the following questions publicly and in unambiguous terms

'Does the Congress agree that the Sections sitting as a whole and by simple majority vote shall decide whether there are to be groups and also settle the Group Constitutions?

'Does the Congress accept that the Constitutions of the provinces shall be settled by the Sections concerned sitting as a whole and taking decisions by simple majority vote?

"Does the Congress agree that Section C will settle the Constitution for the Province of Assam by simple majority vote, that a new legislature for the Province of Assam by simple majority vote,

that a new legislature for the Province of Assam shall be elected according to the Constitution so settled and that Assam will exercise its right of remaining in the Group or opting out by a vote of that new Legislature?

"Does Congress recognise the right of Section B to settle the Constitution of the North-West Frontier Province by a simple majority vote of the Section as a whole, and a new Legislature for the N.-W.F.P. shall be elected under the Constitution so settled, this new Legislature alone being competent to decide whether the province is to remain in Group B or opt out?

'Does Congress agree that Section B, sitting as a whole and by simple majority vote, shall settle the Constitution for the Panjab and the Group Constitution, if there is any, affecting all communities concerned, including the Sikhs, and that such a constitution for the Panjab and for the Groups shall be final, subject to the approval of the Parliament in terms laid down by the Cabinet Mission in their statement of May 25, regarding safeguard for minorities and that the Sikhs as a community shall have no right of vote?

"Does the Congress agree that either side shall have the right to refer other questions of interpretation to the Federal Court and that its decision shall be accepted by both sides?

"If the Congress has really accepted the British Government's Statement of December 6, it should have no difficulty in answering these questions in an honest and straightforward manner and without juggling with worlds."

'ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, delivering the Convocation Address at the 'Aligarh Muslim University on February 16, 1947 said

'I am deeply conscious of the honour that you have done me today. As an old student of 'Aligarh, it is for me not only a privilege but also a pleasure to be with you on this occasion, when a number of our young men, who have spent some of the best and most fruitful years of their life in this great institution, are going out into the world to seek fresh fields of useful endeavour for themselves.

"As I stand before you my mind goes back to the old days and a host of pleasant memories come to me across the years. 'Aligarh was then, as it is now and as it will be in the years to come, a symbol of Muslim strength and emblem of pride in our past and of faith in the greatness of our future

"The Muslim nation cannot be sufficiently grateful to 'Aligarh and to its great founder for the part that this great Institution has played in the education and cultural renaissance of our people In fact the history of the revival of the Muslim nation after its downfall in the 19th century begins with the 'Aligarh Movement, and it is to that movement and to Syed Ahmad Khan, its great leader, that we owe in a large measure the strength that we possess today At the time of the downfall of the Mughul dynasty, the Muslims in this country had experienced more than a century of decadence and decay The fall of the Mughul Empire was followed by an era of great depression and despondency in which indeed it seemed doubtful whether the Muslim nation as such would survive at all

"Then came Syed Ahmad Khan and his selfless and untiring co-workers These great men, to whom Muslim India owes a lasting debt of gratitude and whose work will live and continue to be a source of inspiration to us, realised that the existence of the Muslim Nation depended on the extent to which Muslims appreciated the importance of Modern education, particularly the study of science and the danger inherent in the neglect by them At that time Muslims were naturally suspicious of the British who had supplanted them in the Government of this Country and who had generally been pursuing an anti-Muslim policy This distrust of the British was unfortunately reflected to a very large extent in the Muslim attitude towards Western education particularly the study of science, which the Muslims regarded as an imposition by their conquerors on that undermining their religion and culture Such an attitude, while it could be understood, could hardly be justified, as it ignored the Prophet's injunction to every Muslim to pursue knowledge to the best of his ability

"The task that Syed Ahmad Khan set himself was to make the idea of Western and scientific education acceptable to his generation and to dispel their doubts and fears in regard to the supposed evil effects of that education Unfortunately, however, our educational system was for a long time mainly concerned with equipping Muslim young men with the qualifications necessary for securing job under the British Government This undoubtedly had the advantage that Muslims secured admission into the administration of the country, whose

doors hitherto had been barred to them The disadvantage however, was that our best youngmen went into the Government services and although a number of them achieved positions of importance and discharged their duties with credit, their services were largely lost to the Muslim nation With the supreme power in the hands of the British rulers, these servants could hardly do anything effective for the good of their own people As our great poet Iqbal has expressed it

(The master cannot share his power with the slave he only buys his intellect at a price)

' Unfortunately our educational system, inspite of having become Westernised, has in the main countinued to suppress general education to the technical professions This may partly be due to the fact that the large majority of our Government jobs for which our educational organisation was working did not require a scientific and technical education, but it is also due to sufficient emphasis not having been placed on the importance of scientific and technical studies In the consequence we have been suffering from an acute shortage of qualified man-power in the fields of science and technology and the position today is that we do not possess a sufficient number of scientists, doctors, technicians, mechanics, engineers and other experts This has seriously hampered our national life and will continue to do so unless we adopt effective and expeditious measures The lack of front rank Muslim scientists is particularly deplorable when we remember the great and glorious tradition set up in all branches of science by Muslims in their better days

' The phase through which the Muslim nation is passing at present is the most critical in our history in this subcontinent and demands that we take full stock of the situation in which we find ourselves in order that we may be better able to appreciate our present position and future requirements

' Let us cast a look around us The British who have been masters in this subcontinent so far are loosing the predominant position and the power they have held in the past, and the end of the long subjection which the Muslims have suffered in this country is in sight What happens on the departure of the British from India is of the most vital importance to us

"Are we to live as a free and independent nation living our own life in accordance with the ideals of Islam, or are we to submit to a new master ? As you all know, the majority party in this country is doing its best to monopolise for themselves the power that is being surrendered by the British We cannot however allow such a monopoly We

want to live in this subcontinent as an independent and self-respecting people and are in no way interested in, or prepared to submit to, a change of masters We shall live our own life as a nation in our own way and we do not want that anyone should have the power to prevent us from doing so

"This can be possible only if we have a free and independent state of our own Our objective is such a State We want Pakistan In order to achieve that goal we need all the discipline, all the effort, and all the energy that we can command We have to make ourselves strong and to organise for the great endeavour that is and will be required of us, and should be prepared to make all sacrifices All our policies and programmes must be modified if necessary to meet the needs of our national objective

"In order to make the Muslim nation fitter and better prepared for the great struggle that lies ahead our educational institutions have a most important and vital responsibility It should be the aim of every institution that every Muslim in this subcontinent should know and love the national ideal and that the education, upbringing and practical training of every individual Muslim should be so designed and directed as to enable him or her to make the maximum possible contribution to the achievement of that ideal And it should be their duty to teach their students, to strain every nerve and to use very moment of their lives for the work that is entrusted to them We must all remember that nothing of any value has ever been achieved without hard and persistent labour

"There is one very important question that will be asked We say we want to live in our own way and in order to be able to do so we want to have a free and independent State. What is that way of life and what are the principles on which our State will be based? Such a question for a Muslim has only one answer The ideal which Muslim has before him is and can be none other than the ideal that was set before the world by Muhammad of Arabia over 13 hundred years ago The message that Muhammad brought is still with us, preserved for the whole of humanity in the greatest of all books, the Qur'an Every Muslim should live and die for God God is the only King, the only Sovereign

'According to Islam no one can wield authority in his own right, as all authority is derived from God and can be exercised only on His behalf Islam aims at building of a society in which all possibilities of exploitation of man by man will disappear, in which all distinctions of birth, colour and geographical origin will be wipped away Islam sets

its face resolutely against any disabilities which arise from the accident of birth In the society of Islam all men are the equal of each other be they white, black, red, yellow or brown The society of Islam is not a mere creation of the human imagination but did in fact exist on the face of this earth in concrete shape and form and still lives in the minds of men.

"The greatest evils of the modern world have been perpetrated in the name of nation and race, nations which are made by geographical boundaries and races which are made by the accident of the birth In such a world Islam has a very great contribution to make, and I feel that if the Muslims of the Indian subcontinent are able to establish an independent State they will be helping humanity to build a better and happier world order

"As Iqbal has pointed out, the Quran repeatedly lays emphasis on history and nature, these should be subjects of the deepest and most abiding interest for Muslims We should study the history of peoples and nations to derive lessons for ourselves for the future And we should also build up an army of men and women engaged in the study and conquest of Nature

'Science has a most vital connection with the Islamic Movement The Prophet said that 'The pursuit of knowledge is the duty of every man and woman, among Muslims,' and again 'seek ye knowledge even if you have to go as far as China for it ' And the most vital part of knowledge is knowledge of Nature which gives man power over her

"It is true that the detailed picture of the State which we Muslims seek to establish in this subcontinent is still to be drawn out but what I have said above is enough to show the direction in which our efforts should lie and the type of training that is essential for our people if we are to succeed in reaching our goal

'Our educational institutions need a new orientation The Muslim University which has so far been the mainspring of our educational and cultural life has the duty of imparting that training to our younger generation, on whom the whole of the future depends There must, in the first place, be a concentrated effort to infuse the teachings of the Qur'an into the mind of every young man and woman

"I would emphasise the need to keep prominently in view the essential principles of Islam, and to avoid sectarian detail

"In the second place there ought to be a thorough, intelligent study of the life of the Prophet Here again I would sound a note of warning. Muhammad is the greatest man that has so far been or that shall be hereafter. But we should never lose sight of the fact that his greatness

lies essentially in the fact that he was a man Any attempt at making a supernatural being of him can only serve to obliterate the real significance that attaches to his great life.

"The third essential of our new educational system is to emphasise the supreme importance of the study of science and technology As I have already said, we are badly lacking in scientists and technical experts No society whatsoever can in the modern world ever hope to be able to survive unless it devotes itself to the study of the sciences

"I would say once again at the risk of over-repeating myself that science is power, we are in the direst need of this power, and that this power cannot be won without hard and incessant work I do not deny the value of liberal arts, but we are at present fighting against time and have therefore to choose things which are of greater advantages to our national life as a whole and from this point of view there can be no question that what we need badly is more and more of scientific and technical education. I need hardly say that the Muslims of India look to this great University for setting an example to the other educational institutions

"Through the length and breadth of this country the Muslim nation today stands facing a battle on the issue of which depends the whole question of their life and death Victory in this battle depends not so much on numbers as on the faith in our hearts, the discipline in our ranks and the use that we make of the resources at our command

"Many a time before this a small band of men fired with zeal and faith in God have scattered like ashes in the wind hordes of enemies confronting them Today again we need such men, we need them everywhere, in fields and factories, in schools and laboratories, in commerce and industry, in administration and in politics.

"God give us men, a time like this demands,
"Great hearts, strong minds, true faith and willing hands,
"Men whom the lust of office will not kill,
"Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy,
"Men who have opinions and a will,
"Men who have honour, who will not lie."

BUDGET SPEECH

Liaquat 'Ali Khan the Finance Member, presenting the memorable Budget for 1947-48 in the Legislative Assembly on February 28, 1947, said

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan (Finance Member) "Sir, it is my privilege to place before this House the first Budget to be presented by an Indian Finance Member I am deeply conscious of the importance of the task that has fallen to me and it will be my endeavour so long as I hold this portfolio to promote in every way I can the economic prosperity and well-being of this subcontinent and of all sections of its population It will be my particular endeavour to reduce, to the maximum extent possible, the glaring disparities that exist today between the income and standards of life of the wealthy classes and the vast multitude of proverty-stricken masses, and to contribute to the best of my ability to the improvement of the lot of the common man In tackling these tasks, which have so far received inadequate attention, and which require all the time and effort that we are able to devote to them, I hope as a matter of fact I am confident, I shall have the support of all sections of this House and of the public outside

"2 I do not propose to dwell at any length on the developments in this country or outside in the interval since my predecessor presented his budget to this House Although it is over eighteen months since the end of hostilities and statesmen in all countries have striven unceasingly for peace, the prospect of a just and lasting settlement seems as far away as ever while the rehabilitation of countries, devastated by the war, is proceeding with painful slowness In our own country, as in other countries, the year that is closing has been a difficult year of transition I need not dilate on the changes in the political field, as the events leading to the visit of the Cabinet Mission and the establishment of an Interim Government at the Centre composed of the representatives of the two major political parties and the minorities and the Statement of His Majesty's Government of the 20th February must be fresh in the minds of Honourable Members These are momentous developments, especially the recent statement by His Majesty's Government declaring their intention to transfer complete power to the peoples of India not later than June 1948 It is yet too early to envisage clearly all the changes foreshadowed by the statement, but this much is certain that the responsibility for shaping the future now rests entirely in our own hands And while we may well feel elated at the prospect of the freedom that awaits us we must not forget the heavy responsibility

that lies on our shoulders to ensure that the transference of power from British to Indian hands is effected peacefully and that the freedom that is achieved is true freedom for all the peoples of this vast subcontinent

"In the economic sphere, the progress in the return to peacetime conditions has not been as rapid or as smooth as could have been wished Although the deflationary tendencies, which at one time were expected to manifest themselves soon after the end of the war, have happily not materialised, the transition to peacetime economy has been slow and halting Inflationary trends have continued to persist and prices are still running high The war-time shortage of consumer goods has not yet been materially alleviated, in spite of a large expansion of imports, as internal production has been unable to fill in the gap between the huge pent-up demand left over from the war years and the available supplies Production has been hampered by the inevitable delay in obtaining capital goods in a world clamouring for them after the widespread devastation of war, by labour unrest and strikes in the country, by persistent difficulties in the rehabilitation of the transport system and by the terrible and tragic happenings in certain parts of the country which have not only marred the fair name of India but brought untold hardship and misery to large sections of the population In addition to all these difficulties, in themselves formidable enough, there has been the continuous anxiety about the food position in the country whose normal shortage had been immensely aggravated by the failure of the rains in South India and parts of the North and the consequent threat of famine We have fortunately staved off disaster, thanks to the generous, but still inadequate, imports of foodgrains from overseas and the stringent rationing over wide areas of the country, but the position still continues to cause grave anxiety and cannot but have a hampering effect on the recovery of the country

"Without a measure of assurance about the shape of the future constitution, it is not essay to formulate any long term economic or financial plan and the House will appreciate the difficulty in which anyone in my position is placed in the circumstances In view of the latest announcement of His Majesty's Government the coming year is bound to be full of intense political activity, and what will occupy men's minds most will be the prospective constitutional changes But it does not follow that we should merely mark time till the constitutional issue is settled Without in any way prejudging or prejudicing that issue, we can, and have to, go forward in tackling the urgent economic problems of this subcontinent and in raising the living

standards of its peoples The present inflationary trends have to be kept in check and provision made for maintaining the level of employment and production when deflationary trends manifest themselves as they are almost bound to sooner or later Production has to be fostered and developed, the cost of living has to be reduced and, within the available resources, plans for the social and economic betterment of the people at large have to be implemented In short, poverty has to be attacked on every front I shall do all that lies in my power to assist in tackling these problems

"Before I go on to deal with the estimates I must express my regret to the House that it has not been possible to present this Budget in the usual detail The reason is that Machinemen and Lino operators in the New Delhi Government Press have been on strike during the period crucial for the printing of the Budget documents and we have had to restrict our demand for printed matter to a minimum in consequence I would like to mention that the Government Presses have been on strike intermittently since March 1946 in spite of ever increasing concessions, covering shorter hours of work, reduced standard of work measurement, more holidays, increased rates of Dearness Allowance, improved pensionary benefits and interim financial relief, the last of these being still further increased in January 1947 to cover the period from the 1st January, 1945 to the 31st December, 1946 at the monthly rate of Rs 8 to industrial workers in the Presses on basic pay below Rs 40 a month In spite of this exceptionally generous treatment, the Press employees again struck work early this month with resultant dislocation at a particularly critical period for the Government and the Legislature The strike terminated only on the 24th of this month

Financial Year, 1946-47

Revenue

"3 I shall now proceed to a brief review of the financial position in the current and the ensuing years

"The revenue receipts for the current year are now estimated at Rs 336 19 crores, an improvement of Rs 29 66 Crores over the budget

"Customs receipts are expected to improve by Rs 23 02 crores partly as the result of larger imports made possible by a general easing of the supply and shipping position and partly to the imposition of export duties on cotton and tea and the enhancement of the export duty on Jute Under Central Excises, however, we now expect to

realise only Rs 42 78 crores against Rs 44 32 crores taken in the budget Under Income-tax we anticipated a total yield of Rs 149 25 crores, Rs 75 crores on account of E P T and Rs 74 25 crores on account of ordinary collections We now estimate that the collections will amount to Rs 72 crores on account of E P T and Rs 85 crores on account of ordinary collections The divisible pool of income-tax is now estimated at Rs 69 81 crores and the Provincial share, after adjusting an overpayment of Rs 1 28 crores last year, at Rs 29 87 crores

"The revenue from the Posts & Telegraphs Department was placed at Rs 31 15 crores, an improvement of Rs 57 lakhs over the budget But working expenses will be Rs 4 crores more owing to the grant of interim concessions to the staff following the strike last summer and the award of the adjudicator appointed to enquire into their dispute with Government In the result the net surplus is expected to be Rs 4 78 crores against Rs 8 33 crores estimated in the budget

'The Railway contribution is now taken at Rs 5 61 crores against Rs 7 36 crores taken in the budget

Expenditure

"4 *Defence Services* —Following the practice introduced by my predecessor last year, I shall confine my remarks on the Defence Services to matters of policy or major financial interest, referring the House to the Explanatory Memorandum for fuller information regarding the activities of those services

5 The original programme of general demobilisation which started in October 1945 has been largely adhered to but some retardation was necessary in the latter part of 1946 owing to internal disturbances in the country Nevertheless the process of releasing personnel from the Services under that programme will be nearing completion by the beginning of the budgetary year and it is anticipated that the provisional demobilisation target will be reached by about the middle of that year On the 31st December 1946 the total numbers released since the commencement of demobilisation were army 1,187 000, navy 20,000 and air force 18,000 This, in the difficult conditions obtaining during the year, represents a notable achievement

"6 One event of considerable general interest which may eventually lead to some reduction in our defence budget is the setting up during the year of the Armed Forces Nationalisation Committee under the chairmanship of the Hon'ble Gopalaswami Ayyanger, which, as its

title implies, is to enquire into ways and means of speeding up the replacement of non-Indian personnel by Indians throughout the Defence Services Considerable progress has already been made towards this goal, and it is hoped that the deliberations of this Committee will result in its early attainment

"7. The budget estimate for the Defence Services for 1946-47 was Rs 245 34 crores and the revised estimate is Rs 240 11 crores The decrease is due mainly to the receipts accruing to India from the sale proceeds of American surplus stores as a result of the Washington Lend Lease Agreement to which I refer elsewhere in this speech, and to an over-estimate in the budget of India's liability for stores These factors were offset to some extent by heavier expenditure caused by the retradation of the rate of general demobilisation already mentioned, and heavy arrear payments on account of Reciprocal Aid to the U S A, chiefly relating to supply of raw materials and compensation for damage to tea gardens requisitioned for the U S A forces

"8 *Civil Estimates* —The revised estimate of civil expenditure is Rs 143 36 crores, an increase of Rs 32 35 crores over the budget

"The reasons for the variations under individual heads resulting in this net increase are given in the Explanatory Memorandum accompanying the Budget Statement and I propose to mention here only the more important factors leading to this increase The subsidising of imported foodgrains supplied to Provinces and Centrally administered areas to avoid disturbance to our internal price structure, which was decided upon after the budget was framed, is expected to cost Rs 20 crores The interim concessions sanctioned during the year to the low paid staff on account of the cost of living are estimated to cost Rs 2 crores There is a special provision of Rs 3 crores under Civil Works for the clearance of outstanding liabilities for supplies Expenditure on the Tribal Areas is expected to show an increase of about Rs 1 3/4 crores mainly due to additional expenditure on works the expansion of certain levies and the embodiment of fresh levies as part of the scheme for the gradual replacement of the regular Army in Frontier Defence by Civil Armed Forces. A payment of Rs 2 1/2 crores has also been made during the year to the Government of Nepal in commutation of part of the annual present to that country for war services, to be utilised on development schemes such as hydro-electric projects of mutual benefit to both India and Nepal Owing to additional expenditure on disposals and the slowing down of the pace of its contraction, the expenditure on the Department of Indus-

tries and Supplies is expected to be about a crore more than the original estimate These special items account for nearly Rs 30 crores of the net increase over budget estimate The balance is accounted for by increases spread over a number of heads mostly on the expansion of departments, purchases of additional stores and so on The excess would have been somewhat larger but for the saving of Rs 4 crores in the provision for resettlement due to the slowing down of demobilisation and the time taken for the formulation of the necessary plans

"9 *To summarise the position* —The current year's budget provided for a revenue of Rs 306 53 crores and expenditure charged to revenue of Rs 354 78 crores having deficit of Rs 48 25 crores Revenue receipts are now estimated at Rs 336 19 crores and expenditure charged to revenue at Rs 381 47 crores leaving a deficit of Rs 45 28 crores

"10 Before I go on to deal with the estimate for the coming year, I should like to advert briefly to one or two important points affecting Central expenditure in which the House will be interested

"11 The sudden cessation of hostilities in the East created major problems which had to be given immediate consideration *viz*,

(*a*) the cancellation of the pending demands for warlike stores, and

(*b*) the transition of industry from war to civil production

The expeditious reduction of the outstanding demands was necessary not only to prevent the accumulation of unnecessary stocks and to limit Government's financial liabilities to the minimum but also to release India's limited resources of productive capacity and essential raw materials for civil production Two committees have accordingly been set up to finalise the reduction of demands before the end of the financial year and satisfactory progress has already been achieved Cancellations of contracts to the value of Rs 50 crores have been effected to the end of December for the payment of compensation of only Rs 34 lakhs

"A Development wing has also been set up in the reconstituted Department for Industries and Supplies with the immediate task of assisting reconversion of industry from war to civil production by according necessary priorities, transport and other production facilities

"In the course of the year, a Technical Mission was brought out from the U K to advise the Government of India on the establishment of aircraft manufacture in this country In accordance with their advice, the Hindustan Aircraft Factory at Bangalore is being

recognised to undertake the manufacture of aircraft as well as railway coaches.

"12 *Disposals*—The House will remember that mention was made in the Budget Speech last year about the deputation of two senior officers to America to settle the financial issues arising out of Lend-Lease and Reciprocal Aid and the transfer to the Government of India of the stocks and installations accumulated by the United States authorities in India during the war and now surplus to them A delegation went to Washington for this purpose last April and a satisfactory settlement has been reached with the United States Government Under this agreement, all outstanding claims arising out of Land-Lease, Reciprocal Aid, United States owned surpluses and all other claims arising out of the war have been cancelled subject to the condition that if the sale proceeds of United States owned surpluses, after deduction of customs duty, exceed the equivalent of 50 million dollars (equal to Rs 16 7 crores) half the excess proceeds should be paid to the United States authorities in rupees to be spent by them in India only on the acquisition and improvement of real property, the financing of agreed schemes of cultural and educational interest to the two countries and, if any balance is left, for defraying the governmental expenses of the United States in this country. Vigorous steps have been taken to feed the surpluses so acquired into the main stream of distribution. The total sale proceeds of the surpluses are likely to exceed 50 million dollars

"In addition to these American surpluses, considerable quantities of stocks held by the defence authorities have become surplus to the requirements of the armed forces as a result of the end of the war and subsequent demobilisation. It is fully realised that the expeditious disposal of all these surpluses is not only in the financial interests of Government but also of the utmost importance to the economy of the country and every effort is being made to ensure that no avoidable delays occur in dealing with them

"13. A problem similar to that of the disposal of surplus stores has also arisen in the case of the Ordnance and other factories set up during the war to meet the demands by Defence Services for Ordnance and other stores Thirty-six such factories were established and the retention of many of them has been found to be unnecessary with reference to India's post-war requirements. An expert Committee was, therefore, set up to report on the future of these factories. In accordance with the recommendations of this Committee, it has been decided to retain and regroup 15 factories as the peacetime Ordnance

establishment and to dispose of 21 factories, mainly Clothing, Harness and Saddlery Factories, as an integral part of our policy to divert capacity from war to peace production Agains, as the peacetime load of Ordnance stores on the factories earmarked for retention is negligible, it has also been decided that the spare capacity of these factories should be utilised for civilian production This production will be supplementary to the production of the established industries and is intended merely to narrow the gap between supply and demand as a temporary measure The most important item which is now being produced in the Ordnance Factories is Road Rollers There is also a proposal to produce textile machinery and steel billets

"14 *Miscellaneous matters* —With the gradual return to peacetime economy, it has been found possible to dispense with a large number of controls introduced in the war years With effect from the 1st October 1946, the majority of these controls have been withdrawn, retaining (apart from certain essential general controls such as those over imports, exports and foreign exchange) only those on commodities such as coal, textiles, iron and steel which are essential for the rehabilitation of the country's economy

"An expert committee called the Indian Coal-fields Committee was set up during the year to study the problems of the conservation of the coal resources of the country and the nationalisation of coal production The Committee has made far-reaching recommendations on the conservation, production, transport and utilisation of coal and on connected problems of administration and its report is under consideration Meanwhile, I am sure the House will be reassured to learn that in the view of this expert committee coal will not prove a handicap in the industrial planning of the country

"The Department of Planning & Development was abolished during the year and its functions were transferred partly to the Department of Industries and Supplies and partly to the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet, under which a Development Board was set up to consider and co-ordinate the post war plans for development The Department of Labour had grown too unwieldy, particularly in view of the growing importance of the problems connected with labour and labour welfare and has been split up into two separate departments of Labour and Works, Mines and Power

The decision to appoint a Central Pay Commission to enquire into the conditions of service of Central Government servants with

particular reference to the adequacy of the pay scales and standards of remuneration was announced last February The Commission was appointed on the 10th May 1946 under the chairmanship of Sir S Varadachariar, retired Judge of the Federal Court It has nearly completed its task and steps have been taken to deal with its recommendations as expeditiously as possible As the House is aware, an assurance has already been given that any changes in the rates of pay following the decisions of the Commission's recommendations will be given effect to from the 1st January, 1947

"The allowances sanctioned on account of the cost of living to the lower paid staff were reviewed last summer and it was decided to sanction certain further concessions by way of interim relief The cost of these concessions falling on civil revenues excluding Railways and Posts and Telegraphs is estimated at Rs 2 crores

"I would like now to mention a recent decision of considerable importance, namely the setting up of a Commodities Prices Board under the Finance Department Hon'ble Members are well aware that a sound price structure is of critical importance to the economic health of the country especially during the period of transition following on the economic upsets created by a total war Concrete issues arise from time to time on which differing views are advanced not only as between the Provincial and Central Governments, the producers and the consumers but also as between the various departments of the Central Government itself It is for these reasons that it was decided to set up an expert and full-time body to assist and advise Government in the formulation and administration of an appropriate and consistent price policy Hon'ble Members will be glad to learn that the Board has now been constituted and is ready to embark on the onerous and important task that has been entrusted to it

Financial Year, 1947-48

Revenue

"15 I now turn to the financial year 1947-48 On the existing basis of taxation, the total revenue for the year is estimated at Rs 279 42 crores compared with Rs 336 19 crores for the current year

"Customs receipts have been placed at Rs 89 crores, Rs 1 1/2 crores more than the revised estimate for the current year The estimate allows for a full year's revenue from the additional duties imposed this year Under Central Excise Duties the revenue is estimated at Rs 40 93 crores but the drop as compared with the current year is mainly in respect of certain special cesses which are funded.

"Income-tax receipts have been placed at a total of Rs 135 crores which includes Rs 40 crores on account of arrears of E P T and Rs 7 crores on account of arrears of Central Surcharge The total divisible pool is estimated at Rs 76 33 crores and the Provincial share at Rs 35 16 crores

"The revenue of the Posts & Telegraphs Department is expected to be Rs 30 2 crores and the working expenses and interest Rs 25 98 crores leaving a net surplus of Rs 4 22 crores As in the current year, the outright contribution of the department to general revenue will be three-fourth of the realised surplus, the department retaining the balance The accumulated surplus of the department at the end of the current year is expected to be Rs 8 ½ crores and it is proposed to give it a rebate of interest on this amount instead of only Rs 1 crore as hitherto

"As regards the contribution from the Railways, we are providing for Rs 7 4 crores The House is already aware of this estimate from the Railway Budget

Expenditure

"16 *Defence Services* —Although the general demobilisation of the Armed Forces and the shutting down of the war-time activities of the Defence Services will by the end of 1946-47 have brought us a very long way on the road towards the restoration of a peace regime in this country, the conditions likely to obtain during the year 1947-48 will, in some respects, be far from normal On the Army side roughly 2,00,000 men will still remain to be released before the provisional demobilisation target has been reached This target was prescribed mainly for planning purposes in order to ensure that the gigantic task of demobilising something like 1 ¾ million members of the Armed Forces was put through in an efficient and orderly fashion, and does not necessarily correspond to the final post-war Defence Forces to be maintained in this country The problem of the strength and composition of India's post-war Army Navy and Air Force, raises numerous considerations of high policy which are at present engaging our earnest attention Not the least of these questions is the amount of money that India can and should spare for her Defence Budget having regard to the pressing demands on her resources for social and economic development Another important policy matter that arises in this connection is the extent to which British personnel should continue to be employed in and with India's Armed Forces The recruitment of British Officers into the Indian Army which ceased on the outbreak of

the second World War will not be resumed, and pending the complete nationalisation of that Army, British Service Officers will be seconded thereto for short terms of service only.

"17 A major disturbing factor that will certainly persist throughout the year 1947-48 is that resulting from the existence of abnormally large stocks either held for the future requirements of the Defence Services or thrown up as surplus for disposal The existence of these stocks necessitates the retention in the Defence Service of a considerable number of personnel who could otherwise be dispensed with, but it is hoped that many of these personnel will be released during the year as the disposal of surpluses progresses

"18 The Financial Settlement between the Government of India and His Majesty's Government relating to the allocation of Defence expenditure between the two Governments comes to an end on the 31st March, 1947, and for the year 1947-48 normal accounting methods will be reintroduced as far as possible Under the provisions of the Financial Settlement practically the whole of the Defence expenditure incurred by India was charged in the first instance to His Majesty's Government, India subsequently giving credit to that Government for the cost of equipping and maintaining troops and other wartime activities undertaken by her for local defence purposes With effect from the 1st April, 1947, all Defence expenditure incurred by India will be charged direct to her Defence Estimates as was done before the War, but appropriate recoveries will be effected from His Majesty's Government in respect of the cost of Indian troops employed outside India and for any other supplies and services rendered to that Government

"19 For a great number of years India's Defence budget has included provision for what are termed Home Effective charges, representing the amount due annually to His Majesty's Government on account of expenditure incurred by that Government on recruiting, equipping and training British Service personnel for service in India The amount of this liability was calculated actually when the strength of the British troops in India was practically constant, but under the conditions now obtaining, with a much reduced and rapidly dwindling British element in the Defence Forces of India, the calculation of this liability presents very great difficulties India on her side has a counter claim (which in existing circumstances is substantial) for similar charges in respect of the Indian Army personnel employed by His Majesty's Government overseas, and the amount of this counter-claim too would at present be difficult to determine with any exactitude. A further

difficulty arises in respect of the mutual liabilities of the two Governments towards each other in respect of non-effective charges As the House is aware agreement concerning these liabilities was entered into by India with His Majesty's Government during the war, but this agreement terminates concurrently with the main Financial Settlement and it is necessary to provide for something to take its place in respect of the liabilities for non-effective charges arising during the year 1947 48 A very rough assessment of the above mentioned claims and counter-claims indicated a substantial net charge to India, but against this could be set the fact that His Majesty's Government make an annual payment (£2,000,000) to the Government of India in accordance with the award of the Garran Tribunal towards the cost of maintaining British troops in India The problem of how all these liabilities should be assessed in the changed situation with which we are now faced has formed the subject of discussion with His Majesty's Government and after a broad examination of the financial implications involved and in view of the pressing need for simplification of accounting work, it has been agreed that for the year 1947-48 there should be a mutual waiver of all claims and payments of the nature referred to above It is felt that in all the circumstances this solution constitutes a fair and equitable settlement for both parties It must be emphasised that this arrangement has been agreed upon in respect of the year 1947-48 only The method of adjusting claims and counter claims of this kind which may arise thereafter will have to be settled by negotiation in the light of the circumstances then existing

20 I have referred in an earlier part of my speech to the heavy accumulations of stocks in the hands of the Defence authorities in India Under the operation of the Financial Settlement these accumulations have been paid for by, and therefore belong to His Majesty's Government and the Government of India propose to acquire possession of such stocks held on the 1st April 1947 whether for the future use of India's Armed Forces or as surpluses awaiting disposal They also contemplate buying out His Majesty's Government's interest in fixed assets comprising stores, buildings, hospitals workshops, office and residential accommodation etc, that have been constructed during the war at that Government's expense The terms on which these stocks and assets are to be transferred will be negotiated in the course of the sterling balances discussions In the interim the sale proceeds of surplus stores thrown up by the Defence authorities and those resulting from the disposal of fixed assets created during the war have accrued to His Majesty's Government on whom all

expenditure connected with their disposal has fallen From the 1st April, 1947, however, in view of the proposed transfer of ownership, all such sale proceeds will be retained by the Government of India It has been decided that these receipts during 1947 48 as well as those arising from the sale of American surpluses will be kept in suspense outside the Defence Estimates and eventually adjusted as Capital receipts, since their credit to the Defence revenue estimates would tend to obscure the true cost of the defence services For a similar reason the amount to be paid to His Majesty's Government for the defence stocks transferred to Indian ownership on 1st April 1947 will (when known) be charged to a head outside the revenue estimates of the defence services It is true that those estimates will from 1st April 1947 have to bear the cost incurred by the defence authorities on the custody, handling and distribution of surplus stores, but against this may be set the fact that no charge will be made against those estimates in respect of the cost of stores used for the equipment and maintenance of the armed forces which are drawn from the transferred stocks

"21 The budget estimates of defence expenditure for 1947-48 amount to Rs 188 71 crores. The practice introduced during the war of providing for certain classes of expenditure *e g*, on airfields, industrial expansion and new construction for the R I N, under a capital head will be discontinued and, commencing with the year 1947-48, all such expenditure will be provided for in the revenue estimates Owing to the abnormal feature to which I have already referred that will prevail during that year, this estimate cannot be regarded as affording any reliable guide to the probable size of India's normal defence budget of the future

"22 The cost of defence supplies and services likely to be rendered to His Majesty's Government during 1947-48 is estimated to be approximately equal to the cost of similar supplies and services received by India from that Government Accordingly the year's activities in the defence sphere are not expected to have any net effect on India's sterling balances

"23 *Civil Estimates* --Civil expenditure next year is estimated at Rs 139 17 crores, Rs. 4 19 crores less than in the current year The estimates include a total provision of over Rs 13 crores under the various heads for expenditure on resettlement and development schemes Subsidies on imported foodgrains are expected to cost Rs 17 35 crores against Rs 20 crores this year Details of the provision under the individual heads are given in the Explanatory Memorandum

"24 The budgetary position next year may now be summarised

At the existing level of taxation the total revenue is estimated at Rs 279 42 crores Expenditure charged to revenue is expected to amount to Rs 327 88 crores, of which Rs. 188 71 crores will be on Defence Services, leaving a prospective gap of Rs 48 46 crores. The figure of Rs 327 88 crores does not include any expenditure which may have to be incurred as a result of decisions on the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission

Ways and Means

"25 I shall digress at this stage, to give a brief account of the Ways and Means position

"In normal times the scale of Government borrowing is determined by their requirements of funds but in the war years, as the House is aware, it has been the policy to borrow as much as possible without raising the rates so as to draw off the surplus purchasing power in the hands of the community which would otherwise compete for the limited volume of available supplies As I have mentioned elsewhere, there is still a serious shortage of consumer goods and, till this disparity between the available supplies and purchasing power is substantially reduced the need to counter inflationary trends must be kept in view in regulating our borrowing

"We had budgeted this year for a total borrowing of Rs 250 crores from the market and an expansion of our floating debt by Rs 14 crores We now estimate that the market borrowings this year would amount to no more than Rs 112 crores and that the floating debt at the end of the year would be Rs 4 crores less We have been unable to reach the target assumed in the budget for a number of reasons The operations connected with the conversion of 3 1/2% paper to which I shall shortly refer covered the bulk of the slack season when it is usual to float the regular loans We thus lost valuable time and in subsequent months market conditions became more difficult owing to disturbances in certain parts of the country and the seasonal trade demands for funds These demands have been heavier than usual due to the increase in prices of certain commodities like mica, shellac, tea and jute, the slower movement of crops in parts of the country affected by the recent disturbances and the lock-up of funds advanced on goods which are held up by transport or other difficulties The borrowing operations were also hampered by strikes in certain important banks during this period

"26 During the course of this year the Government of India successfully carried out the greatest conversion operation undertaken so far The rate of interest on the 1/2 % non-terminable loans had become

line with the rate structure for other loans, but as they were liable to be repaid at par after three months' notice, they could not appreciate to a value appropriate to their rate of interest It was, therefore, decided to exercise the option of repaying these loans and to replace them so far as possible by a 3% undated issue Two loans were offered in conversion, one a 3% undated issue redeemable at the option of Government after forty years and the other a 2 3/4% issue redeemable in 1976 The conversion was an outstanding success and a tribute to the credit of the Government of India Out of an outstanding balance of Rs 273 crores well over Rs 360 crores were converted mostly in the 3% undated loan The annual saving of interest resulting from this conversion will be about Rs 1 3 crores.

"27 For next year, the market borrowings have been taken at Rs 150 crores I have also assumed that Government will exercise the option of repaying the 3% Loan in 1947-50, but the final decision will be taken in the course of the year and with reference to the conditions then prevailing

"28 My predecessor mentioned last year the reorientation of the Small Savings Movement from a wartime measure to a peacetime organisation with the primary purpose of encouraging consistent savings among the less well to do sections of the community It will be the policy of Government to encourage the movement in co-operation with the Provincial Governments

"During the last financial year the total investments in small savings amounted to Rs 62 34 crores while in the first nine months of the current year Rs 35 38 crores have been invested For next year the net receipts from this source have been estimated at Rs 45.45 crores

Sterling Balances

"29 My predecessor last year envisaged a sterling holding of the order of £ 1330 million by the end of the financial year 1945-46 The total actually reached on 29th March 1946 was £ 1293 million or Rs 1724 crores He thought it possible that the year 1946 47 might see the end of the period of accretions to our sterling balances, and might even mark the beginning of an era of decreasing balances That anticipation has been more than realised After reaching a peak figure of £ 1300 million or Rs 1733 crores on the 5th April 1946 the balances have shown a steady tendency to decline the amount, on 31st January 1947 being £ 1204 million or Rs. 1605 crores which means a decrease of about Rs 128 crores in ten months This decrease

is due largely to the heavy imports of foodgrains which we have been compelled to make during the last year, as well as to imports of fertilisers, stores and equipment on Government account It reflects also some repatriation of British capital from India and an increasing flow of consumer goods of which the country has been starved during the period of the war The sterling balances represent, by and large, the entire reserve of foreign exchange which this country will have at its disposal in the years to come for purchases of capital equipment required for our development programme and for meeting any unfavourable balance of payments It is, therefore, a matter of paramount importance for our future to see that, apart from those consumer goods of which our people are badly and urgently in need, these balances should be wisely spent in the purchase of capital goods and the creation of productive assets, and should not be allowed to be frittered away, for instance on luxuries, trifles or non-essential consumer goods in a manner which does not add to the real wealth of the country To ensure wise spending abroad is a responsibility of the Government of India and I can assure the House that they are alive to this responsibility

"30 During the last session of the Assembly I gave the assurance that the negotiations for the settlement of the problem of India's accumulated sterling balances would be started as early as possible For the purpose of expediting these negotiations there have recently been, as the House is aware, preliminary talks of an exploratory nature between the officers of the Finance Department and the Reserve Bank on the one hand and H M 's Treasury and the Bank of England on the other The conversations were extremely useful to both sides It is expected that they will be continued on a more formal basis towards the end of April The imminence of constitutional changes consequent upon the latest statement of H M G renders it all the more important that the question of sterling balances should be settled at the earliest possible date I shall, therefore, try my best to bring to bear on this matter as much expedition as the magnitude of the problem permits I need hardly assure the House that I am fully conscious of the fact that our people have gone through untold hardships and sufferings to such an extent that hunger and famine have taken a toll of millions of lives and, even today, the end of our suffering is not in sight It must also be borne in mind that all this was because we not only bore our full share of our war burdens under the financial settlement, which was freely agreed to between H M G and the then Government of India, but also had to strain ourselves to assist the United Kingdom and her

allies in various ways Our own share of burdens for which we are making no claim, was enormous and can stand favourable comparison with those borne by the richer nations I cannot believe that any fair-minded person will wish to deny to a people so poor and backward as we, what is justly due to us and is so greatly needed for raising us from our appallingly miserable condition and it will be my aim to secure a just settlement of our claims

Empire Dollar Pool

"31 My predecessor had dealt at some length with the origin and significance of what is known as the Empire Dollar Pool In view, however, of the continued misunderstanding in the public mind on this subject the position was again fully explained in a Press Note issued by my Department on October 7, 1946 Honourable Members are aware that the termination of India's membership of the Dollar Pool is a matter indissolubly linked with the settlement of the question of the sterling balances and I can safely say that such a settlement will coincide with the termination so far as we are concerned, of the pooling arrangement

International Monetary Institutions

"32 Before I close my review for the current year I should like to refer, with some gratification, to the notable decision taken by this House on the 28th October, 1946 in approving of India's membership of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development It is a decision of far-reaching importance, it signifies our willingness to co-operate with other nations in the international economic fields, and to participate in arrangements devised by common agreement for the better regulation and control of international commercial relationships

"I must also mention here the important decision, taken in the concluding month of last year, to fix the par value of the rupee in connection with our membership of the Fund This formed an essential preliminary to the commencement of operations by the Fund and all member-countries were similarly called upon to determine the exchange value of their currencies Our decision not to vary the existing parity rate was taken with due regard to all the relevant factors which bear on this difficult problem, and was in consonance with the vast majority of opinion expressed by public bodies and private individuals qualified to speak with authority on this subject and the majority view expressed by the Honourabl Members of the House consulted by me at a special meeting I am confident that the decision

was a wise one and I derive no little satisfaction from the fact that no country of any consequence has chosen to take a different course.

"Necessary provision has been made in the estimates for the payment of our subscription to both the institutions During the current year a sum of 60 million dollars, representing 15 per cent of our quota, has been paid to the Bank and 5 per cent will fall due next year. The International Monetary Fund has announced its intention to commence operations from the 1st March, 1947 and our full subscription of 400 million dollars will have to be paid to the Fund during the current year The total expenditure on account of these subscriptions, which is being taken to capital is expected to amount to Rs 152 19 crores this year and Rs 6 62 crores next year The bulk of these payments will be made in the form of non negotiable non-interest bearing securities, for which provision is being made in the estimates

Post-war Planning and Development

"33 Before dealing with the progress of post war development and the financial aspect of measures undertaken and contemplated, I would like to refer briefly to the financial resources likely to be available for the purpose The House will remember that in his Budget Speech for 1944-45 Sir Jeremy Raisman suggested that it would not be unreasonable to expect that taking Revenue surpluses and borrowings together, the total resources in the first effective quinquennium may be of the order of Rs 1,000 crores That tentative estimate was based on certain assumptions, such as the attainment of a reasonably speedy rate of demobilisation and an all out taxation and borrowing policy, not all of which have been realised in full. A later estimate prepared on more up-to-date information has shown that on the existing basis only a very small surplus on Revenue account would accrue to the Centre for the quinquennium as a whole and the total resources including borrowing would fall substantially below the figure mentioned by Sir Jeremy Raisman The House will doubtless appreciate that any estimates framed now would in view of the uncertainty in the constitutional field introduced by the recent announcement of H M G be of no more than academic interest Until the constitution of the authority or authorities to which the powers and functions of the present Central Government will be transferred is known, it would hardly be prudent to rely for the quinquennium in question, on a system of Provincial and Central finance based upon the existing constitutional structure. But as I have said before, this does not mean that for next year we should not proceed with our economic programme, particularly in the

Provincial sphere Long term plans the execution of which is entrusted to departments of the existing Central Government would, however, need review in the light of the new situation but everything possible should be done to foster development on a provincial and regional basis I must, therefore, stress the imperative necessity of mobilising all our resources to the full, and for the fullest co-operation on the part of the public in all the borrowing operations by Government

"34 The deflationary tendencies which in last year's Budget Speech were envisaged as a possible result of the sudden curtailment of Military expenditure have proved to be less serious than was anticipated Indeed, during the past year the main problem has been that of preventing a further inflationary rise in prices rather than of mitigating their decline As the situation developed, it was found necessary to warn Provincial Governments that the works programme in their development schemes should be restricted to what their staffs could execute without undue strain, and within the limitations of material likely to be available, so as to avoid competitive increases of building costs which are already very high It has been suggested to them that a careful watch should be maintained on the cost of construction of various types of works, so that their works programmes could be eased off if prices showed any tendency to rise and accelerated if their were signs of a general fall in prices

"35 Subject to this warning the Provincial Governments have been encouraged to proceed with their development programmes and considerable progress has in fact been made during the year As I have already indicated, our financial position is not so satisfactory as had been hoped when the scheme for development grants to the Provinces was first announced, but in spite of this deterioration in our position we shall continue to give every possible assistance to development schemes which are of economic value to the country as a whole I should only like to emphasise two points in this connection In the first place I consider it essential that preference should be given to schemes which are designed to secure the development and expansion of the productive capacity of the country The second point which I wish to emphasise is that even for the period of transition the development programmes can be carried out more successfully if there is fully co-operation between the Central and Provincial Governments and full utilisation of Provincial as well as Central resources The Government of India will make every effort to provide during the next year grants for the Provinces to the extent indicated in the last year's Budget Speech although these grants are necessarily dependent on our financial position

The development plans on the scale contemplated by the Provincial Governments can be carried out if they are prepared to exploit their own powers of taxation to the full and to supplement the Central grants from the proceeds of such taxation and of their own borrowings They must learn that they possess borrowing capacity independent of that of the Centre, which cannot borrow on the security of Provincial revenues, and that revenue resources may legitimately be supplemented from loan money for measures calculated to increase national wealth, even though they may not result in direct or immediate revenue return An increase in real wealth is bound sooner or later to be reflected in larger revenues to the State

"36 During the current financial year we are making advance payments to the Provincial Governments to cover the whole of the expenditure incurred by them on approved development schemes These advance payments will be taken into consideration when the share of each Province in the total amount available for distribution comes to be calculated In our budget estimates for 1946-47 we made a lump provision of Rs [illegible] crores for such advance payments and for expenditure on "Grow more Food" and other schemes whose cost is shared between the Central and Provincial Governments Mainly owing to shortages of staff and material, the Provincial Governments have not been able to spend as much as had been anticipated and we now estimate that the total amount required during the current year will be of the order of Rs 25 crores In addition to this, loans granted to Provincial Governments for productive schemes are expected to amount to Rs 11 1/2 crores In the next year's budget we have provided Rs 45 crores for development grants and Rs 32 crores for loans to the Provinces It is not intended that the grants for next year should, as in the current year, represent the total amount of expenditure incurred by the Provincial Governments on development schemes I hope that in most cases it will considerably exceed the amount of the grant but we have not considered it practicable for next year to insist on a specific proportion of the total expenditure being contributed by the Provinces, since some Provincial Governments have at present practically no accumulated funds available for this purpose and it will take some time to build up the necessary resources Other Provinces, however, have substantial funds already available for development purposes Such Provinces will naturally be expected to use a part for their own resources during the year

37 The Central development plans have also made good progress during the year These include scheme of agricultural development,

training schemes for technical staff and financial assistance to various scientific, medical and technological institutions We have also made provision for important development schemes in the Centrally Administered Areas and in the Tribal Areas on the North-West and North-East Frontiers of India The funds provided for development purposes are distributed between many different heads, but I have roughly estimated that if allowance is made for increases in standing charges, the total provision in the revenue section of the budget (excluding Railways and Posts and Telegraphs but including resettlement schemes) would come to over Rs 15 crores

"38 One important development which deserves specific mention is the assumption of financial responsibility for the construction of and maintenance of National Highways It has now been agreed that this change should come into effect on the 1st of April 1947 and we have made a total provision of about Rs 6 1/2 crores for National Highways expenditure during 1947-48, Rs 2 1/4 crores in the revenue budget and the balance in the capital budget

"39 Another item which was mentioned last year is the subsidised housing scheme Owing to the very high cost of building there has not so far been much response to the Central Government's offer to pay 12 1/2% of the total cost of approved schemes The matter is however again under discussion with the Provincial Governments and we hope they will be ready to proceed with suitable schemes during 1947-48 in so far as this can be done without pushing up prices still further Meantime the Central Government have themselves approved a special scheme for the housing of coal miners It has been agreed that as an experimental measure, 10,000 houses should be constructed on selected sites in the Bengal and Bihar coal-fields and that houses of a similar type should be built for some of the railway collieries. The Central Government will pay a subsidy to the extent of 20% of the cost of these houses, subject to a maximum of Rs 400 per house and the balance of the cost will be met from loan funds Since it is not at present considered practicable to effect large recoveries either from the owners or from the miners we propose to meet the greater part of the recurring charges by means of a small addition to the existing Welfare Cess on the total output of coal

"40 The only other schemes which I wish to mention specifically at this stage are the schemes for river development I am glad to be able to say that, at a conference held last month, the Departments of the Central Government and the Governments of Bengal and Bihar reached a tentative agreement on the outlines of the Damodar scheme

which involves the building of eight dams and is expected to cost about Rs. 55 crores A further conference will shortly be held at which we may expect the terms of the agreement to be finalised The project affects more than one Province and many complex problems arise in reconciling all the interests involved Considerable progress has been made in finding a suitable solution by the establishment of a Statutory Corporation which will be invested with the necessary authority by the Provinces and the Centre and financed by them in an agreed manner It is hoped that a Damodar Valley Corporation will shortly be set up to plan, construct and administer the scheme, and that the construction of certain dams will start during the next cold weather Considerable progress has also been made with the preliminary enquiries which are being conducted by the Central Waterways, Irrigation and Navigation Commission in connection with the Kosi and Mahanadi development schemes. It is obvious that schemes of this kind are of the utmost importance for the economic development of the country and I hope that the Governments concerned will continue to give them the highest possible priority

"41 As I have indicated earlier the recent statement of His Majesty's Government has thrown everything into the melting pot and all the schemes for which the present Central Government has taken responsibility will have to be reviewed in the light of consititutional developments

"42 I should like to take this opportunity to emphasise the importance of regional planning in the economy of this subcontinent The fundamental object of all planning and development is to raise the standard of living of the masses In order to ensure a uniform improvement in the standard of living, it is essential that all parts of the country, particularly the backward areas, should develop a sound and balanced economy A balanced economy implies the co-ordinated development of the soil, water resources, electric power, agriculture, industry, health, education, trade and a just and equitable distribution of wealth Such an economy, in my view, can best be achieved if planning proceeds on a regional basis The work of the Tenessee Valley Authority provides a classic example of what can be achieved by concentration of planning effort in a backward region The Indian subcontinent with its population of four hundred million, which is one-fifth of the human race, and its area of nearly sixteen hundred thousand square miles, is too big to be treated as one unit for the purpose of planning It is often urged in support of Central planning that it would avoid overlapping and waste of resources In the present undeveloped state of

the country this would appear to be an academic argument which hardly has any relation to facts The India of today is in such a backward state of development that it may well take at least another generation before we reach a stage when we can talk of overlapping and waste of resources

"43. Before I pass on to my proposals for reducing the gap between revenue and expenditure, the House will doubtless wish for an assurance from me that the estimates of expenditure of the Central Government in the coming year are not in excess of what is essential for the day to day administration and for necessary development I am aware that there is a feeling in this House that the Central Government expenditure needs scrutiny in certain respects I agree that, if only for the purpose of conserving our resources for development, there may be certain directions in which such a scrutiny can be usefully exercised It may, for instance, be found that some of the establishments of the Government of India are susceptible of reduction Again, certain wartime activities which in the first instance were undertaken to meet specified wartime requirements may have escaped review even though the need for them may have ceased to exist. And, lastly, it may also be necessary to see if the Central Government has undertaken any functions or activities which legitimately fall within the Provincial sphere beyond what is necessary Even though the Finance Department, in the course of its day to day working, conducts an examination of expenditure proposals keeping all these considerations in view, I feel that there might be advantages in an *ad hoc* review at this stage by a Committee which would examine the matter in its broad aspects and from a detached point of view I, therefore, propose that a Committee, consisting of officials and non-officials, including Members of the Legislature, should be appointed for this purpose I should, however, make it clear that my object in proposing an Economy Committee of this nature is not to conduct a retrenchment campaign in the sense in which that expression is ordinarily understood Although inflationary conditions still persist, a thorough-going retrenchment drive would not be appropriate with the possibility of a post-war deflation hanging over us, which might necessitate an expansion of public expenditure for counteracting an incipient deflation What I am really anxious to secure is that the resources of the Central Government are utilised to the fullest advantage of the community and are not frittered away on objects which are neither essential for the day to day administration nor conducive to the development of the country In other words, economy and the elimination of unnecessary, wasteful or extravagant expenditure is my

objective rather than pure retrenchment

"44 An important question which I might mention at this stage is the nationalisation of the Reserve Bank of India Honourable Members will remember the recent debate in the House which disclosed that there was a general concensus of opinion in favour of nationalisation I said at the time that I would be prepared to give sympathetic consideration to the proposal for nationalising the Bank if this was found to be in the best interest of the country, after considering all the relevant aspects of the question I have since given further thought to the matter and am convinced that the advantages of nationalisation outweigh any possible disadvantages I have, therefore, come to the conclusion that the Reserve Bank should be nationalised, the time and manner of effecting the change being a matter for separate consideration in due course

"45. There is another matter which I should also like to mention, namely, the question of control over speculation on the Stock market and on the Commodity and Bullion Exchanges The House will, I am sure, agree with me that in recent years speculative activity has tended to increase, particularly on the Stock Exchanges, with serious consequences on the banking system and credit structure of the country as a whole Unbridled speculation has been a serious impediment to the growth of proper investment which is an essential condition of economic development I regard speculation of this kind as a social evil indistinguishable from gambling, and its greatest mischief lies in the fact that it aggravates economic inequalities The question of regulation Exchanges has been the subject of a special enquiry by the Economic Adviser of my Department, and the views of Provincial Governments have also been elicited I hope to place before the House after the necessary examination is completed the measures that may be necessary in this behalf

"46 The proposals that I have to place before this House, whether they involve the levy of fresh or the abandonment of existing taxation are related not to purely financial purposes but to certain social objectives which, I am sure the House will agree, must be kept prominently in view by all those who have the good of the countless millions of this vast subcontinent at heart India is a land of glaring contrasts and disparities, we have here on the one hand a class of multi-millionaires rolling in wealth and holding the economy of the country in their grip by exploiting for their own profit the labour of the poorer classes, and on the other hand the vast multitudes who eke out, somehow or other a miserable existence precariously near the starvation line The

conditions created by the last war served to accentuate these disparities, the rich became richer and the poor poorer This meant the concentration of wealth in fewer and fewer hands and, inevitably, the use of that wealth for the purpose of tightening the stranglehold of Big Money over the economic life of the country as a whole by the acquisition of businesses, companies, public utilities, and the press A set of conditions in which the few are able to wield such vast power over the many can hardly be regarded as anything but a negation of the principles of social justice And although I am not one of those who consider the abolition of private property and the complete equalisation of incomes as the only remedy for these ills, I do believe in the Quranic injunction that wealth should not be allowed to circulate only among the wealthy, and the stern warning given against accumulations of wealth in the hands of individuals It is against this background that my budget proposals have been formulated, although I am afraid I cannot claim that they represent anything more than the first stage of a policy of social justice and development which it will require years to bring to full fruition

"47 My first proposal in implementation of the policy I have indicated is the setting up of a Commission to investigate that aspect of the great private accumulations of wealth in recent years which is concerned with our direct taxation We have heard a great deal for some years past about the enormous amount of income which is alleged to have escaped taxation either owing to deliberate evasion or to the inadequacy of the Income-tax Department or to both We have also heard of the huge sums that are said to have been made in black market operations. And I must say that support for these opinions, which have been voiced in the press and elsewhere, is found in the numerous reports of transactions in which businesses and properties of various kinds have changed hands for vast sums of money The way in which some of these profiteers have flaunted their newly acquired wealth has been something of a public sensation And when one considers that our annual income of Rs 30 lakhs for the five year 1941-42 to 1945-46 inclusive —and I would point out that an annual income of Rs 30 lakhs is a very exceptional income, i e out of a total income of a crore and a half for those five years having regard to the fact that excess profit tax was in force during those years—only Rs 21 lakhs would have been left after the correct amount of taxation had been paid, one is entitled to ask how the crores of rupees which have figured in many recent transactions were accumulated. There may be a good explanation but, if so, we are entitled to have it I, therefore, propose to set up a special

Investigation Commission with full powers to get to the bottom of this matter and to make recommendations to Government in regard to such action as may be found necessary

"48 I come now to my taxation proposals Between the total estimated expenditure, both civil and defence, of Rs 327 88 crores and the total estimated revenue, at the *existing level of taxation*, of Rs. 279 42 crores, there is a gap of Rs 48 46 crores, which be further enlarged by the withdrawal of the salt tax which I am proposing This proposal will mean a loss of Rs 9 25 crores of revenue, to which must be added a further Rs 1 crore for refunds of duty on stocks The expenditure on salt administration will be met by adjustment of the selling price of Government salt and of the cess on salt manufactured under licence, thus leaving a net loss of Rs 8 25 crores My problem then is how to fill a total gap of Rs 56 71 crores I have come to the conclusion that the greater part of this gap should be filled by direct taxation and my proposals for new or increased taxation are, therefore, designed to yield Rs 44 crores, of which Rs 4 crores will go to the Provinces as their share

"49 In regard to the Salt Tax, the objections are well-known— the most valid being that it is laid upon a prime necessity of life and that it is regressive, the poor man paying as much as the rich man and perhaps, if he is a manual worker, even more On the other hand, the incidence on the individual consumer is light, while the annual yield in revenue amounts to more than Rs 9 crores Until recent years, the yield from the tax formed a substantial part of the revenue budget and previous Governments have felt unable to dispense with so large an individual contribution At the present time, however, the proportion which it bears to the total revenue is comparatively small so that this objection has considerably less force now than before After careful consideration it has been decided that the tax should now be withdrawn At the same time, we are impressed with the necessity for maintaining close control over the production of salt in India so as to ensure the maintenance of a high standard of quality and the provision of adequate supplies throughout the land, and to secure the country against periodical shortages due to the cutting off of external supplies Until now Government's interest in the salt industry has been largely confined to the raising of revenue hereafter it is intended that its interest should be entirely positive and constructive and should be directed towards developing India's salt resources to their full potential, improving the quality of the salt and making sufficient grades to provide for all classes of the consumers, encouraging increased con-

sumption by individuals and by cattle, providing adequate supplies for industrial uses, keeping prices at a minimum and ultimately making India fully self-supporting in this important commodity

"The excise duty on indigenous salt and the customs duty on imported salt will accordingly be withdrawn with effect from the 1st April 1947, but Government will continue its own production of salt and will retain control over organised manufacture and will also purchase or control all imported salt Individuals will, however, be allowed to make or collect salt for their own purposes and those who wish to manufacture for the sale will be allowed to do so subject to certain limitations which will be prescribed by rules

"In order to provide that as far as possible the full benefit of the remission of duty is passed on to the consumer, maximum wholesale and retail selling prices will be prescribed and failure to observe these maxima will be liable to penalty

"A Bill giving effect to these decisions and setting up machinery for the future control of the manufacture, import and distribution of salt will be introduced during the course of this session

"In September last year, in order to avert a salt famine which was then threatening owing to the reluctance of wholesale dealers to purchase salt in face of the possibility that the duty might presently be abolished, the salt trade was assured that it would not be put to loss in respect of substantial stocks of salt held at the time when such a change if decided upon, should take place In fulfilment of this promise dealers will be granted refund of duty on all bagged stocks of 30 maunds or more held in their possession on the 1st April, 1947

"50 I would like to remind the House that the abolition of the Salt Tax is not the only form of direct relief to the poorer classes A further and even more effective form of assistance is the expenditure of Rs 17 35 crores on the subsidisation of imported food and the indirect subsidisation of food produced within the country in the form of 'Grow More Food grants to which I have referred in an earlier part of my speech The corner stone of our economic policy is to maintain strict control over the prices of the basic necessities of life food and cloth, so as to stabilise them at reasonable levels and keep them within the purchasing power of the poorest sections of the population I am determined to take all steps in my power in furtherance of this policy

"51 In the field of direct taxation, I propose to raise the minimum exemption limit for income-tax, which is now Rs 2,000 to Rs 2,500 This raising of the limit will give relief to a considerable number of assessees who are hard hit by present conditions In proposing

this relief I am not unmindful of the feeling in its favour expressed by many members of this House in proposing amendments to former Finance Bills The cost of the relief will be about Rs 25 lakhs

52 Coming now to proposals of additional taxation my most important contribution is the proposal to levy a special income-tax of twenty-five per cent of business profits exceeding one lakh of rupees The proposals for this tax are contained in a separate Bill and I do not desire to anticipate here the explanation which will be given when the Bill is being considered by this House But I should like to point out that this proposed tax is very much fairer in its incidence than the Excess Profits Tax It also embraces professions and vocations which were exempt from the Excess Profits Tax To prevent hardship in the case of moderate incomes a limit of exemption of one lakh of rupees has been fixed. This in substance corresponds to the 'standard profit' under the Excess Profits Tax Act, and only the excess above one lakh will be subject to the tax The yield of the tax is estimated at Rs 30 crores for next year

"53 My next proposal is a tax on capital gains Honourable Members must be well aware of the extent to which large capital gains have been made in recent years and are still being made owing to prevailing conditions These profits are as the law stands outside the scope of the Income-tax Act I feel very strongly that this lacuna in our legislation should be filled There is stronger justification for taxing these profits than there is for taxing ordinary income since they represent what is properly described as unearned increment The U S A taxes such profits I am well aware that possibly the chief reason why many countries do not seek to tax them is the fear that losses claimed may exceed the profits declared I am proposing to deal with this contingency as the U S A have dealt with it, by allowing capital losses to be set off only against capital gains This at least will secure us against a net loss under this head in any particular case The proposals also distinguish between gains made from the disposal of capital assets held for two years and those held for more than two years In the case of the former the usual rates of income-tax and super-tax will apply, while in the case of the latter super tax will not be levied. This distinction, however, does not apply to companies as they are not assessed to graduated rates of super-tax The proposals further provide for ignoring profits and losses not exceeding Rs 5,000 a year There are two reasons for this exemption In the first place we do not want to harass assessees or waste the time of our officers by investigating petty capital transactions and, secondly, we want to exclude the

great majority of cases in which assessees dispose of personal possessions The proposal is expected to yield Rs 3½ crores next year

"These proposals for taxing capital gains are contained in a Bill, already mentioned, to amend the Income-Tax and Excess Profits Tax Acts which is being placed before the House The part of the Bill which deals with Excess Profits Tax implements an undertaking previously given to provide for terminal losses It recognises the fact that some expenses and losses incurred after the 31st March, 1946—the date on which the Excess Profits Tax ceased to have effect—should in fairness be treated as relating to the E P J period It is proposed, therefore to allow as a deduction from the profits of the chargeable accounting period ended on that date, terminal expenses incurred after it and losses from the subsequent realisation of trading stocks held on that date

"54. My next proposal is to raise the rate of corporation tax from one anna to two annas. This is expected to yield Rs 4 crores next year

"55 No change is proposed in the rates of income tax but I feel that our present rates of super-tax are not sufficiently in accordance with modern trends in the taxation of high individual incomes It seems to me that the maximum rate of ten and a half annas should be reached at points much lower than the present, which are Rs 3 1/2 lakhs for unearned income and Rs 5 lakhs for earned income In the scale which I am proposing the maximum rate is reached at Rs 1 2 lakhs for unearned income and Rs 1 5 lakhs for earned income This will, in effect, mean, that, in these reaches of income the total of income-tax and super-tax taken together will amount to fifteen and half annas in the rupee This proposal is expected to yield Rs 2 1/2 crores next year

"56. Finally, I come to the dividend tax which was imposed last year, not for the purpose of raising revenue but in order to discourage the dissipation of a company's resources in excessive dividends The idea underlying the scheme is that a company should be penalised if it distributed roughly more than one half of its profits left after taxation So far as we have been able to ascertain from completed assessments, the policy which this tax seeks to enforce has been followed in the great majority of cases But in order to discourage further those who still persist in distribution what we consider excessive dividends in present circumstances, I propose to tighten up the provision by making the rates of tax more penal As the proposal will yield no tax if it fulfils its object and as that is my hope, I am estimating no yield under this head

"57 In the field of indirect taxation, I propose to raise the existing export duty on tea from two annas per pound to four annas per pound This is estimated to yield additional revenue to the extent of Rs 4 crores in the next year I should emphasise that this duty is of a temporary nature and if circumstances arise which indicate that there is danger of curtailment of our exports of tea, it may be necessary to reduce the rate

"58 The effect of my proposals is to increase Central revenues by Rs 39 75 crores which will leave a final deficit of Rs 16 96 crores But I must warn the House that the actual deficit may be much larger as the budget does not include any provision for the additional expenditure that may be incurred as a result of the orders that may be passed on the recommendations of the Central Pay Commission Some losses in customs duty due to reductions in tariff may also arise as a result of the international trade discussions which are shortly to be held and in which India is participating But we might reasonably hope that any such losses resulting to the public exchequer will be counterbalanced by the advantages accruing to the people of this country as a result of the tariff concessions which we hope to receive from the other countries in exchange for concessions made by us

'59 Sir, I have done We are passing through an exceedingly difficult phase The transition from war to peace presents the economy of every country with problems of great magnitude and difficulty In our case there is, superimposed on these problems, the still greater problem of the transfer of power from British to Indian hands The problem of India's political emancipation, with which is linked up the economic well-being of the country, is intricate and the task ahead of us difficult But if we tackle it with wisdom and courage and arrive at a peaceful, just and honourable settlement we will have succeeded in ensuring the future progress and happiness of the peoples of this vast subcontinent The eyes of the whole world are on us May Providence help and guide us during the most crucial year of our destiny!"

BUDGET SPEECH

On March 4, 1947, replying to the criticism of the Honourable Members, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"I am indeed grateful to those of my Honourable friends who have been good enough to say nice things about me I am not perturbed in the least at the criticism that has been levelled against the Budget which I have had the honour to present before this House on the 28th of last month As a matter of fact, Mr Deputy President, I would have been surprised if there had been no criticism I was expecting it because I am not unaware of the great power for propaganda which big money wields The discussion has shown that a number of my Honourable friends have not really studied the proposals which I have placed before this Honourable House They have been influenced by the opinions that have been expressed and the views that have been given in a section of the Press and it is natural that very few of us have either the time or the inclination to study the problems carefully which effect the destiny of this country We like to talk not of what we think but of what others think for us

'Before I come to the main criticism of the proposals there are certain points about the Budget with which I would like to deal, because they are not of very great importance, in the sense that I can dispose of them in a few minutes

"My Honourable friend Mr Subedar, apart from his criticism of the taxation proposals with which I shall deal later, referred to the question of compensation for the Bombay explosion As I have said already, in reply to one of the questions, I think, the Government of India have been pressing on His Majesty's Government that the responsibility for the damage done is on them and not on the Government of India His Majesty's Government have not accepted the responsibility for the damage. We are not satisfied with their reply and we are going on pressing on them that they must pay for the damage that was done on account of the Bombay explosion

'The next point to which reference was made was with regard to the Estate Duty Bill I think on this matter also I have informed the House on a previous occasion that the opinions on the Bill have been received. The opinions are being examined and as soon as the Government is in a position to bring this measure before the House it will be done

'The third point was, as a matter of fact a number of members

referred to it, that relief should be given—I think Mr Tamiz ud-din Khan was the first to raise this point—in respect of excise on tobacco and betel nuts I wish it were possible for me to give that relief but the position of our finances is such that I could not persuade myself, much as I desired, to give greater relief in the form of the removal of certain taxes to the poor than what we have been able to do

"Then, Sir, there is another point which has been raised by a number of members and it is with regard to raising the exemption limit from Rs 2,500 to Rs 3,000, Rs 3,500 or even Rs 4,000 as some said Now, that again is a matter to which I have given very careful consideration and I thought that it would not be very prudent to raise the limit from Rs 2,500 to any other higher figure

"Then, Sir, a number of Honourable Members have said that we have made no provision in the Budget which would improve the educational, social, cultural and economic life of the peoples of this country I am sorry to say Mr Deputy President, that the Honourable Members who have raised this objection have not taken the trouble of reading carefully my speech or the memorandum that has been circulated They will find that there is provision for 60 crores of rupees—45 crores for development in the provinces and 15 crores for development in the Centrally administered areas and with regard to certain Central institutions for purposes for which a complaint has been made that we have made no provision in the Budget I wonder if those of my friends who raised this objection really studied the figures that have been given It cannot be said that 60 crores of rupees for development purposes, apart from other measures of relief, is a negligible amount

"Then, Sir, a great deal has been said about the high expenditure that is being incurred by the Central Government either in connection with the Defence Department or in connection with Civil Department. I am at one with them here as I am myself, not satisfied that the expenditure which we are incurring is either necessary or urgent, and it is due to that fact that I have proposed the appointment of an Economy Committee Surely, my Honourable friend Mr Sri Prakasa does not expect me to use the feudal method of beheading every servant of the Government to save expenditure I hope, as I stated in my speech, that this Committee, which will consist of officials and non-officials including Members of this Honourable House, will go thoroughly into this question of reducing our expenditure and keeping only such expenditure as is necessary for our requirements."

Pandit Lakshmi Kanta Maitra (Calcutta Non-Muhammadan Urban): "Does it also include the Defence Department?"

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan "It includes all the Departments I can assure Honourable Members that as far as I am concerned, I will do my best to assist them in the task of finding out and making recommendations to the Government I can assure my Honourable friends here that there is not a single Member of the Government who delights in extravagant expenditure in any Department and, therefore, it is not quite right to say that the present Government is unmindful of all those facts which have been stated by some of my Honourable friends on the floor of the House

"Then, Sir, Mr Karmarkar referred to certain figures as to why the income from Corporation tax was less"

Shri D P Karmarkar "If I might interrupt the Honourable Member, I stand corrected on that point".

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Thank you"

"Now, Sir, Mr Jaffar referred to inflation and said that I did not say anything definitely or more categorically than what is contained in my speech with regard to this question of inflation I feel very strongly about it and my budget proposals are intended to meet this difficulty also Therefore, it cannot be said that I did not have in mind the inflationary tendencies that are in the country today when I was framing my budget proposals Mr Jaffar referred to some other matters also, but I do not think it is necessary for me to deal with them in this debate. He referred to nickel coins and other matters and when the time comes, we shall deal with them As a matter of fact, I hope my Honourable friends will forgive me if it is not possible for me to deal with every point that has been raised by every Member of this House So far 30 Members have taken part in the debate and I do not think that any one would expect me to deal with every one of the points that have been raised by each and every Member

"Now, Sir, I come to the main points of my budget My Honourable friend Mr Griffiths, for whose eloquence I always have great admiration, though it may not be for his logic, has on this occasion, as in the past, proved to be a champion of lost causes As a matter of fact, I have noticed that whenever my Honourable friend Mr Griffiths is speaking in support of a cause which is already lost, he is most vehement, and on this occasion I noticed that he was more vehement than he has ever been during the time that I have been in this House. But I am surprised at the support which he has received in this

opposition from certain of my Honourable friends in this House I cannot help thinking that it is due to our past habit We have been in the habit of opposing all our life and when we find somebody, who is leader of the Opposition, we automatically follow him

"Now, Sir, let us really examine these taxation proposals because I have noticed that there has been quite a lot of confusion about these three taxation proposals I am leaving for the moment the question of export duty on tea because if I have correctly followed the debate, except for Mr Griffiths, I do not think there is any other Honourable Member of this House who has raised his protest against this measure Sir there has been one fear which has been expressed by a number of speakers who have taken part in the debate The fear is that my taxation proposals will reduce—some have said will completely stop—production Therefore, they feel that I am really taking some action which is very drastic and which would ultimately not be to the advantage of the economy of this country Let me take each proposal on its merits

"My first proposal is to have a tax of 25 per cent over amounts of profit which are more than one lakh I do not know whether Honourable Members have really taken the trouble to see that this tax is only for the current year and therefore those who talk of there being no production in the next year because of this tax are quite mistaken Whatever production there had to be has already taken place with regard to the current year, and therefore my tax is not going to affect the production in the next year As a matter of fact, I think most of the Honourable Members of this House will agree that last year when the Excess Profits Tax was removed, we felt that it was too early and that it should not have been removed so soon. Since I have taken over, I have examined the position very carefully and I was convinced that there was no justification for removing the Excess Profits Tax So I had this alternative before me—whether I should reimpose the Excess Profits Tax for this year or I should devise some other tax which would be more equitable and fairer to all business and would not weigh heavily against smaller business and more profitably in favour of bigger business—and after very careful consideration I came to the conclusion that this tax was fairer and easier to collect, which I think is a very important matter where the question of tax is concerned, than the E P T Therefore it is wrong to imagine that this tax which has been proposed will affect production adversely

"There has been another objection raised that it will prevent new

industries coming into existence I am afraid, Mr Deputy President, I do not quite follow that argument because when the new industries come into existence this tax will not be there So how is it going to prevent new industries from coming into existence? I can assure my Honourable friends here that it is my earnest desire that the production in this country should increase and not decrease, and if any one can prove to me that by the imposition of this tax I will really be affecting the interest of the country adversely I shall be only too glad to withdraw this tax But I am not going to withdraw this tax because it is going to take a bit out of the big profits that some people have made

"Now, Sir, let me take the other tax, and that is the capital gains tax There I think some of my friends made this suggestion—I want to deal with that before I deal with the merits of this tax—that the limit of Rs 5,000 was rather low Now, Sir, it is not my desire that a small man who may have made some profit by means of certain ordinary transactions should suffer and should not be able to enjoy that little profit which he may have made out of his capital. I am quite willing when the Bill goes to the Select Committee to reconsider that As a matter of fact, Mr Deputy President, I have of my own accord by putting down a motion for reference of these Bills to a Select Committee given proof of my *bona fide*, that I am not out to force anything down the throats of the Honourable Members of this House or the country, but that I want the Honourable Members to assist me in devising ways and means to meet our needs and requirements. And, therefore, Sir, I was saying that when the Bill is being considered by the Select Committee I shall be willing to consider the question of raising the limit from Rs 5,000 to any other figure

"With regard to this tax, I have always felt—why should a person, if he has made any unearned income, not give a share out of that to the State The value of property has become bigger not on account of the efforts of any particular individual, but, if I may say so, on account of the suffering that the people of this country have undergone, and therefore, the State is entitled to get a little share out of that extra profit which one may make on such properties It is not intended nor do I want to strangle any particular class or any particular interest But I feel that with regard to such profits the State is entitled to have a share out of them, and if some of the Honourable Members feel that the State should get some profit out of the death of a person, I do not see why I cannot get something out of living people Therefore, Sir, this is a tax that is not going to hurt industry in any way.

"I was told—not in this House but by some of the gentlemen who

came to see me—'if you reduce my income then I shall not be able to invest', and the objection was really with regard to higher income-tax Now, I am coming to the unearned income to Rs 1 2 lakhs, and from Rs 5 lakhs for earned income to Rs 1 5 lakhs It was suggested to me very seriously that by lowering the limit I was really hurting industry I was really stopping people from investing in industrial developments Now, Sir, barring a few magnates I think most of the money that is invested is invested by the middle classes in shares, and I have taken good care to see that there is no raising of tax on the middle classes As a matter of fact, let me tell you, Mr Deputy President, that our incidence of taxation in lower limits is much lower than anywhere in the world, and therefore, I have tried to put this tax in a way that it would not affect the industrial development of the country in any manner whatsoever It has been suggested that by bringing down this limit I will stop investment in industry Now, Sir, all the money that I hope to get from this source is Rs 2½ crores and when I give certain figures to the Honourable Members of this House they will be surprised that most of the investment in these industries does not come out of these people It is the money of the middle classes that is used by people who have got brains and who have got experience, and therefore I am really not putting any hinderance in the way of flow of capital into these concerns or into industry As I said, Mr Deputy President, from the source I only hope to get Rs 2½ crores Now let me give the House certain figures We received during this current year from 1st of April 1946 to 3rd of March 1947 applications for capital issues to the extent of Rs 280 crores and 6 lakhs The sanctioned amount was Rs 219 crores, 56 lakhs Now, Sir, can anybody seriously tell me that if I get this extra 2½ crores, it is going to stop the flow of capital into industry It will certainly reduce some of the balances which some of the rich people may have had in the past But it certainly is not going to affect industry in the least Therefore, what I say is this This is a cry that is being raised and that has been raised since I presented my budget because that, I know, is the only way in which people interested in this matter could mislead the honest people whose desire is that the country should develop economically and at the same time the money should come out of those who can afford to pay it This was really the only way in which they could try and prejudice the mind of the people at large I am sorry to say that the manner in which the propaganda is being carried out is not the way in which these interests can influence me I am neither going to be coerced nor blackmailed into accepting a position which I do not feel is justified in the interest

of the country As I have stated before, I am willing to be convinced, if it can be proved that the taxation proposals which I have placed before the House will ruin the industrial development of India I am not so unreasonable that if I see the ruination of the country staring me in the face, I will say, I must go on with my proposals because I have brought them before the House

"Sir, there is another matter to which I wish to draw the attention of the House I was shocked as I think every right thinking man and every one who has the interest of the country at heart would be shocked to read that the stock exchanges have closed as a protest against these taxation proposals Let us examine what are stock exchanges How does it really affect them? Why have these people who have control of the stock exchanges taken this particular step to lodge their protest and create a kind of panic in the country by their action As I have said before, I shall neither be impressed nor be bullied into any action by such tactics Who are these people? The stock exchange is a market where a person can exchange his shares and securities for cash or *vice versa* Now, in such a market, there is no more justification for a strike against taxation of industrial profits than there is for a strike against lowering of the rate of interest on government securities or than there is, for example, for a strike by sugar or salt dealers against an increase in the rate of taxes on salt or sugar The budget proposals, as I have stated affect, if they do the profits of industries How do they affect those people who are in charge of stock exchanges? A tax on capital does not affect the operators or brokers since they do not pay this tax It is only the private individual who has any share or stock who will have to pay the tax in future But these brokers and dealers who deal in these shares and stocks are already subject to income-tax So, it does not affect them in any way Then Sir, there are the higher rates of personal or super-tax These are taxes as a protest against which these stock exchanges have been closed High rates of personal and super-tax affect all persons with large incomes and the controlling authorities of stock exchanges have in fact no justification for using this weapon to ventilate their grievances Because it might affect certain individuals therefore, they are going to adopt this course One cannot but draw the inevitable conclusion that all these people who are in charge of stock exchanges are those very people against the stranglehold of whom I warned Honourable Members of this House It is these very people who really want to keep the whole economic life of this country in their few hands I am sure there is not a single

Honourable Member of this House who would lend any support to such a class of people Now, Sir, I do appeal most earnestly to our big industrialists in this country that it is time when it is their duty as Indians to assist the Government We are faced with a large deficit We have a large deficit in the current year and we have a large deficit in the next year also My Honourable friend Mr Griffiths says why do you bother about deficits This is nothing May be My Honourable friend Shri Sri Prakasa is right If I had been still living in U P on my land, I probably would not have minded these deficits But having come to Delhi and being responsible for the finances and economic stability of this country, it is my duty to see that we do not have large deficits in our budget"

Shri Sri Prakasa "Cut down defence expenditure"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend has asked about defence expenditure I think in my speech I gave some reasons as to why the defence expenditure is higher than it should have been I myself am disappointed that we have not been able due to certain causes to carry out the programme of demobilisation If it will give some consolation to my Honourable friend Shri Sri Prakasa, I myself am not very happy that our defence expenditure is so high"

Shri Sri Prakasa "Cut off their heads"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I wish I could Sir, I was making an appeal to our industrialists I wish to assure them that it is neither my intention nor the intention or desire of Government to prevent or hinder industrialisation of this country in any way We are faced with a difficulty, I appeal to them to give up a little of the profits which they made, in the current year. Unfortunately apart from so many other calamities that the last war brought it also brought the calamity of people having got used to big profits If they would forget for a moment the huge profits which were made during the war period, I am sure that they would be able to give such money through this tax as I propose and desire without seriously feeling the pinch of it

"And now, Sir, there is just one thing that I wish to say We all have our own ideas about the country and its economic life about rights of private property, capitalism, *zamindari* and so on The world is changing and India is changing more rapidly than the rest of the world Therefore every one of us has got to adjust himself to the new circumstances in which we are living And so, Sir, we must once for all make up our minds that in the changing India we cannot

hope to get those profits that were made in the past Every one has got to make a sacrifice—if you can call it a sacrifice—for the general good of the masses of this country"

Shri Sri Prakasa "For the soldiers of this country

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend has got soldiers on his brain'

Shri Sri Prakasa "They will bomb the frontier, and you will be absent from your seat at the voting time'

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "That is an every-day occurance and the frontier does not mind that

"I once again appeal from my place here to all those gentlemen who feel the pinch of these taxes to reconsider their attitude towards these proposals They are not helping themselves and they are certainly not helping the country by creating a kind of panic in the minds of the people My taxation proposals, I again assert, are not going to either cripple or ruin the industry of this country My taxation proposals are in no way going to stop production altogether or reduce it in any way Therefore, I once again tell my industrial friends to help us in this matter If they do not, it will be unfortunate We do not wish in any way to stifle private enterprise and we want all the assistance, all the technical knowledge and all the experience of private persons to help in the industrialisation of this country"

An Honourable Member 'Country or subcontinent?"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'To my mind there is no difference except a difference in size

"Sir, I was saying that if they do not help us India will still be industrialised If Russia could industrialise in a short period why not India? We do not want to stifle private enterprise, but if private enterprise is not willing to take up a helpful attitude and assist us in the economic improvement of this country there are other methods by which we will have to do it.'

THE INDIAN FINANCE BILL

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, speaking on the Indian Finance Bill on March 27 1947, said

'Mr President, the debate on the Finance Bill has been going on for four days [At this stage Mr. President vacated the Chair which

was then occupied by Mr Deputy President (Khan Muhammad Yamin Khan)]

"Mr Deputy President, so far 43 Honourable Members have taken part in this annual feast which is held on the floor of the House Sir, I hope my Honourable friends will forgive me if I do not deal with every point that has been raised during this debate Mr Deputy President, Honourable Members of the Congress Party have described me as the financial quack, they have showered on me all the blame for the sins of commission and ommission of all my colleagues One of the Honourable Members of the Congress party has disliked my proposals not because there was anything inherently wrong with them, but because I used the word '*subcontinent*' in my speech for India and not *Bharat Mata* Sir, my Honourable friend Mr Mohan Lal Saksena, who, I notice is not here, has been attributing to me dishonest motives, that my intention in bringing these proposals was to ruin the economic life of the country and then to go away to *Pakistan* The Honourable Member did not recognise, he did not realise that today the whole of India is one and if I ruin one part of India, I am definitely ruining the other part of India

'Then, Sir, my Honourable friends are angry with me because not I but the people in the country and a large section of the Press has described my budget as the poor man's budget If people in the country described it as such, how is it my fault ? Why do you want to blame me for it ? Then, Sir, I have been accused, I have been blamed, my proposals have been criticised because again vast numbers of people and a large number of newspapers have described this as a socialist budget Sir, I made no such claim for my budget All the claim that I made was that I have framed these proposals not merely from the financial point of view of meeting the deficit, but I had certain social objectives in view as well Therefore, I do not know why my Honourable friend Prof Ranga should be angry with me if my budget proposals have taken the thunder out of his socialism I did not make any such claim I am sorry that my Honourable friends look at these proposals with blurred glasses, blurred with prejudice and they find nothing good in the budget Some of the Honourable Members seriously stated that there was no provision in this budget for amelioration of the masses My Honourable friend Prof Ranga who as a rule studies all the papers that are supplied to him has not taken the trouble to look at the expenditure side of the budget He spent all his time in finding [illegible] to interpret on the floor of the House the views that had been expressed by a certain section of people through certain newspapers

which are my friend Prof Ranga's Bible I can assure my Honourable friends that I do not mind criticism, but I do certainly expect that Honourable Members who criticise would at least take the trouble to study the proposals on the expenditure side as well. I was told not only by Prof Ranga—he is sitting in front of me and so I find it convenient to address my remarks to him—but by several Honourable Members of the Congress Party who criticised me that there was nothing for the masses in the budget As a matter of fact Mr Saksena forgot for the moment when he was speaking that he was discussing the budget of the Government of India and not the budget of the Municipal Board of Lucknow, because he seriously turned round and said, 'There is nothing in this budget for milk for mothers, for free primary education', and so on Sir, I wish these Honourable Members had really taken the trouble to study the budget For their benefit and in the hope that next time before they criticise me they will study the facts and figures, let me tell them what provision there is in the budget for the amelioration of the poor man As I pointed out in my budget speech, I have already reduced the burden of indirect taxation in the form of removal of the salt tax and raising the income-tax limit, to the extent of 9 crores and 50 lakhs Then there are food subsidies I am told by my Honourable friend Prof Ranga that food subsidy does not help the poor, it is the rich man who benefits I can tell you, Sir, that the rich man eats very little of cereals he eats something better than your wheat and gram Sir, in the way of food subsidies there is a provision of 17 crores and 35 lakhs There is a provision of 45 crores to be given as grants to provincial Governments to be spent not on engaging a larger number of officers but for the benefits of the common man, of improvements in irrigation, education, public health, medical facilities, 'Grow More Food' and better communications Apart from that there are loans to provinces for the same purpose to the extent of 12 crores Then for the purpose of 'Grow More Food' in the central areas there is a provision for 27 lakhs, development expenditure in tribal areas which will be mainly on hospitals and schools *etc* —40 lakhs, central expenditure on schemes for research and on institutions the benefit of which will pass to the common man—36 lakhs, agriculture, fisheries, diary research, cattle breeding *etc* —2 crores and 32 lakhs, education schemes—1 crore and 44 lakhs, medical schemes—98 lakhs, irrigation schemes—70 lakhs, irrigation research—12 lakhs, power development—14 lakhs, scientific grants—89 lakhs, fertiliser factory, so that we may have better and more manure for agriculture—5 crores and 98 lakhs,

buildings for development projects—3 crores and 25 lakhs, housing schemes for coal-mine labourers—50 lakhs The total of all these comes to 110 crores and 70 lakhs Now can any Honourable Member seriously say that in this budget there is no provision made for the amelioration of the condition of the poor people? I wish my Honourable friends had really taken the trouble to study the budget before making this criticism, or if they had studied it, I wish they had stated facts before the House and not fiction

"Sir, I will not at this stage say very much about the two Bills, namely, the *Business Profits Tax* and the Capital Gains Tax, they will be discussed when we take them up for consideration My Honourable friend Sir Cowasjee Jehangir, for whom I have real regard and affection, was very much annoyed over these proposals He felt that the effect of these proposals would be that instead of living on interest all the time he will have to touch his capital And that, Sir, reminds me of a story A Big industrialist was walking down the Bombay Chowpathy with a friend and as he was going along some lady passed by—a very ugly old woman—and this industrialist took off his hat. The friend asked, 'Who is this old hag that you took off your hat to?' The reply was, 'That is my wife The friend was very much upset about it and offered his apologies They proceeded further when a smart young girl came along,—lip-stick and so on,—and this industrialist raised his hat again The friend asked, 'Who was that'? 'That is my sweet-heart', was the reply So this friend said, 'Look here, in the name of',—I will not use that unparliamentary word,—"how did you come to marry a woman like that?" The industrialist replied, 'Well, you see, being an industrialist I live on interest and do not touch the capital" So what I feel is that these rich friends of mine—the industrialists—will have to touch their capital now, they cannot go on living on interest all their lives

"Sir, I do not expect that my proposals will have the effect of ruining the industry of this country There was an argument advanced by some Honourable Members that because certain amendments were accepted by me in Select Committee and certain other amendments have been agreed to thereafter my proposals were conceived in a hurry and I did not give due consideration or attention to them. And here I would like to give an answer to a question that was asked by my Honourable friend Mr Saksena He asked me whether these proposals are of Government or of the Finance Department I want to tell him that the budget proposals were and are the proposals of the Government of India It has been suggested that because certain

changes have been made in the Bills, they were really defective and hastily conceived Sir, this is really a very strange world If I had behaved like a sun-dried bureaucrat and not accepted any amendments to the Bills that I had introduced my Honourable friends would have said, 'Look here, this Indian Finance Member never responds to what we say, he does not listen to us, he comes forward with certain proposals and he wants to push them through as his predecessors used to do' Instead of appreciating my meeting the point of view of the Members of this House to a certain extent, I am being blamed for having done a right thing Let me tell you another thing There was one other consideration that appealed to me more than any other consideration and that was that I felt that the condition of the labour in all these industries needs improvement and I felt that if I could leave the industry with a little more money than what I originally intended to take from them, the industry will be able to spend that money not for swelling their profits but for improving the condition of the poor labourers There are so many reforms that these industries have to do, and I do hope and appeal that the money that will be saved by my reducing the tax will be used not for swelling the profits or the pockets of the big people but for improving the lot of the poor labourers

'Both my Honourable friends, Sir Cowasjee Jehangir and Mr Vadilal Lallubhai said that the super tax rate had been increased and it was much higher than what it was in England In England the maximum is reached at 20,000 pounds and here, according to my proposal, the maximum in the case of unearned income will be reached at Rs 1,20,000 But when we are thinking of these amounts we have got to take into consideration certain other factors Firstly, is £20,000 in England equal to Rs 1 20,000 in India, or not A man who has got an income of Rs 1 20,000 in India I submit is better off than a man who has got an income of £20,000 in England Secondly, when you are thinking of these incomes and income-tax you have got to take into consideration the wages of the people in that particular country Now in England the wages of an average man are about 5 guineas a week that means 20 guineas a month, which comes to about 270 or 280 rupees a month The highest wages that an average man would get in this country is about Rs 60 a month If you calculate on that basis the maximum in this country should have been reached at Rs 60,000 and not at Rs 1,20 000, and I have indeed been more than generous to my Honourable friends when I have put the limit at Rs 1,20,000, and it is no use their comparing it with the income in England of £20,000.

"Before I proceed further, let me clear up one point that was raised by Dr Deshmukh He said you are going on increasing the tax like what it is in England, but you don't provide relief May I point out to him that I have not raised the tax in the lower reaches where relief is necessary, and I would like to point out to him and give him figures comparing the rate of income-tax in England with the rate of income-tax in India I have got some figures here Let me tell you that I am giving you figures with regard to the tax of a person with a family of three children. That means it is excluding all those concessions

INCOME	RATE OF TAX IN INDIA	RATE OF TAX IN ENGLAND
£ 300 (Roughly Rs 4,000)	2 7%	. .
£ 600 (Roughly Rs 8,000)	4 9%	11 4%
£ 900 (Roughly Rs 12,000)	6 6%	21 0%
£ 3,000 (Roughly Rs 40,000)	26 7%	41 0%
£ 6 000 (Roughly Rs 80 000)	42 7%	54 0%

Therefore when my Honourable friend says that we should have provided relief as they have done in England when we were raising the tax I am afraid he was not quite right For one thing I did not raise any tax on these incomes"

Dr G V Deshmukh "May I interrupt the Honourable Member for a minute You said £20,000 in England are equal to Rs 60,000 here "

An Honourable Member "No, no."

Dr G V Deshmukh "You said . "

Mr Deputy President "The Honourable Member should address the Chair "

Dr G V Deshmukh "I am addressing the Honourable Member through you To make the point clear, Rs 60,000 "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan I am afraid the Honourable Member really has not understood it and being a Doctor I can forgive him '

Dr G V Deshmukh 'Sir, I accept the apology from a lawyer "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Lawyers are well-known for commonsense

"Now, Sir, I must proceed with the next point I only wanted to meet Mr Deshmukh's point that I have not increased any income tax on the income of these people, and apart from that the income-tax

even now is much lower than what it is in England And, therefore, I think, he was wrongly informed by his constituency which he was representing here that I had really done something which was absolutely wrong and which had no moral justification "

Dr G V Deshmukh "I do not want to say anything now but we will discuss it"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Yes, we will

"Dr Deshmukh referred to another matter and that was about the Investigation Commission I can assure him on that point and other Honourable Members of this House that I am fully aware of the importance of finding the best people for this Commission, men with knowledge, experience and what is more with great integrity and honesty, because I feel that unless we had members of this Commission men of that type, it would not only not do any good but it would do a lot of harm to have such a Commission at all Sir, I am sure that India will be able to produce three men with those qualifications

"Now I come to my Honourable friend, Mr Manu Subedar Most of the points that he raised were really raised in the discussion on the budget He has referred to planning I am afraid here again some of those friends who have criticised me with regard to this matter have again not looked at it from the angle from which I looked at it They are so much obsessed with this idea of the Muslim League having as its goal *Pakistan* that whatever any Muslim Leaguer utters they see *Pakistan* in that When I was talking of planning, I was not talking of planning on the basis of Muslim majority zones or Hindu majority zones I was talking of zonal planning on the basis of economic zones in this country"

Prof N G Ranga "What are these zones?"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "May I tell you? There is the Indus Valley Zone there is the Ganges Valley Zone there is the Brahmaputra Valley Zone the Damodar Valley Zone there is the Godavari Valley Zone Does my friend want any more zones?

"But the moment you talk about something my friends begin to feel that it is *Pakistan* If I talk of zonal planning and economic development of the country they see *Pakistan* in that If I present a budget which according to me is the budget which consists of principles which I believe India should follow, they say now, here is *Pakistan* This fellow is running the finances for this

"I wish members would really look at these problems not from that angle I can tell him, and I can assure you, Sir, that as long as I hold this portfolio, which I am doing, I shall discharge my duty and

this trust with honesty, I shall not use the powers which I have for destroying one community or the other because I feel that that would be a most dishonest act for anyone holding a position of trust and responsibility

"Sir, my honourable friend, Mr Subedar, referred to section 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank I thought I had finished with that question by giving an answer that the Bill was under preparation at the moment But as he has raised this question I want to tell him that I hope to introduce that Bill within the next two or three days It is ready and I think the House will have it very soon

"My Honourable friend, Mr Subedar, used rather a peculiar argument He said that the Finance Member has provided Rs. 45 crores for the provinces when last time the provinces were not able to use all the grants that were provided for them, and from that he concluded that those provinces were not able to use the money that was placed at their disposal because they had too much money of their own That is not a fact The point is as my honourable friend knows that because of the shortage of material and because of so many other considerations, it is not possible for the provinces--it was not possible last year for the provinces -to utilise all the money that was placed at their disposal for development purposes I hope and it is my desire that the provinces should use this money which we are placing at their disposal for development purposes '

Mr Manu Subedar ' The Finance Member has not got my point I was questioning the propriety of making a provision of Rs 45 crores in this year's budget when they could not spend Rs 25 crores and that some of those provinces did not need money, especially when they were bulging with accumulated funds "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I do not see any impropriety in this because my friend does not know that this Rs 45 crores has not been provided out of revenue Therefore, it would have had no effect on the deficits in the budget If I had not provided Rs 45 crores the deficit would have been the same as it is after providing for it because this Rs 45 crores had been provided out of capital and not out of revenue

' My Honourable friend, Mr Subedar, referred to my proposals as being like throwing a man from the balcony and not knowing as to what would happen to that man and my honourable friend, Mr. Griffiths, was very much struck with this story I am not throwing a man from a balcony on to the pavement I am only pushing him from an eiderdown cushion to a silk cotton cushion And therefore, Mr Deputy

President, there is no danger of this man either breaking his head or breaking his legs"

Mr C P Lawson (Bengal European). "He might catch a cold!"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My friend, Mr Lawson says he might catch a cold I think every Indian, if he has to face the future in this country, must be more hardened than that

"There was another point that was raised by Mr Subedar, and I was rather surprised that a man of his knowledge and ability should have said this He said no previous Finance Member has ever put such a heavy direct tax as I have done Naturally, because every previous Finance Member was interested in capitalism and capitalists, because whenever any of my predecessors had to put a tax, he had to think not only of the Indian industrialist but also of my friend, Mr Griffiths and others over there Therefore, all the burden during these years that was put was put on the back of the poor man The policy of the previous Finance Members was not to put direct tax because it was going to effect the pockets of all those in whom they were greatly interested and I do not want to follow that practice or that example I want to put the burden where it should be put and take off the load from the back of those poor people who have carried this load for hundreds of years in this country

"Some of my honourable friends have said, and rightly so, that I have not been able to remove some of the excise duties Nothing would have given me greater pleasure than to do that But surely I am not a magician You do not like me to tax the rich and you want me to remove the burden from the poor Now I do not know of any method by which I could just create money of course I know I have the machinery I have the Nasik Press But then I do not want to see millions suffer I was saying I can do that but it would mean death to hundreds of thousands of people You can create money, but then you have got to suffer also for that and therefore, Sir, I do not propose to follow that policy Now, Sir, Prof Ranga and as a matter of fact some other members also stated that my estimates of revenue were wrong, that I should not have depended on my officers of the department but that I should have depended like them on the figures supplied by those who are to be directly affected by these proposals I would much rather depend on the estimates prepared by the officers of my department who do not stand either to gain or lose by these taxes than depend on the figures supplied to me by those who are going to be affected by my proposals I believe that the figures that have been

given are accurate I said in the Select Committee and I say it here that with regard to the figures about the Capital Gains Tax we really have no correct data, because it is a new tax, it is being imposed for the first time and it can only be after you have worked that for two or three years that you will be able to have a very correct estimate of the income from that particular source But I am not prepared to accept the figure that was given by Mr Manu Subedar, *viz*, that I shall get 20 crores by this tax and if I do get that much, Mr Deputy Presid nt, I can assure you that I shall be the happiest man, because, as I stated in the beginning in my Budget speech, my object is not only to cover the deficit but my object is to get as much money as I possibly can, without ruining or injuring or hurting the economic life of this country Because the more money I have, greater the schemes that we can carry out for the good of the poor people and therefore if I get 20 crores as my Honourable friend said, I shall be very happy indeed As a matter of fact one of my industrialist friends repeated to me the same thing *viz*, that we will get 20 crores I said that I would sell this tax to him for ten crores, but even though he was a businessman he would not take it (Interruption) I said that to show to him that he was only trying to fool me by putting forward this proposition that I will get 20 crores from this source I only hope, that Mr Manu ubedar's estimate is correct "

Mr Manu Subedar 'I shall bet a hundred rupees with you You will see it next year "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I shall thank my Honourable friend from the bottom of my heart if I get 20 crores, because then I shall really feel very happy that although I had to go to America to get the basis for this tax, it was after all a very useful measure

"Before I deal with the speech of the Leader of the Opposition, I had better say something about a suggestion or a proposal that was made by Mr Nauman and supported by Mr Nazim-ud-din. All that I can say is that if any province sends a request to the Government of India for financial help to rehabilitate those poor victims of the communal frenzy and communal riots which have brought disgrace on the whole of India, the Government will examine the requests with sympathy and on merits But at the same time the provinces must recognise that it is their duty in the first instance to do all that they can for those unfortunate people and they can only come to the Government of India for help if they find that their finances really cannot stand this expenditure I know that in some provinces the

havoc has been terrible and I am making this statement, because I feel that those provinces may not be able to incur the expenditure which would be required for the rehabilitation of the unfortunate victims.

"I now come to the speech of my Honourable friend Mr Griffiths As usual he has spoken with great eloquence but I do not think he has really raised any new point There is one difference between my Honourable friend and myself and only the result can show who is right He thinks that my taxation proposals will ruin industry I am convinced that they will not So we will have to wait till next year and see whose prophesy is right His is a mere guess and a fear, whereas my belief is based on facts The B P T, as I stated the other day, will be a tax on profits that have already been earned by the industrialist for 1946-47 and I feel that there are sufficient profits to be taxed without doing any harm or injury to industry as such I have got the figures from my Department and I am convinced that on the basis of those figures industry will not feel the pinch of this taxation As a matter of fact let me tell my Honourable friend that industry never expected the removal of the E P T last year and I think practically every industrialist was expecting that there will be a reimposition of the E P T. for 1946-47 Now in connection with this E P T my Honourable friend Prof Ranga and some other members also said that the industrialists say that the E P T would have given you more money and so why are you such a fool that you would not take more money but still insist on imposing the B P T (Interruption by Shri Mohan Lal Saksena) My Honourable friend Mr Saksena says that the department gave the figures I am afraid he did not understand those figures When the time comes to discuss those figures I expect that it will be one of the points that will be raised in the debate on this Bill and I shall then deal with this question But the point is simple If my original estimate of 30 crores was going to paralyse industry then the E P T with a much higher yield must paralyse it more How it can paralyse industry less I do not understand, because after all it is money that has to come out of the industry As a matter of fact let me tell my Honourable friends here and others that large sections amongst these big industrialists got off lightly under the E P T It is the smaller industries and the newly started industries which have suffered more on account of the E P T and it is the newly started industries and the smaller industries which will benefit more on account of the B P T than they would have under the E P T As far as the total effect on industry

is concerned if industry is going to pay more than what my proposals contemplate then surely the industry must be paralysed more Therefore, I would request my Honourable friends to consider this I have not got any special love for B P T Neither B P T nor E P T affects me It is not that I was thinking of my interest or that of some of my friends It was because I was convinced that the B P T. was a fairer tax than the E P T, because the incidence of the B P T was more equitable and fair than the incidence of the E P.T

"Now, Sir, there is one point that my honourable friend Mr Griffiths raised and I think some other Honourable Members also referred to it It was that I should have really prepared my budget for the next three or four years That is no doubt one of the methods, of preparing a budget for the next two or three years But I am sure my Honourable friends would recognise, it is no use burying our head into sand like an ostritch and declaring that there is no storm The statement of His Majesty's Government of the 20th February has made a great change with regard to the future political position in this country and I think I would have been foolish to try and foresee as to what would happen two or three years hence It is not that I do not want to do it or it is not that I would not like to do it. One thing is certain Everybody recognises whatever his views may be about united India or divided India, that the Government of India as it is today is not going to be in the future Therefore, it would have been foolish for me to prepare a budget for the next two or three years and on that basis not try and get money from those who can pay at this time when they have got the money If I had come forward with a budget for three or four years and in that I had shown that there won't be any deficit I am sure none of my friends would have voted for any fresh taxation They would put forward this argument against me namely, 'After three or four years your budget will be balanced Then why do you want to put this tax now?' Even now it is very seriously suggested that I should leave the deficit, that I should not bother about it, that it is nothing that we should live on deficits Well, Sir, I do not believe in that policy I believe that as long as it is possible you must try and meet the deficit to whatever extent you can by means of taxation, without injuring the economic life of the country in any way I do not agree with this theory that we should not try to meet our deficit

"Sir, I have heard it said that the effect of my proposal on income-tax would be that it would stop incentive and that the big industrialists would not really put their heart and mind into their work and that

consequently production will suffer I entirely agree with my honourable friend Mr Griffiths I do not think that all the industrialists are bad people But this taxation will show who are real patriots and who are not. Those who are working for money—well, I say let them not worry But those who are working for the good of the country and for the economic uplift of the country will go on working Let me tell you, Sir, that the reward for an honest man for his labour is never measured in terms of money It is the return that he gets in terms of success or failure which really matters Therefore, as far as incentive also is concerned, let me tell you, Sir, that there is plenty of incentive I am told that these people will not put in their money and that they will not work Where will they go? Will they go and sweep the streets of Delhi? Everybody will have to work

"Then, Sir, I am told that if you say that the dividend is 5 per cent why should people go and put their money in industry? The man would go and buy government paper at 2 1/2 per cent"

Sir Cowasjee Jehangir "2 1/2 per cent you will never get"

The Houourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am not saying at what rate I would get it But I am only quoting my Honourable friend Mr Griffiths."

Mr P J Griffiths 'On a point of personal explanation, Sir I said that if as a result of taxation a company was only likely to pay 2 1/2 per cent, then people would invest rather in government paper"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My honourable friend says that if it will pay only 2 1/2 per cent and therefore people will invest in government paper If people will invest in government paper at 2 1/2 per cent, the then Government will have to utilise the services of these big industrialists and establish industries. I really don't understand my Honourable friend saying that the Government cannot do it I do not follow that logic Why cannot they do it? If my Honourable friend Mr Griffiths can work for some industrialist why can he not work for the Government?'

Mr P J Griffiths "When the Finance Department exercise such a stanglehold on enterprise how can he work for the Government."

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am not talking of private enterprise I was saying that if I get money at 2 1/2 per cent. and the State had to start industries with capital got at 2 1/2 per cent, is it contended that the state would not make any money?"

Mr P J Griffiths. "It is contended that it will be too cumbrous to do anything quickly and efficiently"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan 'I entirely agree that

that has been the position in the past But I hope the state of the future would be different"

Mr P J Griffiths "It would be just the same"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "If that is not the position, if capitalism in this country has come to stay for all time to come, well then God help this country As a matter of fact, I do not for a moment believe that all our industrialists are really mercenaries It is natural that everybody, if he can get more, wants more But when I find I cannot get, then I have got to put in my best effort and get whatever I can out of it What we have to see is this whether we are really leaving sufficient for him or whether we are not And I submit, Sir, that according to my proposals there is sufficient money being left not only for the development of industry but for the development of industrialists also

"There was another point I have taken a lot of time, but as I said, Sir, I have to reply to 43 speeches and the debate has been going on for four days My Honourable friend Mr Griffiths said that they are supporting these measures I am grateful to him and to the Members of the European Group for the support that they have given me in this behalf that tax evasion will be stopped with great vigour and every step possible will be taken in that direction I can assure him that it is my desire and it is my intention to do everything that I possibly can because I think those men who evade taxes are greater moral criminals than a poor man who goes and steals something to fill his stomach I will forgive a poor man if he committed burglary and took some money or some stuff to feed his wife and children who were starving and dying, but I cannot forgive a man rolling in wealth trying to cheat the state Here I think it is really public opinion which must come forward and create a feeling amongst this class of people that they are social pariahs and they are no credit to the society in this country I was told by my friends and told very seriously that if I r[illegible] the tax there will be more dishonesty I am not willing to accept this proposition that the Indian character has so degenerated that we can brook dishonesty like this with complacency We must create public opinion that any man who tried to cheat the State in this way is really a social criminal and a dangerous member of the society. The other point that Mr Griffiths raised was "

Mr Leslie Gwilt (Bombay European) "Sir, may I know, before the Honourable Member proceeds to another point, whether he would be prepared to consider the enactment of the clause proposed in the Income-tax Bill introduced at the time of the 1944 Budget giving

the right of entry to income-tax officers and stamping of books and which was objected to by this House? Does he propose to reconsider such enactment?"

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I think the Honourable Member is referring to the Bill which was not accepted by the House. In that connection I would like to say that that is only one of the methods The object in appointing the Investigation Commission is two-fold, firstly, to advise the Government in the light of the experience that they might gain as to what steps should to taken to make income-tax machinery more effective and what laws should be passed to see that there was no tax evasion or that tax evasion could be stopped as far as possible The other point is to see if we cannot get some money out of those who have made big fortunes and have not paid tax which is due to the State The suggestion that has been made is indeed one of the matters which will be taken into consideration The other point that my friend Mr Griffiths raised was about the Economy Committee I can tell him that as soon as I get a little respite I shall at once devote my attention to this matter As a matter of fact, I have already asked my officers to prepare a draft regarding the terms of reference and so on, so that we can start it as soon as possible

' As regards the Income-Tax Commission, I did give a reply to one of the questions that were put and I said that it was the view of my honourable friend that unless there was some light with regard to the future constitution, it was futile to start this inquiry. I myself wanted it but I thought that this gentleman who has got great experience and great knowledge, when he said that, there must be something in it and I think there is something in that proposition

"Now, Sir, I do not think I have left any point of importance Once again I would repeat that I am convinced that my taxation proposals will not injure industry in any way I am convinced that the policy of taxation which I have adopted, whatever may be the theories in books and by economic experts, is the correct policy in this country The policy is social justice I repeat that phrase again. My Honourable friend Mr Griffiths said that there was no scientific definition of it There cannot be a scientific definition of it Social justice will depend on so many factors The first thing that has got to be done is to remove as far as possible those glaring disparities that exist in this country and there are two ways of doing it—raise the level from below and bring the level down from above. I have done that. I repeat that the State should not look at taxation from this point of view - that so much money is needed to meet the bare requirements

of the Budget The State must also see that taxation is raised to the extent which the people can bear, without injuring the economic life of the country in any way

"Sir, I have done I do hope that the House will accept the motion that I have moved"

CONGRATULATIONS TO THE QUAID-I-A'ZAM

Congratulating Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah on his election as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on August 11, 1947 Liaquat Ali Khan said

"Mr President, Sir, it is with the greatest pride that I rise to congratulate you on your election as the President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Sir, you have been rightly described as the Architect of Pakistan, and what greater fortune could we have than to have you as the President of this Sovereign Body to build the State which we have got through your devotion, untiring zeal, selfless service and unshakable determination (Cries of 'hear, hear')

"Sir, as one who had the privilege of working with you in close association for over 11 years, I can say with truthfulness and honesty that the achievement of the State of Pakistan is mainly, if not entirely, due to your services (Cheers) It is indeed an unparalleled event in the history of the world that without bloodshed, without going through a bloody revolution, a State which is the fifth largest in the world, should come into existence Sir, I know that we really are most fortunate that we will continue to have your guidance and your assistance in building up the structure of the future State of Pakistan Sir, it is not only that you are elected as the President of this Sovereign Constituent Assembly but you will be having a dual capacity of not only being head of the Assembly but also head of the State I am confident that you would, while discharging your onerous duty, be always guided by that intellectual honesty which you possess I have never found you wavering even in the most difficult circumstances, and I am sure that it augurs well for the future State of Pakistan that we will have as its builder, the Architect who designed this State, which is the fifth largest in the world' (Cheers)

NATIONAL FLAG OF THE FEDERATION OF PAKISTAN

Moving the resolution regarding the National flag for the Federation of Pakistan in the Assembly on August 11, 1947 Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Sir, I beg to move

'That this Assembly resolves that the National Flag of the Federation of Pakistan be of the following description

'A dark green rectangular flag in the proportion of length to width 3 2 with a white vertical bar at the mast, the green portion bearing a white crescent in the centre and a five pointed white heraldic star

'The size of the white portion being one-fourth the size of the flag, nearest the mast, the remainder three-fourth being dark green The dimensions of the crescent and star are obtained as follows —

'Draw the diagonal from the top right hand corner to the bottom left corner of the green portion On this diagonal establish two points—'A and 'B', Point 'A' at a distance equidistant from top right and bottom left hand corners of the green portion, i e, the centre of the green portion Point 'B' at a distance from the top right hand corner equal to 13/20th the width of the flag With centre point 'A and radius 3/10th the width of the flag describe the arc of a circle With centre point 'B' and radius 1 1/4th the width of the flag describe a second arc The enclosure made by these two arcs forms the crescent The dimensions of the five pointed white heraldic star are determined by drawing a circle 1/10th the width of the flag The circle surrounds the five points of the heraldic star The star lies with one point on the diagonal and pointing to the top right hand corner of the flag The tip of this point lies on the diagonal at a point where the larger arc of the crescent, if completed, cuts the diagonal

"Sir I have given description of how the National Flag of Pakistan is to be made, and (The Honourable Member then unfurled a specimen of the proposed national flag in the House) (Cheers) I have shown to this meeting of the Constituent Assembly the dimensions of the flag and other instructions that are given

"Now, Mr President, the Flag, it will be noticed, is not the flag of any one political party or any one community The flag is the Flag of Pakistan Nation, of the Pakistan State which has to come into existence on the 15th of August Sir the Flag of every nation is not

merely a piece of cloth It is not really the cloth that matters, but it is what it stands for, and I can say without any fear of contradiction that this Flag which I had the honour to present to this House, will stand for freedom, liberty and equality (Cheers) to those who owe allegiance to this Flag of Pakistan This Flag will protect the legitimate rights of every citizen This Flag will protect and defend the integrity of the State This Flag, Mr President, I have not the least doubt in my mind, will gain the respect of all the nations of the world, because I am confident that once the Pakistan State is established, once we get an opportunity of working out the destiny of seventy millions of people, we will be able to show to the world at large that although we are a new State yet we are a state worthy of the seventy millions of Pakistan We are a state that will play its role honourably in the councils of the World and we will maintain and help in maintaining the peace throughout the world We know what are the consequences of exploitation We have been exploited for the last 200 years and we would be the last people to use our flag for the purpose of exploiting other nations Therefore, Mr President, this Flag will be a flag of freedom not only for the peoples of Pakistan, this Flag will be an emblem of peace to help in maintaining peace throughout the world

"Now, Sir, as I visualise the State of Pakistan, it will be a State where there will be no special privileges, no special rights for any one particular community or any one particular interest It will be a State where every citizen will have equal rights and equal opportunities It will be a State where people will have equal privileges and those who demand equal privileges will have to share equally all the obligations of law on the citizens of the State (Hear, hear) Therefore, Mr President, as I said, it is not really the piece of cloth of the Flag that matters It is not its colouring that matters But it is what the Flag stands for, and I can assure the Honourable House that as constituted, as I visualise the future constitution of Pakistan, it will stand for Freedom, Liberty and Equality of all the citizens of the Pakistan State and for the integrity and independence of the Pakistan Federation "

Reply to the debate in the House on the resolution, Liaquat 'Ali said

"Sir, I have listened very carefully to the speeches that have been made by the Mover of the amendment and the Honourable Member who has supported him There seems to be some confusion in the mind of the Honourable Member who has just sat down This is not the same flag The flag that I have presented to the House is

not the same flag as the Muslim League flag "

Mr Dhirendra Nath Datta "I did not say that it is same flag "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Then, he had said that it is the religious flag If he would look up on the history, he would find that during the time of our Holy Prophet there was no such flag Therefore, I do not know how he says that it is a religious flag As a matter of fact, moon and stars are as common to my Honourable friend and they are as much his property as mine "

Mr Kiran Sankar Roy (East Bengal General) "Would you have the sun also, which is also a common property ?"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "The only objection is that the sun's heat is scorching and moon's light is soothing I do not want our flag to be scorching I want our flag to give the light that will soothe the nerves "

Mr Dhirendra Nath Datta "Sun indicates rapid progress "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I, yesterday, pointed out to my friends when they talked to me that I would have been only too glad to accept a proposition of this kind had there been sufficient time to examine the proposals and what is more to get the information from every nook and corner of the Pakistan State Surely, it is not expected that on the 15th, when the Pakistan State is born, that State should have no national flag And I would point out to my Honourable friends that we have tried to give quite prominent place to white in this flag which I have presented More than one-fourth of the flag is white, and, as my Honourable friends know, white is made up of seven different colours and thank God we have not got seven different minorities in Pakistan Therefore, there is room for not only all the minorities that are today but for any other minorities that might spring up hereafter "

Mr Bhim Sen Sachar "I hope you will not create them "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend says that he hopes I will not create minorities It is only a minority that can create a minority I happen to be a majority in Pakistan and therefore, it will not be my desire to create any more minorities

"Sir, my Honourable friend have made an appeal and I wish it were really possible to accept their proposal Let me tell my Honourable friends over there that even the Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly knew nothing about this Flag, because there, again, the time factor was really the chief consideration This Flag was designed in Delhi by a few of us and I can assure my Honourable friends that it is for the first time that my Muslim colleagues in this

House have seen it together with them Therefore, it is not a question that we did not want to associate minorities when the determination of the flag was being considered It would be our endeavour and our desire, I can assure my Honourable friends over there, to associate the representatives of the minorities in this House at every stage in our deliberations We want to work in co-operation and not in opposition Therefore, I hope my Honourable friends will not press the motion which they have moved After I have given the reasons for not having adopted the course which probably would have been better if there had been time and which I would adopt in future with regard to other matters as far as it is practicable and in view of the shortness of time at our disposal and also in view of the fact that the National Flag of Pakistan has got to fly in every nook and corner of the territories of Pakistan on the 15th, I hope my Honourable friends would not press their motion and would accept the proposition which I have placed before the Honourable Members in this House "

Concluding the debate he remarked

"I propose that these two flags which have just been approved by the House be placed in the National Museum when that Museum comes into being and in the meantime they should remain in safe custody with the President of the Constituent Assembly "

RESOLUTION re ADDRESSING MR MUHAMMAD 'ALI JINNAH AS QUAID-I-A'ZAM MUHAMMAD 'ALI JINNAH

On August 12, 1947, Liaquat 'Ali Khan moved the resolution that Mr Muhammad Ali Jinnah in future be addressed as Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah Moving the resolution, he said

"Sir, I beg to move

That this Assembly resolves that Mr Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, President of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and Governor-General designate of Pakistan, be addressed as Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, Governor-General of Pakistan, in all official Acts, documents, letters and correspondence from August 15, 1947 "

Sir, this resolution is moved in order to seek the formal approval of

this Constituent Assembly to the form of address by which you are already known not only throughout this country but throughout the world Quaid-i-A'zam means great leader and I do not think there is any doubt in the mind of anybody that today you are the great leader of Pakistan I need not say, Sir, and repeat what I said yesterday about yourself It is considered necessary that there should be one definite form of address by which the head of Pakistan should be addressed and should be referred to in all the official correspondence, Acts, letters, *etc* and that is the object of this resolution I am sure there would not be any Member in this House who would not give his support to the motion which I have moved "

Replying to the speeches made by the opposition, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"Sir, I was saying that if I may begin my remarks with a Biblical touch I would say, 'Father forgive them for they know not what they are talking about'

"Sir, the speeches that have been made by the Opposition to the motion show that my Honourable friends are confused between the appellation '*Quaid-i-A'zam*' and an ordinary title that is conferred by Government "

Mr Bhim Sen Sachar 'Sir, if I put my question that would clarify the position Do I understand from the speech of my Honourable friend the last speaker, that the appellation '*Quaid-i-A'zam*' takes the place of 'His Excellency'? Is that correct? Do I understand that other Governors-General of Pakistan, instead of being described as '*His Excellency*' will be described as '*Quaid-i-A'zam*'?'

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'I cannot say what the future Governors-General will be described as I cannot say whether there will be any future Governor-General in Pakistan Therefore, it is no use my Honourable friend asking me to tie myself down or to tie this House down to any particular definite decision on this point My Honourable friend seems to have some confusion on the question of calling our President Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah as *Quaid-i-A'zam*' Sir, this is not unknown in the history of other countries Any one who has rendered services to the nation like what Quaid-i-A'zam has done to the Muslim nation in India, has always been described in some endearing term or the other Do not Honourable Members know that when Mustafa Kamal Pasha was always called in all official documents as '*Atta Turk*', it meant the 'Father of the Turkish Nation?

"My Honourable friends have talked about socialism I do not know whether their socialism is confined to the two annas class that you find in the bazar or to real socialism But are they not aware

that the great socialist communist Stalin is called 'Generallissimo which means the great General? In other words, had it been any country whether Persia, or Arabia, or any community or nation, they would have called him *'Quaid-i A'zam'* Sir the motion is quite clear What is desired is that there should be uniformity in all official Acts, documents, letters, correspondence and so on Even today our President is known throughout the world as Quaid-i-A'zam What has been happening in the past? Some people had been addressing Quaid-i-A'zam as *Shah nshah* of Pakistan Some had been addressing him as *Badshah* of Pakistan Some others had been addressing him in a different way Now he is not only the President of the Constituent Assembly and the head of the State, but he is also Governor-General That means he is also the legal head of the State Therefore it has been considered necessary and essential that there should be, as far as official correspondence is concerned, uniformity in the form of address for Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah My Honourable friend raised the question whether he would be called, because he is the Governor-General, His Excellency or not All that I can tell him is that if he did not address the Quaid-i-Azam as His Excellency Quaid-i-A zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, he will not be regarded as having committed an act of discourtesy Sir, I was rather surprised that there should have been any opposition to this motion, but, as I said, I feel that the opposition is based on misunderstanding and misconception The object of this resolution is clear Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah is known today throughout the world as Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah Whether you pass this resolution or you do not pass this resolution, you cannot take away the endearing term from his nation The nation has conferred this name on him long ago, before your Constituent Assembly came into existence All that is now desired is that in all official Acts, correspondence and so on, there should be this definite form of address with regard to Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah Therefore, Sir, it is quite clear that barring a few friends here, the whole House is unanimously in favour of this proposition, and I hope that those of my Honourable friends who oppose the motion, they would reconsider their decision in view of what has been stated, and would not oppose the motion which is right and sensible, and which is something which this Constituent Assembly, I feel, should pass.'

BROADCAST FROM RADIO PAKISTAN, OCTOBER 7 1947

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan on October 7, 1947 asked the people to refrain from retaliation He said

"Only 54 days have passed since Pakistan came into being In the history of nations and states, 54 day are but a moment Yet it was the will of God that in this short span of time Pakistan should face calamities and tribulations which might well have daunted many a State more seasoned and mature than we had the chance to be When a few days ago, the Quaid-i-A'zam broadcast to you from Lahore, we were confronted mainly with the upheaval in the Panjab Today we see Delhi and its environs added to the long and dreary list of towns and villages where the murderer has been at work and where life has been made impossible for the followers of Islam.

"In these 54 days, the enemies of Pakistan have indulged in their black hatred to the fill But Pakistan stands undaunted Their foul deeds have bred for us a host of problems, each of them of gigantic proportions, but the people of Pakistan stand firm in their resolve to face all calamities with faith and courage

"Can we say, however, that in these dark days, none of us in Pakistan raised his hand in revenge and retaliation? We cannot, alas, say this truthfully Undoubtedly some among us fouled their hearts with the desire to retaliate and to match evil Perhaps, there are still some among us who, following the dictates of their passions or giving ear to the promptings of others, nurse evil feelings in their bosoms If there are any such, it is to them that I address these words

"My countrymen, we neither desired nor expected these bloody events to follow the attainment of Pakistan The decision to divide the country was, after all, in the nature of a settlement which all parties had agreed to honour We wished to render unto others what we wished them to render unto us, the right of a nation to live a life of peace, prosperity and self-respect To achieve this peace, for ourselves and for others, we even acquiesced in decisions and awards which we strongly felt to be less than just and less than fair We ardently wished, on the achievement of Pakistan, to put all bitterness and bickering behind us and apply ourselves, peacefully, to the task of building up our State and to work for the welfare of our people

"Was it not in the interest of a newly-born State that it should have peace within and peace without in order to grow its full manhood? Or does anyone think we were so foolish as to wish our hands full with

disorders and upheavals? Who among us could desire that hundreds of thousands of our Muslim brethren beyond our borders should lose their homes, their property, many of them their lives, and be driven out of the land where they and their ancestors had lived for centuries, to flee into the wilderness in mortal terror? We neither desired, nor intended, nor expected this horrible future for millions of human beings But those who resented Pakistan and grudged its peace and prosperity did not hesitate to poison our life-blood Let them know that we shall face our calamities with undiminished courage Pakistan has bent all its powers to this end and geared its entire administration to the task of overcoming the worst obstacles that may be put in our path And by the grace of God, we shall not fail

"Today I am more certain than before that if we do not lose our faith in ourselves and cast all fear from our minds, this troubled phase of our national life will soon pass We have to turn to our future without losing a single day or a single minute, for Pakistan is not a shooting star that shines for a brief moment and then wastes itself out in the enveloping darkness Pakistan will not die It is a matter of greatest urgency, therefore, that we should soon get out of our present tangles and start to build

"In order to build we must have peace Therefore those who talk to you of war and conflict are not your friends Beware of them and stop counting your gains and your losses in the gamble of death and destruction Turn your faces to the future Those who whisper revenge and retaliation to you seek to lead your energies to waste and ruin

"We have a great deal to do that is of the utmost importance to us We, in the Government, are firmly resolved to put down all disorders with a firm hand Please help us in this, the greatest of all national duties today Those who have the slightest political sense know that any conflict between the two Dominions is suicidal for both You can be sure, therefore, that peace is just as important for India as it is for us and that those who disturb the peace across the border are stabbing their own country in the back This is as plain as day-light to everyone who knows the barest elements of the situation If we forget or ignore this truth, we shall be stabbing Pakistan in the back

"Also please remember that we have, on many occasions, taken the pledge before our conscience and before the world that Pakistan shall conduct itself according to the principles of tolerance, justice and fairplay Please look into your hearts and ask yourselves whether,

sorely tried, you have not forgotten the lesson that God and His Prophet taught the whole of mankind, whether your own calamities and suffering have not made you callous to the sufferings of others I am putting this in particular to my fellow Muslims

"The whole world knows that it is not we who did the greater wrong But that is no great consolation to me I still consider it a disgrace for Pakistan that in certain parts of West Panjab, the majority should have failed in their duty to protect the minorities Nor is the name of the Frontier Province or for that matter of Baluchistan and Sind entirely unsullied, even though the ugly incidents in these parts were comparatively minor

"How far I compare, you will explain, these lamentable but comparatively minor incidents, with the bestiality and revolting brutality that was let loose upon large tracts in India?

"This argument, I am afraid, will not help us, for retaliation is to be condemned under all circumstances I appeal to you, therefore, to desist from it I say so because if you did not desist, you would be exposing fellow Muslims in the other Dominion to yet greater peril To talk in terms of expediency in these days would be to degrade our moral sense I urge you to show tolerance, forbearance and to protect the weak and the less numerous, because this is what we sought freedom for. Did we not always intend to build Pakistan, not on violence and aggression, but on the love of humanity and fairplay? Should we then trample these principles under foot because others are doing likewise?

"I know that those among you who are not guilty and have been embittered by their sufferings, will find my words unpalatable But, I beg of you to control yourselves and to be quite sure that if we do not purge our hearts of all feelings of revenge and violence Pakistan will not be the great country that we dream of

"To uphold and maintain the honour of Pakistan, we, as a Government will not hesitate to take strongest measures, as indeed we are doing, that none shall suffer in our territory at the hands of the peacebreaker The Government of the West Panjab has decided to declare all districts to be dangerously 'disturbed areas not because there is any deterioration in the situation but because we are anxious that peace should return in the shortest possible time and people of all communities should be able to go about their lawful business without the slightest fear or nervousness Such a declaration will strengthen the forces of law, and order and will enable Government to impose collective fines on troublesome groups

"I know fully of your desire that in the application of these stern measures, none, no matter how highly placed, should be unduly favoured or lightly punished if he is guilty I give you my assurance and say it to you most emphatically that whoever thwarts the peaceful progress of our country will receive his due punishment irrespective of his social position, his official connections or his status in political life Pakistan means nothing if it does not mean that all are equal before the law

"But it is the duty of all of us to see that we should have to devote the least possible amount of energy to battling with disorder For we, all of us, need all the energy for rehabilitating our evacuees and after that task is finished, for building the noble edifice of our great State If there are any among the nationals of Pakistan, who would halt the onward march of our country by creating diversions and difficulties, they are Pakistan's greatest enemies, whether they know it or not

"Let us, then, pledge ourselves afresh to service—a pledge in which the high and the low alike should join, a pledge to protect the honour and happiness of the minorities as our own Our greatest need at the moment is for men and women, not thousands but hundreds of thousands of men and women, who without the least thought of gain or profit, reward or remuneration, favour or concession, should come forward to serve, not you or me, but the nation which is you and me and everyone else also, respect the law, keep the peace themselves and lead others in the paths of peace and thus raise themselves to the stature which will bring glory to them and to Pakistan

"One word more, we are not oblivious of the dangers that may lie ahead for Pakistan nor unmindful or ignorant of the forces which may seek its destruction I have said so more than once and I say so again today. Further than this I cannot speak on this subject except to tell you that we are not idle God be with us all, ***Pakistan Zindabad*** "

'PAKISTAN WILL NOT REFUSE SHELTER TO MUSLIMS'

Liaquat Ali Khan in a statement issued in Lahore on October 10, 1947 contradicted the misleading report, circulated by the Associated Press of India, that the Pakistan Government

had banned the entry into Pakistan of Muslim evacuees from all parts of the Indian Dominion, except East Punjab Clarifying his statement of October 5, he said

"A statement dated New Delhi October 7, 1947, emanating from Associated Press of India, has appeared in several newspapers which contained totally misleading suggestions as to what I said at Lahore on Sunday, October 5 last in the conference at the Residency between the Pakistan Government and the Government of India whose chief representatives were the Hon'ble Mr K C Neogy and the Hon'ble Mr Gopalaswamy Iyenger This statement implies that the Pakistan Government have banned the entry into Pakistan of Muslim evacuees from all parts of the Indian Dominion except East Punjab It goes so far as to comment that 'a natural corollary of the stand taken by the Pakistan Government, it is interpreted in political circles here is that Pakistan for the establishment of which an overwhelming majority of Muslims in the Indian Dominion worked, is closed to them and it ends by contrasting India's admission of non-Muslim refugees from Baluchistan and Sind with this alleged Pakistan policy

'I think it is necessary, therefore, so as to avoid all misunderstanding to make it clear that what I said in the conference was no departure from our declared policy as stated in my own previous announcements and as repeatedly stressed in conferences between the two Governments

"We have always recognised the dangers inherent in evacuation of Muslims from India and of non-Muslims from Pakistan We had indeed hoped that the evacuation of Muslims from East Punjab would not be extended to the Ambala Division We had never contemplated the mass eviction of Muslims from Delhi or other parts of India outside East Punjab

"When, however, in Sunday's conference the discussion turned upon the number of Indian Muslims to be evacuated into Pakistan the Indian Ministers blandly proposed to include Muslims from the Delhi Provinces and the Western districts of the U P in the evacuation programme It was put to me that almost all Muslims in the Delhi Province and the western districts of U P desired to leave India and that Pakistan should facilitate their migration

"I made it clear that while Pakistan would not refuse shelter to any Muslim settler, it must refuse in any way to facilitate abandonment by Muslims of their homes and properties in India outside East Punjab I emphasised that it was for the Government of India to implement their reiterated promises to give full protection to all their Muslim nationals and that if they did so honestly and truly the question of

evacuation of Muslims from Delhi and U P would not arise The division of India into Pakistan and India Dominions was based on the principle that the minorities will stay where they were and the two States will afford all protection to them to live as citizens of the respective States

"My attention has aslo been drawn to a certain passage in the Deputy Prime Minister of India's speech to the Hindus and Sikhs of Amritsar on September 30 last in which he is reported to have said 'India's interests lay in getting all her men and women across the border and sending out all Muslims from East Punjab ' If this report is correct it is most regrettable that the Indian Government should, as a matter of deliberate policy, be sending all Muslims out of East Punjab and trying to uproot non-Muslims out of Pakistan On our side we are doing our best to reassure the minority communities and endeavouring to persuade them not to leave their ancestral home in Pakistan "

REJOINDER TO SARDAR PATEL'S STATEMENT

Liaquat Ali Khan, in a rejoinder on October 14, 1947 to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel s statement of October 11, on mass migration of respective populations said

" I have been painfully surprised by the tone and contents of the statement issued from New Delhi on Oct 11 by Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel Deputy Prime Minister of the Indian Union It is with extreme reluctance that I am issuing this rejoinder Sardar Patel has made a number of statements which are contrary to facts and cannot, therefore, be allowed to go unchallenged

"Sardar Patel admits that he did say in his Amritsar speech that India's interest lay in getting all her men and women across the border and sending out all Muslims from the East Punjab ' He claims that the question of sending out Muslims from the East Punjab and non Muslims from the West Punjab is no longer a matter of policy of any Government but an agreed arrangement between the Dominions of India and Pakistan

" Sardar Patel accuses me of a short memory which is far from correct but it seems to me that he has no memory left at all He forgets that neither in the inter-Dominion conference held on Sept 19, nor in the conference held on Oct 5, did the two Governments arrive at any

agreement that all non-Muslims should be evacuated as a matter of policy from the West Punjab or that all Muslims should be similarly evacuated from the East Punjab May I refresh Sardar Patel's memory by quoting from the Press Note, which was issued from New Delhi and which contained the gist of the agreements reached at the September 19 conference

"The Press Note said

'The situation in the Punjab has developed in such a way that mass movement of Muslims from the East Punjab and non-Muslims from the West Punjab is taking place The Government of India and Pakistan have, therefore, decided that the movement of these people from the East to the West Punjab and *vice versa* is to have first priority and they have agreed to co-operate with each other on this matter to the fullest extent

"It is, therefore, quite clear that these agreements did no more than recognise a situation which had already developed as a result of the disturbances which had taken place and that two Governments agreed to treat the movement of evacuees from one side to the other a matter of top priority in the name of humanity These agreements certainly did not amount to a policy by the two Governments, according to which, if all the Muslims had necessarily to be sent over from the East Punjab and all non-Muslims from the West Punjab, either people wanted to leave their hearths and homes or not As a matter of fact, the Press Note announcing the decisions of the Sept 19 conference officially stated that it is the policy of both the Governments to create and maintain conditions in which the minorities could live in security

"Therefore, it was the duty of the two Governments to create and maintain conditions of security for the minorities even in the East and the West Punjab The Pakistan Government and the West Punjab Government have scrupulously honoured this agreement and my colleagues, Mr Ghazanfar 'Ali Khan, supported by Ministers of the West Punjab Government, have launched an intensive campaign in the West Punjab in order to create those conditions of security, which would enable the non-Muslims there to continue to live in peace These efforts have proved conspicuously successful so much so that many non-Muslims who had intended to migrate, have now changed their minds At Chakwal, for instance, 20,000 Hindus who were to be evacuated decided to stay and they returned empty the special trains which had been sent to evacuate them

"Unfortunately the Government of India and the East Punjab Government have not fulfilled this undertaking but on the contrary

have decided, as a matter of Government policy, to send out from every part of the East Punjab every single Muslim, irrespective of whether some of them may wish to stay on

"Indeed Sardar Patel claims that this evacuation of Muslims from all over the East Punjab is in 'India's interest' Will Sardar Patel explain why and how is it in 'India's interest' to send all Muslims from the East Punjab? Since that is the gravamen of my charge against him I may also point out that at the conference held on Sept 19, I raised the question that as conditions had now become so disturbed in the Ambala division as to require mass migration of Muslims, the Government of India should make efforts to see that no migration of Muslims from there took place It was only when Patel pleaded utter inability of his Government to guarantee the safety of the Muslims that I have to make arrangements for the evacuation of Muslims from the Ambala division also But it was never intended that people should be forced to leave by questionable methods On the contrary, it is the duty of the Government to prevent forced evacuation by gangsterism

"Sardar Patel also refers to the decision taken at the inter-Dominion conference held on Oct 5, to prepare plans of evacuation on the basis of the total figure of Muslim population in the East Punjab, including non-Muslim States, and the total figure of the non-Muslim population of the West Punjab and the N-W F P The object of this investigation was not that there should be total evacuation on both sides nor that every body should be compelled to leave It would be inhuman for any Government to prepare complete lists of the minorities in a given territory or proceed to evict them systematically

"If the repeated promises and assurances of the Indian Government to the Muslim minority have any meaning, the Indian Government are in honour bound to provide such conditions of security that Muslims would not feel compelled to leave their Dominion That programme of mass evacuation of Muslims is strictly limited and applies only to the East Punjab for reasons mentioned above Any attempt to extend this programme to facilitate the evacuation of Muslims from Delhi and the Western U P would be regarded as a clear breach of the many undertakings given for the protection of minorities We have made our attitude quite clear We consider that the best interests of India and Pakistan are served by giving the fullest protection to minorities by the creation of conditions which will enable them to stay in their ancestral homes with safety We are, therefore, absolutely opposed to mass migration of Muslims from Delhi, western U P or other areas outside the East Punjab

"If such conditions are created as to lead to a mass exodus from any part of India other than the East Punjab, Pakistan Government will have to review the whole situation and adopt such measures as may be necessary to resist any such design, for they are firmly of the opinion that it will be disastrous to the interests of both the Dominions

"Sardar Patel also refers to the conditions of non-Muslim refugees in a most exaggerated manner and paints a gloomy picture of their plight Coming from him, it will be taken as gospel truth and is, therefore, bound to create fresh panic among those Hindus in the West Punjab who want really to continue to live there I do not want to follow the example of Sardar Patel and give details of the terrible conditions of Muslim refugees from the other side I refrain from doing so, because it will add to our enormous difficulties and further increase the prevailing bitterness which, I am sure Sardar Patel will appreciate, should be the last thing that men in the high positions should by word or deed add to what already exists On the contrary, our constant endeavour should be to smooth matters, to heal the wounds, to create a sense of security, to restore peace and maintain law and order I can claim with every justification that we have done our best by our words and deeds to implement our assurances I am surprised that Sardar Patel should incite the people by characterising them as 'paper assurances I could level this charge against the Indian Dominion with greater justification but here again, it would lead to a vicious circle and carry us nowhere In fact, it was in order to prevent our hurling these allegations at each other that we put forward our proposal for neutral observers from UNO but Sardar Patel and his Government turned it down "

TELEGRAM TO THE PRIME MINISTER OF KASHMIR & JAMMU STATE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan sent a telegram to the Prime Minister of Kashmir and Jammu State on October 18, 1947, in which he categorically denied the allegations and accusations levelled against Pakistan by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir State The telegram was released to the Press on October 21

"We are astonished at the contents and tone of your telegram

dated October 15 Instead of taking immediate and effective action in regard to specific complaints made by us in our telegram dated October 12, you have put forward vague allegations of infiltration by people of Pakistan into Kashmir and have accused the border people of manufacturing bad relations We emphatically and categorically deny the allegations and accusations

"People travel to and from, between Kashmir and Pakistan in the normal course of business but the allegations regarding the free distribution of arms and ammunition to Pakistani areas, adjoining the State borders, and the infiltration of armed men into State territory are incorrect

"On the other hand, there is mounting exigence of ruthless oppression of Muslims in Kashmir State and of raids into Pakistan territory by armed Dogra gangs and non-Muslim refugees from the Punjab The most recent report is that of an attack on Chamma Khurd village by Dogra Army personnel where they exchanged fire with the police, killing the Head Constable

'Large numbers of armed Sikhs as well as Hindus belonging to the Rashtriya Sevak Singh have gone to Kashmir with the object of repeating the tactics they followed in the East Punjab to kill, terrorise and drive out Muslims, in fact, exodus of Muslims from the State has already started The Pakistan Government must take a most serious view of the state of affairs in which the Muslims of Kashmir are being suppressed and forcibly driven out of Kashmir

"We are astonished to hear your threat 'to ask for assistance' presumably meaning thereby assistance from an outside Power The only object of this intervention by an outside Power secured by you would be to complete the process of suppressing the Muslims to enable you to join the India Dominion as *coup d'etat* against the declared and well-known will of the Muslims and others, who form 85 per cent of the population of your State

We must earnestly draw your attention to the fact that if this policy is not changed and the preparations and active measures that you are now taking in implementing this policy are not stopped, the gravest consequences will follow for which you alone will be responsible

"As regards the alleged action of the West Punjab Government in blocking the passage of petrol, cloth and food and stoppage of transport, we have already informed you that the West Punjab Government have been asked to provide you with all reasonable assistance in these matters It is entirely wrong to attribute difficulties in transport, which have risen owing to circumstances beyond the

control of the West Punjab Government, to the unfriendly intentions of that Government or to regard it as an act of coercion of the State We have already sent a special officer to discuss with you the problems arising in respect of these matters and to settle ways and means of adjusting the difficulties

"Having regard to the gravity of the situation, we have carefully considered your suggestion to 'have an impartial inquiry made into the whole affair' We appreciate the suggestion and ask you immediately to nominate your representative on this inquiry committee On hearing from you we shall nominate our representative without delay so that the Committee can proceed at the whole matter In the meantime, we hope that every effort will be made on both sides to restore cordial relations between us "

FREEDOM OR DEATH—CHOICE BEFORE KASHMIR MUSLIMS'

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in the course of a broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Lahore on November 4, 1947 narrated the high-handed policy of the Indian Government towards the States which had acceded to Pakistan and towards the Muslim subjects of those states He also briefly referred to the history of Kashmir and discussed in detail the atrocities being inflicted on the Muslims there He said

"I am speaking to you tonight from my sick-bed I wish to talk to you about Kashmir, because the affairs of Kashmir have reached a critical phase and have now assumed international importance and because I know that Kashmir is uppermost in your mind as it is in mine

"In the exhilaration of self-styled gallantry and valour, some erstwhile sympathisers of the oppressed people of Kashmir seem to have forgotten the history of this beautiful land Let us, therefore, briefly recall it for their benefit

"This piece of God's earth along with the human beings, inhabiting its hills and valleys, was, under the infamous Amritsar Treaty, sold by the British to a Dogra chieftain for the paltry sum of Rs 75,00,000 The present Maharaja inherits the people of Kashmir from his forefathers as though they were so much cattle. It is this

immoral and illegal ownership that the gallantry and valour of Indian troops is defending today by spilling the blood of the oppressed slaves who had been bartered away by the British

"During the past 100 years of Dogra rule, this highly gifted and most attractive race of Kashmiris has been dragged down to the lowest depths of misery In recent years, they have made many attempts to fight for their freedom Time and again they have been thwarted but time and again they have risen to defy tyranny

"The fight is not yet at an end But I would like my listeners to know that today the people of Kashmir are fighting not only for their freedom but also for their very existence, for their misfortunes have, in recent months, taken on a darker shade They have been caught in the meshes of a widespread plan of the extermination of Muslims This plan has succeeded in Alwar, in Bharatpur, in Patiala, in Faridkot, and in Kapurthala And all these you will note are States that have acceded to the Indian Union

"Only yesterday Muslims formed the majority of the population in Kapurthala There are hardly any left there now When we asked the Indian Government to protect the Muslims in these States, we were told that these events were the States' internal affairs and the Indian Government could not interfere

"After the massacre of Muslims in the East Punjab States, the forces of annihilation turned to Jammu and Kashmir Towards the end of September, the INA and the Rashtriya Sewak Sangh shifted their headquarters from Amritsar to Jammu and thousands of Sikh refugees began to infiltrate into Kashmir These so-called Sikh refugees came from the East and not the West Punjab They came armed with modern weapons and were provided with more weapons by the State authorities They set about their formal business in Jammu and Poonch, repeating the horrible drama they had enacted in the East Punjab and with the same type of characters playing the leading roles

'In the beginning of October, news of the bestial deeds perpetrated on the innocent people of Kashmir began to trickle through In a short time, the trickle became a torrent Burning villages could be seen from the Murree hills Thousands of terror-stricken refugees poured into Pakistan

It was at this stage that the people of Kashmir in sheer desperation, turned on their oppressors Kashmiris, and specially the inhabitants of Poonch, have many relatives in Hazara and in the West Punjab Consequently feelings in certain parts of Pakistan rose

very high and some people from the N-W F P and the Tribal Areas, stirred by the atrocities in Kashmir, rushed to the aid of their brethern

"It is the oppressed, enslaved and entrapped people of Kashmir struggling for their freedom (and now for their lives) and their sympathisers, whom the Indian Government is helping to wipe out The declared object of the Indian Government is to strengthen the Maharaja's hands How blood-stained these hands are is quite well-known to the leaders of India, even though they may choose to forget this fact now

"The stress has deliberately been shifted to the so-called raiders as if the people of Kashmir themselves had suddenly wiped off their minds the memory of the century-old oppression and had overnight become enamoured of their tyrannical oppressors To present the rebellion of an enslaved people to the world as an invasion from outside, simply because some outsiders have shown active sympathy with it, is a dishonest rewriting of history

"Much has been made of modern arms that are alleged to have been used against the Army and a tall structure of insinuation and innuendo has been reared on this detail It is, however, forgotten that many of those who are fighting the invading troops of India come from the 60,000 ex-Army men of Poonch who are not incapable of capturing the arms of their enemy

"Let us, therefore, not be misled by the laboured picture so elaborately drawn, of the 'gallant' Indian Army saving the beautiful land of Kashmir and its people from invading hordes It is not invading hordes but the patriots of Kashmir that the Indian Army is shooting and bombing It is not Kashmir but a tottering despot that the Indian Government and their camp-followers are trying to save

"In his broadcast, the Prime Minister of India has been tilting at the windmills The armies of Pakistan have not marched into Kashmir as the armies of India, in one guise or another, marched into Junagadh and Manavadar when these States acceded to Pakistan The Indian Government regarded the accession of Junagadh to Pakistan as a threat to its security The accession of Kashmir to India is a much greater threat to the security of Pakistan We do not recognise this accession The accession of Kashmir to India is a fraud, perpetrated on the people of Kashmir by its cowardly Ruler with the aggressive help of the Indian Government The release of Shaikh Abdullah who had been convicted of high treason

and the continued imprisonment of Muslim Conference leaders who had been convicted of mere technical offences is only a part of the conspiracy

"When the history of this tragic episode comes to be written, it will reveal the treachery of many self-styled patriots and lovers of justice But the patriots of Kashmir will, sooner or later, prick this bubble, no matter how strong the forces arrayed against them Our heart goes out to them, our brethren, in this mortal struggle

"For the choice before them now is freedom or death If the plans of their enemies succeed, they will be exterminated, as Muslims in various other parts of India have been exterminated It is presumably after such extermination that the Indian Government propose a referendum should be held What use is a referendum after the voters have been driven away from their homes, or silenced in death ?

"The world knows how we have consistently and repeatedly tried to reach a better understanding with the Kashmir Government The Kashmir Government has ignored or rejected all these approaches

On October 2, I suggested to the Prime Minister of Kashmir that all outstanding questions between the two States, including that of supplies under the standstill agreement and mutual accusations of border raids, should be discussed by representatives of the two Governments. The Prime Minister of Kashmir replied that at the moment he was too busy to discuss these matters Nevertheless, we sent a representative to Srinagar to discuss these matters with the State The Prime Minister, however, refused to hold discussions with him and he had to return

"On Oct. 15, the Prime Minister of Kashmir in a telegram to me threatened that unless Pakistan agreed to an impartial inquiry he would be compelled to ask for outside assistance to withstand the unfriendly acts of the Pakistan people on his border I at once accepted the proposal for an impartial inquiry and made the Prime Minister of Kashmir to nominate a representative for this purpose The Government of Kashmir have since made no further reference to this matter

"On Oct 20, the Quaid-i-A'zam in reply to a telegram from the Kashmir Government called attention to the repeated attempts of Pakistan to improve its relations with Kashmir and asked for the Prime Minister of Kashmir to come to Karachi and talk things over No reply was sent to this request The Quaid i-A'zam also pointed out that the threat to call in outside help amounted almost to an ultimatum and showed that the real aim of the Kashmir Government's

policy was to seek an opportunity to join the Indian Union by means of a *coup d'etat*.

"The refusal of Kashmir Government to send a representative to discuss things and to nominate a representative for an impartial enquiry and its failure to reply to the Quaid-i-A'zam's invitation to the Prime Minister to come to Karachi, its deliberate causing of disturbances in the State by employing its troops to attack Muslims, the fact that by 9 a m on the morning of the day on which Kashmir's accession was accepted, Indian airborne troops had landed in Srinagar, clearly show the existence of a plan for accession against the will of the people, possible only by occupation of the country by Indian troops

"Even though all sorts of accusations were made against Pakistan by the Kashmir Government (and it was to redress these alleged wrongs that the Indian Government claims to have sent military aid to the Kashmir Government) yet at no stage did the Indian Dominion ask the Pakistan Government about these accusations and allegations or try to find a solution of this problem by joint consultation It was only after India had accepted Kashmir's accession and sent forces into Kashmir that the Pakistan Government was informed of the action

"After the unwarranted occupation of Kashmir by the Indian Government, the Quaid-i-A'zam proposed that an immediate conference should be held in Lahore It was to be attended by the Governors-General and the Prime Ministers of the two Dominions and the Maharaja and his Prime Minister This invitation was accepted and the conference was to be held on October 29 At the last minute the conference was postponed as Pandit Nehru fell ill

"It was arranged then that the conference should be held on November 1 and attended by the two Governors-General and the two Prime Ministers This conference also did not take place because on the morning of November 1 again at the last minute, we were informed that Pandit Nehru was not well enough to come to Lahore In this way the idea of the conference receded into the background so far as the Indian Dominion is concerned

"If the Indian Government really wanted to discuss this most vital and urgent matter, surely the Deputy Prime Minister could have come in place of Pandit Nehru On November 1, Lord Mountbatten came to Lahore alone to attend the meeting of the Joint Defence Council and took the opportunity to see the Quaid-i-A'zam At this meeting certain suggestions were made to Lord Mountbatten, but no further communication has been received by me or the Quaid-i-A'zam

from the Indian Government.

"Instead, Pandit Nehru has chosen to hurl across the world reckless accusation against the Pakistan Government, regardless of true facts His broadcast was arranged after Lord Mountbatten's return to Delhi and what the validity of his accusations is, I have already told you That is where the matter stands today The issues are for you and the world to judge *Pakistan Zindabad*"

TELEGRAM TO IRANIAN PREMIER

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on November 15, 1947, sent a telegram, expressing his thanks to His Excellency the Iranian Prime Minister —

"The people of Pakistan and myself have read with feelings of deep emotion Your Excellency's most generous appeal to the people of Iran on our behalf

'Your appeal is not only in the true Islamic spirit but is also typical of the great Iranian traditions

"The people of Pakistan will not easily forget this gesture of Your Excellency

"I send to Your Excellency and to the people of Iran our heartfelt thanks"

BIRTHDAY ANNIVERSARY OF THE QUAID-I-A'ZAM

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a message on the occasion of the first birthday anniversary of the Quaid-i-A'zam on December 25 1947, said

"In the midst of our rejoicings our hearts are heavy because hundreds and thousands of our people have been rendered destitute and exposed to cruel hardships Though it is no fault of theirs, they have still to be cared for and provided for

"I know how deeply the Quaid-i-A'zam's own heart is grieved because of them and how much they are in his thoughts on his

birthday

"I would like to point out to all who are employed in service of the State that they can show best their love and regard for the Quaid-i-A'zam by working harder and even harder and by placing in all things the interest of Pakistan and its people above their own

"The Quaid-i-A'zam's sole mission, during the remaining years of his life, is to build up the largest Muslim State and the fifth largest in the world which he has brought into being May God grant him long life and enable him to fulfil his mission and may He make us worthy of our great leader and our great State "

ADDRESS TO THE 114 BRIGADE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan paid a warm tribute to the personnel of Pakistan Army for their valour, devotion to duty and spirit of sacrifice, while addressing the troops of 114 Brigade at a ceremonial parade, held in Lahore on April 9, 1948 Speaking in Urdu the Prime Minister said

"Despite our meagre resources, the Pakistan Parliament has sanctioned a very big amount, nearly 75 per cent of its Budget, for the defence of the country We can live in poverty and suffer many privations, but we have pledged to defend our hard-won independence against any aggression

"The present strength of the Pakistan Army is as large as of the undivided India in the pre-World War II But this should not be misconstrued by any Power We have no aggressive designs against any country But vigilant neutrality and peace within and without is the keynote of our dealings with the neighbouring States

'You know that Pakistan is not a rich country We began life almost from scratch after August 14, but through the courage and forbearance of the people of Pakistan, we have overcome almost all the hurdles and today our Government is running as efficiently as any other Government in the world But we have still to go a long way to the realisation of our cherished ideals of ameliorating the lot of the common man For that we have to concentrate upon industrialisation Peace within and without is the pre-requisite of such a nation-building programme

"The nation has great confidence in you and I am perfectly sure

that you shall prove worthy of that confidence We shall not be satisfied with a good army Our constant endeavours shall be to make the Pakistan Army as one of the best armies in the world You possess in abundance the requisite grit, and I am sure you can add lustre to these qualities by inculcating the virtue of self-sacrifice and social service

"You have rendered yeoman service to the nation and the country during the hectic days of communal flare up following the partitioning of India It was through your efforts that *millions of stranded Muslims* were evacuated from the East Punjab to Pakistan

This gesture (the contribution to the Quaid-i-A'zam's Relief Fund) on the part of the Army personnel demonstrates that our soldiers and officers are not only brave in the battle-field but they also know how to alleviate the sufferings of the misery-stricken people

"Every step that we have taken in the interest of the nation demonstrates the progressive tendencies We have a disciplined and a tried Army, but I shall also like to see the same discipline among the Pakistan citizens I wish the young and enthusiastic element to come forward and join the Pakistan National Guards which is our second line of defence"

APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENT SERVANTS

Liaquat Ali Khan, in an appeal to the Government employees of Pakistan on April 12, 1948 in Karachi, said

"I am pained to learn that a section of the Central Government employees in East Pakistan have unwittingly played into the hands of fifth columnists' and have been on strike for a couple of days

"The Government of Pakistan has all along been aware of the subversive activities of these elements, but it has not taken any action so far against them in the hope that they will realise their mistake and refrain from mischievous activities Unfortunately it appears that this policy of toleration has been misinterpreted for weakness

The Government feels that the time has come to give a clear and stern warning to all those who are creating disaffection and indiscipline among the Government employees with the object of crippling Pakistan, to give up their nefarious activities

"I appreciate your difficulties and your sufferings and I assure you

that the Government of Pakistan will spare no possible effort to remove your difficulties and legitimate grievances I would appeal to you to stand fast by your Government and your State "

The Prime Minister made it clear that there was no intention to reduce the salaries of the low paid employees

"On the contrary, inspite of the difficulties which we are facing, the Government of Pakistan have appointed the Pay Commission to make inquiries and submit an interim report for giving relief to the low-paid employees "

PROVINCIALISM HARMFUL TO PAKISTAN

Addressing the officers and ratings of HMPS ' Qasim" in Karachi on April 15, 1948 Liaquat 'Ali Khan gave a premonition that only one thing, if any, could harm Pakistan and that was provincialism In the course of his address in Urdu, he said

"I feel that only one thing can harm Pakistan and that is the spirit of provincialism One must not think in terms of being a Sindhee, or a Pathan, or a Baluch, or a Panjabee or a Bengalee If the spirit of provincialism prevails and if we think in provincial terms, then Pakistan will be a weak State I desire that the Pakistan Navy, Army and Air Force should set an example and by that example prove that we all are only Pakistanis We should forget provincialism

"The sacrifices of the Muslim nation for Pakistan have been great, they have paid for Pakistan in tears and blood The sacrifices they have made for freedom and Pakistan have no precedent in history No other nation has paid so heavy a sacrifice for freedom Lakhs of men, women and children sacrificed themselves Lakhs of them lost everything and became refugees Why? Their only fault was that they wanted that in this continent of India, where there were ten crores of Muslims, there should be a place for Muslims and there the democratic rule of Islam may prevail and Islamic culture may flourish

"Your Parliament has decided that 75 per cent of its expenditure will be spent on the Armed Forces and the defence of Pakistan Your representatives realise that the safety and defence of Pakistan are most important

"This shore battery is now being handed over to you by the Army In very few countries of the world are the shore batteries manned by the Navy

"Not only have you now to guard Pakistan waters but also the approaches to Karachi and Western Pakistan I hope and desire, in fact, I am sure that you will discharge your duty with a high sense of responsibility I pray that Pakistan will be proud of HMPS "Qasim" Muhammad bin Qasim was the first Muslim to set foot on the soil of this subcontinent"

PRESS CONFERENCE ON KASHMIR PROBLEM

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, defining the reaction of the Pakistan Government to the resolution of the United Nations Security Council on Kashmir problem, at a Press Conference of about 50 foreign and local journalists in Karachi on May 3, 1948, said

"It is impracticable to get a fair plebiscite under the conditions stated in the resolution

"If the Good Offices Commissior of the United Nations comes, we will try to point out to the Commission the flaw in the resolution and ask them to see things for themselves We hope to convince the Commission that it is impracticable to get a fair plebiscite and this is the extent to which we propose to help the Commission

"We are hoping that after the Commission has seen things for itself on the spot, it will be able to advise the Security Council and also convince India of the justness of Pakistan's case, which is really the just demand of the people of Kashmir It is for this purpose that we have nominated under protest and without prejudice a member to the Commission

"We maintain that the vast majority of the people of Kashmir wish to accede to Pakistan but the only fair way that their will can be ascertained would be to withdraw all contending forces from Kashmir and set up a neutral administration to take the vote Here is a fundamental defect in the Security Council's resolution We do not deny that the democratic method should be followed in ascertaining the wishes of the people but the Council has, in our opinion, destroyed by one hand what it had conceded by the other in the way of conditions which can bring about a fair and free plebiscite

"They cannot by their present resolution create those conditions which any fair-minded person would accept as enabling the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without any fear of intimidation of any kind

"What the Security Council provides for now is to task Pakistan and here it must be remembered that the vast majority of those who are fighting against very heavy odds, fighting a valiant battle, are the sons of the soil itself The number of tribesmen is comparatively very small in the Forces of Azad Kashmir

"It is the people of Kashmir who have been bravely fighting for their very existence

"The Tribesmen are notoriously independent people They are gravely agitated over the atrocities that have been and are being committed against their Muslim brethren in Kashmir and elsewhere They are determined as far as it lies in their power to prevent the repetition of those atrocities and here I must frankly state that in this matter the people of Pakistan fully sympathise with them

"India is at present conducting a major war in Kashmir and has concentrated a very large force there As a matter of fact according to some reports, the strength of the Indian Forces in Kashmir is stated to be three Divisions The removal of a division of troops at the present moment would only amount to a sort of token withdrawal as this would still leave behind a terribly large force But as the resolution stands India will be able to argue that they have carried out the wishes of the Security Council but in actual practice Kashmir would still remain virtually occupied by the Indian military forces The resolution gives the Government of Shaikh Abdullah a loop-hole for creating a State Force which may be out of all proportions to the internal requirements of the State, yet Pakistan is asked to use its good offices to remove the Tribesmen and Pakistan nationals but Pakistan has not been permitted the means to achieve this objective The use of Pakistan Forces has also been made subject to the agreement of the Government of India Do the Security Council really expect that just by whistling Pakistan will be able to make these people withdraw from fight which they regard as sacred and which they regard they are waging to save their lives and to save themselves from destruction ?

"I do not see how we can convince the Tribesmen of a fair deal to the Mussalmans of Kashmir when we are ourselves not convinced of a fair and impartial plebiscite under this resolution This is our main problem.

"The other major defect is the presence of Shaikh 'Abdullah at the helm of affairs in that State

"The world knows that Shaikh 'Abdullah has been proclaiming his hatred of Pakistan and we do not see how a Government headed by such a man even though it may also contain a few nominees of other parties is likely to create conditions in the administrative and plebiscite machinery which will enable the people of Kashmir to express their will freely and without fear"

Asked what the reaction of the Government of Pakistan was to the stand taken by the British Delegate to the Security Council on the Kashmir issue, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said, it was very difficult to understand the reason which made Great Britain change its attitude after the Indian Delegations's return to Lake Success

In answer to another question, he made the point "Pakistan will be in the Commonwealth as long as she thinks that it is in the best interest of the people of Pakistan and the best interests of the world at large and the moment that Pakistan finds that to be in the Commonwealth is of dubious utility, Pakistan could not hesitate to get out of the Commonwealth Pakistan's foreign policy is to co-operate with all countries for the benefit of all"

Refuting that the Government of Pakistan was a party to the fight in Kashmir, he said "Since India has been carrying on this war in Kashmir, Pakistan territory has been violated dozens of times by land and from air and we have shown the greatest patience I have drawn the attention of Pandit Nehru dozens of times Pakistan civilians have been strafed from the air as well as attacked by land but we have exercised the greatest restraint and let me tell you that whatever the consequence, if Pakistan territory is violated, by whatever power it may be, Pakistan will fight for the integrity and sovereignty of its territory with all the resources at its command"

He believed that the phrase in Pandit Nehru's statement (that "India shall as far as possible avoid crossing over into Pakistan territory" meant that India had no intention of crossing over into territories "It is our earnest desire and it has always been our sincere effort not to come into conflict with India but if Pakistan is attacked then Pakistan will certainly resist"

Reviewing briefly the background behind the resolution of the Security Council and Pakistan's problem, Liaquat 'Ali Khan referred to the massacre of Muslims in the State of Jammu and Kashmir in September 1947, in which lakhs of Muslims were driven out of their homes "In fact," he said, "it was a part of the same plan

which was put into operation in the East Punjab and non-Muslim States that have acceded to India—that was the extermination of the Muslims from those areas either by killing or by driving them out of their homes This was the state in Kashmir in September

"The people of Kashmir out of sheer desperation and for their very existence took up arms against the Maharaja and to protect themselves, their women and children The Maharaja's troops were routed and were practically in the process of being destroyed when according to an arranged plan the Maharaja offered and India accepted accession of Kashmir to the Indian Union At that time we stated that it was a fraud that was being practised on the world opinion and in the circumstances under which accession has taken place Pakistan refused to recognise that accession

"Although we could have at that time taken up the attitude that Kashmir could only accede to Pakistan and no other country on account of geographical, cultural, economical and political considerations yet for the sake of a peaceful solution, Pakistan has accepted the proposal for a free and unfettered plebiscite in Kashmir to enable the people to decide whether they wish to accede to India or to Pakistan We maintain that the vast majority of the people of Kashmir wish to accede to Pakistan and the only fair way their will can be ascertained would be to withdraw all the contending forces from Kashmir and set up a neutral administration to take the vote"

Holding that under the resolution no such fair condition would be possible for a free and unfettered Plebiscite, he said In Pakistan we have today over 6,000,000 people who have had very recent experience of the way in which they have been treated in the areas in which they had nothing but Indian Troops and Indian Police to look after their life and property

"No one should be surprised if the people of Pakistan view with horror the presence of Indian Forces anywhere in the Muslim areas and no amount of argument can convince them that their fears are not justified The resolution provided for a gradual and progressive withdrawal of Indian Forces"

Speaking about the "other major defect" in the resolution, he said

"It is well known that Shaikh 'Abdullah is a nominee of the Maharaja and a stooge of the Indian Government and holds his office at their pleasure He is not an elected representative of the people As a matter of fact, he is regarded as a quisling by the vast majority of the people in Jammu and Kashmir State Under these circum-

stances the Security Council's resolution is impracticable

"It is an historical fact that the Government of Pakistan have been willing throughout to co-operate in finding out a pacific solution of the Kashmir problem Pakistan first offered to negotiate with the Kashmir Government itself, then it tried to negotiate with India and on more than one occasion put forward concrete proposals Finally she has readily placed her case in the hands of the Security Council Throughout the period and during, the Security Council was considering this very vexed question, Pakistan has been doing its utmost to refrain from saying or doing anything that would in any way inflame the minds of the people and make the finding of a solution more difficult

"It was suggested that if Pakistan was expected to get the tribesmen out, Pakistan should be allowed to send his forces into Kashmir and achieve this objective Then in order that the people would not be intimidated, it was suggested that the areas which were predominatly Muslim should be held by the Muslim forces of Pakistan and those which were predominantly Hindu should be held by Hindu forces In either case, the forces to be used should be the barest minimum and supporting forces should be maintained in the bases outside Kashmir Our suggestions have not been accepted and we have been asked to use our good offices in getting the Tribesmen out "

In reply to a suggestion that if the Good Offices Commission was not convinced of the flaws pointed out by the Pakistan Government and the justness of its case, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said "I am convinced that under the resolution a fair and free plebiscite cannot be held I cannot carry out any obligation that is laid upon me under the resolution "

When a correspondent suggested that one of the methods of getting the Tribesmen out of Kashmir was to cut off supplies, he replied "When the whole people of Pakistan, sympathise with them in their valiant fight, is it possible for any Government to cut off supplies? I wish the people should realise and recognise that the Muslims of Kashmir are fighting for their very existence and every Muslim in Pakistan has fullest sympathy for them because they know what would be their fate if India got Kashmir "

In reply to a question that plebiscite was a fair method of ascertaining the views of the people, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said "We want the people of Kashmir to decide their fate in conditions which will ensure voting without intimidation or pressure from outside It is our considered view that these conditions can only be created if

there are neutral troops and neutral administration in Kashmir during the time of plebiscite."

Answering a question that if a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir decided in favour of accession to India, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said "If the Muslims of Kashmir, who form 80 per cent of the population decide to go to India and want to plung themselves into the fire with eyes open, I would accept it. The conditions must be such that we must be convinced that they will have the opportunity of expressing their will freely."

Asked if there was any significance to the decision of the Pakistan Government to exchange Ambassadors with Russia at this stage, he said "It has been the desire of Pakistan to have friendly relations with all the nations of the world and the decision of the exchange of Ambassadors with Russia is in consequence of that policy."

Finally, to another question, the Prime Minister said "Kashmir problem cannot be solved through a military decision by the forces of the Indian Union."

ADDRESS TO MALIR TROOPS

Addressing about 5,000 civilians and officers of the Pakistan Armed Forces at Malir Cantonment in Karachi on May 4 1948 the Prime Minister and Defence Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat 'Ali Khan declared

"We want to live at peace with our neighbours and we desire to establish friendly relations with every country but if any country, be it one of the greatest powers of the world attacks us we will defend ourselves with all our might and with all the resources at our command.

"For the first time after 200 years, we are free in this sub-continent. History has no parallel to the sacrifices which we have made for the achievement of this freedom. Lakhs of Muslims have lost their all and shed their blood for the achievement of Pakistan and now it is our first duty to make Pakistan a powerful State.

"It is my desire and the desire of my Government to make our Armed Forces as strong as possible. They constitute the most vital link of the chain of which the other links are the State and the people. This is why we are spending large sums on our defence and let me tell you frankly that as long as I am in office as the Prime

Minister and the Defence Minister of Pakistan, I will try to do my best to make our Armed Forces strong."

LOCATION OF THE CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN AT KARACHI

Speaking on the motion regarding the location of the Capital of Pakistan at Karachi in the Constituent Assembly on May 22, 1948, Liaquat Ali Khan said

The Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan "The Honourable Mr Khuhro and the Honourable Mr Gazdar have reminded us that it was the then Sind Government, before 15 August, which had given invitation to the Pakistan Government to come to Karachi As a matter of fact, Mr Gazdar was so excited that I thought he was suffering from blood-pressure as soon as he went out I asked him whether he was suffering from blood-pressure, because I was very much worried about him when he was speaking I was very anxious, this being the last day of the Constituent Assembly, that we should get through the business which is on the agenda, and, therefore, I was very happy to learn that it was not the blood-pressure but a little nervous excitement Sir, they have rightly reminded us that it was the Sind Government that had offered us a home The Pakistan Government and the people of Pakistan are grateful to Sind and the Sind Government for the assistance that they gave at that time Mr Khuhro and his colleagues had gone to Delhi at the time when the Muslim League Working Committee, which was acting as the Provisional Government on behalf of the future Government of Pakistan, decided that the Capital of Pakistan should be in Karachi They were even more generous than just offering the hospitality of Karachi to the Pakistan Government They even offered that they would shift the Provincial Government to Hyderabad if it was found that there was not enough accommodation in Karachi I assure my Honourable friends that we are indeed very grateful for this gesture which they had made and let me tell them that it is out of that grateful feeling that we desire and ask then that Karachi should be the permanent Capital of Pakistan My Honourable friends, if they would permit me to say so, have not got a narrowed vision I have no doubt in my mind that the people of Sind would be grateful— that the future generations of Sindhis would

be grateful—to the Constituent Assembly that it took this decision to have the permanent Capital of Pakistan in Karachi Sir, as a matter of fact, as far as this proposition is concerned—that the Capital of Pakistan should be in Karachi—, there is really hardly any difference of opinion If once you decide that Karachi should be the Capital of Pakistan, then it is but natural that the administration of Karachi should be in the hands and under the control of the Federal Government? As a matter of fact my Honourable friend, the Mian Sahib, analysed the position very correctly when he said that there can be only four grounds for any opposition to this Resolution The first, he said, could be the administrative ground On that, I think I am right in saying that he agrees with me that if Karachi is to be the capital of Pakistan, then the administration of Karachi must be under the control of the Federal Government The second ground, he said, was the economic ground and I think my Honourable friend, Mr Khuhro, also raised that point I want to make the position of the Pakistan Government clear It has never been, it is not and, I hope, it shall never be, the desire of the Pakistan Government to do any harm or any injury to the people of Sind We shall see that their interest is not prejudiced in any way

"Mr Khuhro said that Sind was a deficit Province, that it was only during the war on account of the high prices of foodstuffs and the added income of Karachi, that Sind is a surplus province today, and if you take away Karachi then, he said, Sind will again become a deficit Province Now, here I want to assure my Honourable friend, Mr Khuhro that the Pakistan Government will make a financial adjustment with the Government of Sind and that the Government of Sind will not lose a single penny of what they have been getting out of Karachi as having been their seat of Government I cannot give a greater assurance than that

"With regard to the Government buildings here I have been asked as to what will be the position of the Pakistan Government My Honourable friend, Mr Gazdar, said that we were robbing the Sind Government May I assure him that our standards of morality are higher than his? The Pakistan Government will never be guilty of having done any of the Provinces in the eye, or having had any immoral deal with any of the Provincial Governments because, I believe that the strength of Pakistan depends on the strength of the Provinces and let me tell you, my Honourable friends, the strength of the Provinces depends on the strength of Pakistan Sir, I was rather surprised to find that in one breath my Honourable friend said that if

Karachi went out, Sind, with its present income, but without the income which it gets from Karachi of 60, 70 or 80 lakhs, whatever it may be, will become a deficit Province, and yet with those finances of theirs the hope that they can make Karachi the dream of the Muslim world, with those financial resources they hope that Karachi can really be a Capital worthy of the biggest Muslim State in the world "

Mr M A Khuhro "The Pakistan Government should look at its own Budgets "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan My Honourable friend says, 'The Pakistan Government should look at its own Budgets' Governments do not look at their budgets, Mr Khuhro, Governments have to look to their credit Any Government may have its coffers full of money and if it has no credit that money is not worth a handful of sand that you might pick up on the seashore Therefore, please get rid of that mentality that the Pakistan Government has no money Mr Khuhro takes every opportunity of running down the Pakistan Government I remember my Honourable friend's speeches during the Budget session Sir, I believe in the loyalty of Mr Khuhro to Pakistan I wish he would express that loyalty with greater wisdom than what he has been doing in the past By these remarks of his he who occupied the position till recently of the head of the Government of a Province that the Pakistan Government has no credit, that the Pakistan Government's financial stability is nothing, he is certainly not proving himself to be a friend of Pakistan "

Mr M A Khuhro "I did not say that the Pakistan Government have no credit I said that you had deficit Budgets "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan "For one thing, my Honourable friend had not studied the Budget It was not a deficit Budget that was presented last time Perhaps my Honourable friend was only thinking of his own Budget I do not want to enter into this controversy with my Honourable friend, Mr Khuhro He can sit back in his chair and feel happy that the Pakistan Government is a bankrupt Government, if that would satisfy him in any way

Sir, I was saying that it is absolutely necessary, if you want to make Karachi the city, which everyone of us wants it to be, that the Central Government should take the responsibility for developing Karachi if it is going to be its Capital Now, Sir, I hope that on these points I have given a satisfactory reply where the question of financial adjustment with the Sind Government is concerned Sir, I was very interested to find my Honourable friend, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din,

taking up cudgles on behalf of the vested interests, a man who has been the champion of the masses, a man who believes in the sovereignty of the masses, should come forward and tell us seriously that if an assurance could be given to a few educated people whose only desire and sole object of keeping Karachi, as a Provincial Capital under the administration of the Province, was to be members of the Provincial Legislature, then he felt that there would not be much opposition He went on repeating this again and again He referred to the 'intelligentsia' Mian Sahib knows what is the percentage of intelligentsia Does he want to give up the masses in the interests of the intelligentsia? I thought he believes in the strength of the masses

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar ud-din "In certain matters masses go with the intelligentsia and on this point I feel that the masses can be with the intelligentsia "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "The point here is not whether the masses are on this point or not with the intelligentsia The point that my Honourable friend made was this that if an assurance could be given that the intelligentsia, which is living in Karachi, shall be able to become members of the Provincial Legislature then quite a lot of opposition will disappear Sir, my Honourable friend said that there was another reason and that was sentiment He gave an illustration that if there was any Provincial self-determination to be given to various Provinces then Karachi should be considered as a part of Sind for that purpose That means that for the counting of heads the people of Karachi should be regarded as a part of Sind. Sir, now I suppose he was meaning to refer to the time when we come to frame the future Constitution of Pakistan Well, Sir, that is a matter in regard to which he should realise that the future Constitution of Pakistan will not be framed by the Government The future Constitution of Pakistan will be framed by this Constituent Assembly "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-din "By the ruling party "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan I hope he is a member of the ruling party "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-din "Yes, I am "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan And, therefore, my Honourable friend will have the fullest opportunity of trying to convert the members to any point of view that he may want to put before this August House

"Sir, now I come to the speech of my Honourable friend, Mr Gazdar He said you have got powers under the Indian Independence Act. You can do this by means of an order Why do you want to

drive us into this? And then he accused us, not only us but the whole Constituent Assembly, as creating dictatorship. Sir, my Honourable friend evidently believes very much in the law of contradiction. In one breath he advises me that I should get all these powers by means of invoking the special powers of the Governor-General and when I come forward before the Assembly then he accuses me of dictatorship. Sir, I am afraid, I find it rather difficult to understand what was the logic that my Honourable friend wanted the Honourable Members of this House to follow in this matter. Sir, my Honourable friend put great force on the Lahore Resolution. He said that if they had known that a day like this might come when the Sovereign Parliament of Pakistan may decide that Karachi shall become the Capital of Pakistan and that Karachi shall be administered centrally, they would have thought hundred times before supporting the Resolution of Pakistan. Now I want to ask my Honourable friend what would have been the other alternative before him. Supposing he and his friends had not supported the demand for Pakistan and supposing Sind had not been a part of Pakistan then what would have been the position of Sind? There would have been only two positions either Sind as an independent sovereign state or Sind as part of India. Now I only ask the Honourable Members of the House to consider whether it was possible for Sind to be an independent state. It was an impossibility. Therefore, the other alternative that was there, was to be a part of India. It is possible that my Honourable friend may have kept the Capital of Sind in Karachi but he would have certainly been responsible for killing the soul of Sind and after what had happened since the 15th of August, instead of Muslim refugees coming to Sind, it is possible that Muslims from Sind would have become refugees. That is what would have been the fate of the Sindhis and people of Sind. Sir, I am sure that my friend Mr Gazdar, did not mean this. What I feel is that when he said that we would have thought hundred times he said so in the heat of the moment and the heat of the day. Sir, there is one point that was raised by Mr Khuhro. He said again and again 'I have got a right—the Constituent Assembly has got a right—to know what is the decision or what is the attitude of the Sind Government with regard to this matter.' I think in fairnass to Sind Government I must tell the House because I want to save the Sind Government from the attacks that might be levelled against them by Mr. Khuhro and others who have opposed this Resolution. I know why he was insisting on asking this again and again. Knowing my Honourable friend Mr Khuhro and the way that his mind works, I feel that it is absolutely

necessary for me to divulge to this House and through this House to the people of Sind as to what is the attitude of the Sind Government with regard to this matter The Sind Government and ourselves have not succeeded in coming to an agreement on this issue, and it is because of the reason that as the two of us could not agree we have to come to this Honourable House, to the sovereign body, to decide this issue. Is it contended that nothing is to be done by the Constituent Assembly unless the Provincial Government agrees to a proposition? If you take up that attitude, I will tell the Honourable Members that they will not be able to do anything You should look at this question from the point of view of whether the decision which you are taking is in the interests of Pakistan or whether it is not in the interests of Pakistan. If the Honourable Members feel that this Resolution, after the explanation that I have given, does not in any way prejudice the interests of Sind and if they feel that it is in the interests of Pakistan that Karachi should be the Capital of Pakistan, then they must support this Resolution irrespective of the fact as to what the attitude of a particular Government or of a particular Legislature is Sir, it has been stated by Mr Khuhro and by Mr Gazdar that we have hurried through this matter Mr Khuhro should have been the last person to have made that statement As soon as we came here, we started discussions with Mr Khuhro at the highest level, at official level, at the ministerial level and therefore, he should have been the last person to say that this matter is being rushed through But for the knowledge that he had about this, he would not have succeeded in getting his Party when he was Premier to oppose the proposal but for the knowledge that he had about this matter, he would not have succeeded in getting the Provincial Muslim League to oppose the subject-matter of the Resolution Therefore, for my Honourable friend to say today this is a matter about which nobody knows anything is absolutely wrong If people did not know anything, then how could my Honourable friend's party, of which he was the leader come to any decision about a matter about which he himself today is saying that he has not had the time to consider"

Mr **M. A. Khuhro** "That was the unanimous decision of the **House.**"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Sir I think I have tried to deal with all the points that have been made and here I do want my Honourable friends from Sind to believe me when I say that the Pakistan Government or the Constituent Assembly is doing a service to all Everyone who has got any breadth of vision would recognise

that ultimately it will be the people of Sind who will benefit most out of Karachi becoming the Capital of Pakistan May be, today you do not realise the importance of this decision Your grandchildren will bless this assembly for having taken this decision After Karachi grows into a glorious town, as is the wish of every Pakistani, it will be the glory of Sind and it will be the glory of Pakistan" (Loud cheers)

Mr M A Khuhro "I want to ask one question Would the Honourable the Prime Minister say whether it is not a fact that no agreement has yet been reached with Sind Government on this matter? Sir, in that case, according to the old arrangement, why this matter has been precipitated, and before decision or compromise is reached with the Provincial Government, where is the hurry for doing it?"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'Sir, I have already replied to that and I have said that this matter cannot brook delay Does Mr Khuhro know that thousands of people, foreigners, men of commerce and trade and others are waiting for this decision and many important matters are pending on account of no decision having been taken so far?'

CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY OF PAKISTAN

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, speaking on the motion for amending the rules of procedure for the eligibility of membership to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and replying to the criticism of the members in the Assembly on May 18, 1948 said

"Mr Chairman, Sir, I would like to refer briefly to the speech that was made by my Honourable friend, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din If Mian Sahib had been here "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar ud-din 'I am here, Sir "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "If Mian Sahib had been here when my Honourable friend, Sardar 'Abdur Rab Nishtar, moved his motion, I am sure, he would not have found himself so confused, although, Sir, those of us who have had the privilege of listening to Mian Sahib have found that confusion is not an unusual thing with him "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-din "The feeling is reciprocal!"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Sir, my Honourable friend waxed eloquence on the proposition that he would admire a

man who went to India and spent 20 years of his life in jail by serving the Mussalmans there I do not know how he would be serving the Mussalmans by remaining in jail for 20 years but anyhow, Sir, Mian Sahib has been a jail-bird and I suppose he was speaking from his personal experience "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-din "You can serve people by being in jail Sure "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Sir, if my Honourable friend had taken the trouble of referring to the rule which is intended to be amended, he would have found that in the rules, as passed by the Assembly, it is stated that no one would be eligible for membership of the Assembly unless he is national of Pakistan or has acquired the Pakistan domicile So far, we have not defined as to who is a national of Pakistan and what are the conditions for a person to acquire Pakistan domicile It was considered that some rough and ready method should be prescribed by which a person's eligibility should be adjudged Because of the fact that the things have not settled down yet and there is movement of population between India and Pakistan, it was considered that the best proposition would be to lay down that anybody who has been, or has become a permanent resident of Pakistan, and secondly, that who owes allegiance to Pakistan, shall be eligible for becoming a Member of the Constituent Assembly, or for remaining as such My Honourable friend, I am sure, would recognise that instead of restricting the rights of the people of Pakistan, the proposition which is before the House gives greater liberty to the people with regard to their citizenship than what is prescribed in any other country of the world Sir, my Honourable friend said To whom am I going to be answerable whether I owe allegiance to Pakistan or not when I have taken the oath and have stated that I owe allegiance to Pakistan ?' That is true If he had taken the trouble of reading the amendment he would have found out that it does not say 'who owes allegiance to Pakistan or has acquired Pakistan domicile' but 'who owes allegiance to Pakistan and to no other State ' Surely, Mian Sahib would not countenance a proposition like this then, that a man should owe allegiance to two States and yet claim to sit in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan and frame a constitution for the people of Pakistan "

Mian Muhammad Iftikhar-ud-din "Of course, not "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'I am glad my friend recognises that that is really a proposition which is a just proposition and to which no one can take any objection.

"Then, Sir, another objection was raised by Mian Sahib He said that a *Chaprasi* has got the right to go to a court of law and you are depriving the top seventy Members—actually there are 69 Members in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly—from going to a court of law Now, Sir, these top 69 Members have elected their own President. Would these top 69 Members have greater confidence in a Sub-Judge, who is under the influence of a Government which is not responsible to this Constituent Assembly or would they have greater confidence in their own President whom they themselves have elected as their President? Sir, I really cannot understand the objection that has been raised Mian Sahib said 'talk about democracy and democratic methods' To my mind, it is more democratic to elect a man by your own vote and invest him with power than to appoint a man—a man to be appointed by a Government, a man who is under the influence of that Government—and then leave everything to him to judge. I do not see, Mr Chairman, that there is any sign of dictatorship in this proposition if it is proposed that the President of this Constituent Assembly should have this power And apart from that, Mr Chairman, I think it is more dignified for the Members of this Constituent Assembly that the enquiry should be made by their own President into their conduct with regard to these matters than that a Sub-Judge or a Judge—an outsider—should make the enquiry.

"Sir, now with your permission I would like to say a few words about the speech of the Honourable Mr Shaheed Suhrawardy He said. 'times can change and do change' I say *Amen* to that and I am looking forward to the day when in Pakistan all those who are interested in the well-being of Pakistan will give up the habit of running with the hare and hunting with the hounds That day we are all looking forward to and that day I have no doubt is coming nearer every day

"My Honourable friend said that by this amendment of my Honourable friend, Mr Pirzada, we were eliminating the Muslims of India from getting any privileges from Pakistan and yet, Sir, in the same breath he contradicted himself by quoting the instance of Haji 'Abdus Sattar Seth, who is a Muslim from India and whom the Pakistan Government have appointed as its ambassador in Egypt. Does it show that the Pakistan Government is eliminating Muslims from India, or does it not show that the Pakistan Government has got as much confidence in the Muslims who are in India, as they have in the Muslims who are in Pakistan? But what the Pakistan Government cannot—and I am sure the Pakistan people cannot—countenance is that a man should be owing allegiance to two States and should come

and guide the destiny and frame the future Constitution of and for the people of Pakistan

"Sir, my Honourable friend, as is usual with him talked about a lot of irrelevant matters He talked about the rights of minorities in India He talked about the sins of commission and omission of the Pakistan Government and in a very subdued manner of the Government of India That issue, Mr Chairman, is not before the House That issue to my mind is a very simple one Do you want that those who are to be Members of your Constituent Assembly, that those who are to be the Members of this Sovereign Parliament of Pakistan should be citizens of Pakistan? Should the membership be open to all and sundry irrespective of the fact whether they are citizens of Pakistan, whether they owe allegiance to Pakistan or whether they do not owe allegiance to Pakistan? Because, let me tell you Mr Chairman, a man can be loyal only to one country, a man can owe allegiance only to one State and anyone who tries to pose that he owes allegiance to more than one State is either deceiving himself or thinks that he can deceive others And, therefore, Sir, to my mind, this is a very important condition that anyone who is to be a Member of this Constituent Assembly must owe allegiance to Pakistan and Pakistan alone

"Sir, there seems to be a great deal of confusion with regard to the Cabinet Mission Plan It has been quoted and I am afraid that those who have tried to base their case on it in opposing this motion, have forgotten as to what were the circumstances under which the Cabinet Mission Plan was put forward and what were the reasons for that Plan Honourable Members would recollect that at the time when the Cabinet Mission Plan which they regard as their Bible in opposing this motion, was put forward there was no question of division of India under the Cabinet Mission Plan India was not to be partitioned was not to be divided and therefore the Cabinet Mission did not consider it necessary that there should be any restriction placed on the eligibility of persons from one Province becoming members in another Province because all the people of India, under that Plan, were to be citizens of India, and there was no question of being citizens of any other State And, therefore, Sir, when the new Plan came out, the Cabinet Plan, except to the extent that it had laid down the number of seats that were to be allotted to the various provinces, and the number of seats in the Constituent Assembly that were to be allotted to the various communities has no validity as far as the Constituent Assembly is concerned Now, Sir, tomorrow some Honourable Members may come forward and say that according to that Plan no age limit is prescribed

and therefore no age limit for the Members of the Constituent Assembly should be fixed

"Sir, what I am saying is this that to put forward this argument that this Constituent Assembly cannot lay down any rules with regard to eligibility of the Members, or those who are to become Members or as to those who can remain as Members, I think, Sir, my Honourable friends have not really relied on very strong document in support of their contention

"My Honourable friend, Mr Suhrawardy, said that there might be some Muslims who may be coming later to Pakistan The door is open for them Whether they are Muslims or Hindus, the door is not closed, the door is open for them because what it says is this 'who has been or has become' and does not say 'who has become a permanent resident of Pakistan before such and such date' If the matter is to be considered tomorrow, then anybody who has come today and has become a permanent resident is entitled to have all the privileges that those who have been living here for generations are entitled to have Therefore, I submit, Mr Chairman, that really speaking the condition that has been laid down is more liberal than any condition that anyone could conceive of

"Then, Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr Suhrawardy, says the Muslims of the Indian Union have no rights in Pakistan Of course they have no rights in Pakistan until they become citizens of Pakistan Let me tell my Honourable friend that if Pakistan followed any other policy than the policy which it is following, that is, if Pakistan were to regard every Muslim in India as citizen of Pakistan, Mr Suhrawardy will be placing the Muslims in India in a most dangerous position"

Mr H S Suhrawardy "I agree"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Then what did my Honourable friend mean by saying that the Muslims of Indian Union have no rights in Pakistan What rights does he want?"

Mr H S Suhrawardy "Charter of minority rights"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'My Honourable friend says, 'Charter of minority rights' I wish he would get the Indian Government to agree to have a charter of minority rights I do not want to waste the time of the House in dealing with this matter because on the last occasion I dealt with it at great length.

'Then, Sir, he says that the best way of serving the Muslims of India was for a Muslim to be citizen of both the Dominions Now let me tell you, Mr Chairman, that, to my mind, this is the worst way, because you are looked on with suspicion by both the Dominions.

The best way of serving—whether Muslims or Hindus of either this Dominion or that Dominion—is for a man to make up his mind whether he is going to be a citizen of this State or a citizen of India. But my Honourable friend seems to think that the only way in which you can serve Muslims of India is to become a Member of the Pakistan Parliament, during the session come once for half an hour, deliver a tirade here and then go back Well, if that is the conception of Mr Suhrawardy as to the manner in which the Muslims of India can be served, I beg to differ with him and I do not know whether the Muslims of India would regard that as a great service to their cause, as a great service to the cause of their safety

"Sir, my Honourable friend said 'You claim to be the biggest State and your ambition is to become leader of the Muslim world, but you have no sense of justice or toleration' My Honourable friend is having a very mistaken notion of his importance, if he thinks that this amendment has been brought forward only for the purpose of eliminating Mr Suhrawardy from the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Mr Suhrawardy, if he so desires, can become a permanent resident of Pakistan tomorrow Mr Suhrawardy, if he so desires, can owe allegiance exclusively to Pakistan from now onwards For that he need wait not till tomorrow and enjoy all the privileges and all the advantages that Pakistan offers, but then if he becomes a permanent citizen and if he owes allegiance exclusively to Pakistan, he has to take the obligation also He cannot eat the cake and have it He cannot enjoy all the privileges all the advantages and all the rights in Pakistan and remain a citizen of India and thus avoid all the obligations So, therefore, let me disabuse his mind of this obsession from which he is suffering that all this time of the Assembly is being taken up for the sole purpose of eliminating Mr Suhrawardy when he could thwart any such attempt by becoming a citizen of Pakistan tomorrow by mere declaration that he is a permanent resident of, and he owes allegiance to Pakistan and to no other State We are not so foolish as to take the trouble of wasting the time of this House by bringing forward a motion of this kind to oust him as he seems to think As I have suggested, it is not the intention and I hope that it will never be the intention of the Members of this House to take any action to victimise any individual or individuals I appeal to the Members of this House that whenever they take a decision they should take decisions on principles and matters of policy irrespective of the consequences which may befall any one individual Member

"Sir, I do not think I have anything to say, except that I must

refer to Mr Datta's speech He said that he had taken the oath of allegiance to Pakistan Now, it is an insult for him to be told that he was not loyal to Pakistan That is not the intention If my Honourable friend has taken the oath of allegiance to Pakistan, the amendment does not say that his conduct will be enquired into whether he has or whether he has not, when he has actually done so, but surely the enquiry can only be made if he takes another oath of allegiance in any other country or makes a declaration that he does not owe allegiance exclusively to Pakistan, but he owes allegiance to more than one State "

Mr Dhirendra Nath Datta "No, that does not cover "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "What it means is this that exclusively he owes allegiance to Pakistan and to no other State "

Mr Dhirendra Nath Datta "If he has reasons to believe "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan ' That is quite right, because it does not say if he has reasons to believe that he does not owe allegiance to Pakistan It says that he has reasons to believe that he does not owe allegiance to Pakistan exclusively If my friend says that the President may receive information and so on, well, then, in that case somebody has got to receive the information and somebody has got to enquire There is no intention to humiliate anybody who owes allegiance to Pakistan The President, who is your elected President, shall never take any action to harass or insult the Members who themselves have elected him What I am saying is that the amendment does not lend itself to the interpretation which my Honourable friend, like a very clever lawyer that he is, has tried to put on it

"Now, Sir, as I have stated, the amendment is a very simple one and let me tell my Honourable friends here that I have here the Draft Constitution of India They have made it more difficult for people to be citizens of India than what we have done in this amendment First of all a man has to be born in India or his father or grandfather and so on, and so forth, and then he has to be a permanent resident of India and then on top of that, he owes allegiance to India and to no other State that he can claim that right Secondly, about domicile, they say that it should be as described in the Indian Succession Act of 1925 If that were enforced, according to that a man has to live in a territory for one year before he can acquire the domicile of that country So, therefore, Sir, instead of appreciating the efforts of my Honourable friends and commending them for this amendment which

they have brought forward whereby they have made it easier for people to become citizens of Pakistan than is provided in any other country, they have been subjected to a great deal of criticism which I think was ill-informed, and for which I do not think there is any justification Sir, I hope that the Honourable Members of this House will support this amendment and I again want to say and want to make it clear that the intention of this amendment is not to victimise anybody The intention of this amendment is to provide a rough and ready method by which, till such time as we are able to frame our own Constitution, so far as membership of the Constituent Assembly is concerned, we are able to define as to what a citizen of Pakistan means

"Pakistan welcomes everyone who wants to come and make Pakistan his home, but at the same time it lays down the condition that he must owe allegiance to Pakistan, and Pakistan alone I hope Sir, after this explanation, the fears that some of my friends may have had, will be removed"

CENTRE'S POSITION ON PUNJAB MINISTERIAL TANGLE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan issued the following statement regarding the Punjab Ministerial tangle on May 29 1948 from Karachi

"My attention has been drawn to a news item which has appeared in some newspapers of Lahore on May 29 wherein it is stated that I approve the stand taken by the West Punjab Premier to continue in office so long as he enjoys the confidence of the Muslim League Assembly Party and have given him the assurance that the Central Government is not interested in the Provincial Ministerial tangle As it might cause a misunderstanding in some quarters it is necessary to clarify the position

"It appears that people in general do not seem to appreciate clearly the constitutional position in this case Section 5 of the Government of India Act 1935, as adopted by the Pakistan (Provincial Constitution) Order, 1947, runs as follows —

'In the exercise of his functions under the section with respect to the choosing and summoning and the dismissal of Ministers the

Governor shall be under general control of and comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given to him by the Governor-General '

"It is obvious from this Section that it is for the Governor-General to give directions in such cases if he considers them necessary In this connection it may be recalled that a communique was issued from the Governor-General's House on May 12, which said that after a full discussion with His Excellency the Governor of the West Punjab, the Premier and his colleagues, the Governor-General had come to the conclusion that there were not sufficient grounds for issuing any particular direction to the Governor at present The Communique went on to say that the Governor would, therefore, proceed in the normal course to face the Ministerial tangle and take necessary steps in choosing and summoning his Ministers '

KASHMIR COMMISSION

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a statement on June 8, 1948 criticised Pandit Nehru's communication to the President of the Security Council He said

"My attention has been drawn to the communication which the Government of India is reported to have addressed to the President of the Security Council protesting against the inclusion of the disputes relating to Junagadh, genocide and the non-implementation of agreements in the terms of the Commission set up by the Security Council I do not think, it is necessary for me to deal at length with the objections raised They are neither new nor convincing They were repeatedly advanced by the Indian delegate before the Security Council, but failed to impress any one It has been said that the charges with regard to genocide and breach of agreements are baseless If this is so, might one not ask why the Government of India is so afraid of their being investigated by an international body? The vehemence of India's protest would show that it is not so sure of the righteousness of its cause as it would have the world believe.

'The Security Council's decision of June 3 to investigate some of Pakistan's charges against India should have come as a surprise to no one It is in accord with its resolution of January 20, to which the

Indian delegate was a consenting party, authorising the Commission to investigate these matters 'when the Security Council so directs' What is surprising about the Security Council's latest resolution is that it has not given the Commission a firm directive to investigate these vital matters, which is required, and that the Commission has been left to deal with them 'when it considers it opportune' It remains to be seen how the Commission uses its discretion.

"To any one unfamiliar with Indian tactics, it may seem strange that India, which took the Kashmir case to the Security Council in December last, should now feel shy of the UN Commission and refuse it all co-operation The reason is, however, not far to seek The United Nations' lengthy debates have served their purpose as far as India is concerned

"The days of hard campaigning in the snowy mountains of Jammu and Kashmir are over The summer has come and with it the possibility of a military victory India is now out for a military decision, and it is throwing all its immense resources to crush the valiant resistance of the Azad Kashmir patriots, and to present the UN Commission with a *fait accompli* Never very scrupulous about violating Pakistan's frontiers, India's airmen are showing increasing temerity in bombing villages well within Pakistan's boundaries

"Less than a fortnight ago bombs were dropped by the RIAF on Garhi Habibullah, killing 23 people and injuring 10 Reports are being received in increasing numbers of the cruel deeds and atrocities committed by the Indian troops against defenceless old men, women and children in areas occupied by them, and thousands of refugees are daily pouring into Western Pakistan from Jammu and Kashmir

"The Government of India and its henchmen in the State seem determined to exterminate or to drive out of Jammu and Kashmir every one who might vote for accession to Pakistan and so destroy the whole object of a free and impartial plebiscite conducted under international supervision and control

"The Government of Pakistan has shown exemplary patience in the face of all these provocations Its anxiety to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with India, and to give the United Nations a chance to secure an amicable and just settlement, have prevented it from taking drastic action to check violation of Pakistan's frontiers

"I earnestly hope that Pakistan's patience will not be taxed any further, and that wiser counsels will still prevail in India and make possible a peaceful and honourable settlement of the Kashmir question.'

THANKSGIVING DAY ON RAMZAN 26

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, released the following message to the Muslims of Pakistan on August 2, 1948

"Nearly one year ago, on August 14, 1947, we laid the foundation of an independent and sovereign State of Pakistan This is the most important and the most auspicious day in our national life and we are going to celebrate it in a manner most befitting the occasion

"For the Muslims August 14, 1947 was doubly auspicious It was a lucky coincidence that it fell on the 26th of the holy month of Ramzan—the day preceding the night—'the night of power and excellence' (*Lailat-ul-Qadr*) It was in the middle of that night the Book was opened to the thirsting soul According to the Islamic calender the anniversary should have been held on the 26th Ramzan

'For convenience sake we are celebrating it, throughout the Dominion, on the 14th of August But as Muslims, it is clearly our duty to bow in all humility before our God on the 26th of Ramzan as well and thank him for the gift of independence that has been with as for full one year

"I, therefore, beseech every Muslim to pray in all sincerity and humbleness on the 27th night for the strength and stability of Pakistan, for those who laid down their lives and suffered heavily in the way of its establishment and for the long life of its founder—our Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah I beseech you to join with me in the prayer that may God give me strength to acquit myself well of the trust the nation has bestowed on me "

INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE - AUGUST, 1948

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in his Independence Day message, broadcast from Radio Pakistan, Karachi, on August 15, 1948 gave an account of the achievements of the Government of Pakistan in the various fields during the first year of its existence He said

Pakistan has completed one year of her existence Today we are celebrating the first anniversary of the independence of our country For independence, the people of Pakistan worked hard and

selflessly. No sacrifice was considered too great for this objective I am not unaware of all that you have suffered during this period The hardships and sufferings which the Pakistanis, especially the *Muhajireen*, had to undergo are such that not only I but most people of Pakistan will never forget them.

"There are, however, very few people who can have any correct idea of the difficulties which the Pakistan Government had to face during this period and to overcome which it had to work ceaselessly day and night It will not be out of place, therefore, if I mention very briefly on this occasion the important and immediate problems which engaged the greater part of the Government's attention This will not only enable you to have a general picture of the Government's activities but you will also know from it the reasons why the Government could not give as much attention to some problems as they demanded

"The difficulties which the Government had to face after the creation of Pakistan can be divided into three categories

"Firstly, those which were the natural result of the creation of a new Government Unlike India, we had not this facility that the members of the old Government quietly handed over charge of administration and the new Government occupied its predecessors' vacant seats and took charge of a running concern In establishing a new Government, we had to start from scratch Only those who have some idea of domestic and international affairs can fully realise what a difficult and vast problem it is to lay the foundations of a new state, at a time when various forces and factors with conflicting ideals are working in every part of the world

"Secondly, there were those obstacles in our way which were the result of the then prevalent conditions Pakistan was created at a time when only a short time before the Great War of Europe had come to an end and world conditions had not settled down to normal till then Abnormal economic conditions in the world had in some countries limited the production and in others completely paralysed it The soaring prices had reached their ugly peak and there were extremely limited facilities either for the Government or for individuals to procure their needs

"Thirdly, we had to face troubles created by the enemies of Pakistan The story is long and there is no use going into details. When the enemies of Pakistan could not help the creation of Pakistan, they concentrated their efforts on stifling our newly achieved freedom One of the measures adopted by them to dislocate the work of

our Government was the destruction of all our important records and papers We were consequently left with no other course than literally to take a blank sheet of paper and restart our Government files

"Moreover, the Government of India thought it fit to take up an attitude which could by no means be called friendly or sympathetic towards Pakistan

"The result of these difficulties was that when Pakistan came into being her army personnel were scattered Hundreds of thousands of *Muhajireen* who had migrated to Pakistan from the East Punjab and other parts of India were suddenly added to her population and the Government was without sufficient capital to work its various schemes, as the Reserve Bank of India withheld the payment of Pakistan's share of balances This serious and dangerous state of affairs would have overwhelmed even a well-established and strong Government

One of the most dangerous moves which our enemies resorted to in order to paralyse Pakistan requires special mention I mean the well-planned conspiracy of the Sikhs which was fully known to those long before who were in a position to foil it When this conspiracy was put into operation, the Indian Army and the Indian Police fully participated in it

"All of a sudden millions of unarmed Muslim men, women and children were brutally attacked and at least half a million souls, including a large number of women and children, were mercilessly murdered Those who escaped this holocaust were compelled to take refuge in Pakistan to save their life and honour, leaving behind all their belongings, homes, lands and business It makes one shudder to think of these helpless women and children History has few parallels of such atrocious barbarism and savagery

"From the East Punjab alone six million Muslims have found their way into Pakistan This figure does not include Muslims migrating to Pakistan from other parts of India

"All this was done to finish Pakistan and to create a Sikh State in the East Punjab but, thank God Pakistan braved this storm and this was mainly due to the fact that her people showed surprisingly high courage and perseverance Every citizen of Pakistan had this one thought in mind that no sacrifice was too great for the preservation and welfare of Pakistan Pakistan survived and marched from strength to strength

"The Government of Pakistan is fully aware of the difficulties of the *Muhajireen* and all our efforts are directed towards one end, that to improve their lot So long as each and every refugee is not

suitably resettled, the Pakistan Government would not relax its efforts

"In view of all that has happened in the past, every citizen of Pakistan would naturally like to know what steps the Government has taken to safeguard its interests against the machinations of its enemies in the future

"So far as the defence is concerned, it has always been Pakistan's policy that we do not want to attack anybody, we have no desire to transgress on the rights of others we want to work in co-operation with others for establishing peace in the world and in this we will fully co-operate with the Security Council But it is our duty not to leave any stone unturned for our own defence and not to allow anybody else to snatch away our freedom from us

"I can say this with pride and satisfaction that our Armed Forces today are organised to an extent where we can successfully deal with any aggression from whatever quarter it may be Every citizen of Pakistan can take legitimate pride in our organisation and progress of our Armed Forces

"It would obviously be impossible for me to refer here to all the diaries of the working of the Defence Ministry Even if I attempted to do so, it would not be of much interest to you But whatever has been achieved has been accomplished under very difficult circumstances. Our army had to shoulder a very heavy burden of responsibility from the very first day of the establishment of Pakistan The splendid services rendered by our Armed Forces in escorting safely to the borders of Pakistan millions of refugees from East Punjab will for ever be remembered with gratitude

"The Pakistan Army was withdrawn from Waziristan without any untoward incident The organisation of our army has now reached a stage where I feel no hesitation in saying that the standard of their efficiency is satisfactory in every way, comparing favourably with any other army in the world Our Air Forces and Navy are also progressing with great speed

"When the sun set on August 14, Pakistan had no international status but by the grace of God, today we have established diplomatic relations with many countries of the world and the day is not far off when, *Insha Allah*, we will have established these relations with more countries.

"Our delegates have participated in several international conferences successfully Further, through the contributions which they have made to the deliberations of these conferences, they have demonstrated to the world that we are fully qualified to express our

views on world problems and help in finding their solution

"The Ministry with which the public has to come into direct contact for their daily needs is that of Food, Agriculture and Health So far as food is concerned our basic position is better than most of the countries of the world We have not had to face those difficulties with which many countries of the world are confronted at present in the matter of procurement of food-stuffs For example, only those people who have been to Europe recently can have any idea of the hardships of the people of Europe in getting their food these days

Even before the Ministry of Food, Agriculture and Health of Pakistan had started functioning, it was confronted with a serious problem On the one hand, the stocks of wheat and rice were very low and on the other with the meagre stocks the Ministry had to provide for the needs of innumerable refugees While the food position deteriorated in West Pakistan, East Pakistan was faced with floods which resulted in the destruction of crops and there was the danger of famine

"At the same time, the responsibility of supplying food to the North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan—which are deficit provinces—also had to be borne by the depleted food stocks of Pakistan The West Punjab, which at one time was expected to supply 45,000 tons of food-stuffs to East Punjab could not provide more than 5,000 tons of food for its own needs Her stocks were finished much earlier because of the influx of refugees To all this was added the dislocation of the transport system

"One can, therefore, well imagine what difficulties a newly established Government like ours has to face in making arrangements for the supply of food to the people of its far flung areas

The emergence of cholera epidemic among the refugees further added to the worries of the Ministry Pakistan had neither the cholera vaccine or the requisite medical staff to cope with the calamity Even then it must be said to the credit of the Ministry that it was able to counteract the epidemic within a short time

"My Government and I fully realise that industrial and commercial development is vital for the welfare and betterment of the country The temporary set-back which our trade and commerce suffered after August 15 was due to the breakdown of our communication system The massacre of Muslims in the East Punjab and its repercussions in the West Punjab resulted in paralysing our railways and other means of communications

"Another important factor which led to the suspension of train

services was the curtailment of coal supply from India Now not only our train services have been fully resumed but regular air services have also started

"The Government has formulated schemes of industrialisation, the foremost among them being the starting of textile mills, jute mills and ordnance factories Besides this, hydro-electric schemes are also ready. It is not possible here to go into the details of the policy governing industrialisation

"I wish it were possible for me, in this brief talk, to survey the activities of all the departments of the Central Government in detail and impress upon you the odds against which every one of these departments had to work, to tell you how these departments have done their best to discharge their responsibilities and have succeeded in drawing up schemes and plans for the progress of the country But I am sure, newspaper readers are not altogether unaware of my Government's activities I hope the Pakistan Government will, in future, continue to make available to the public all information concerning its activities

"For the information of the general public of Pakistan, I consider it necessary to say this much on this occasion that the present Government fully and clearly realises that the first and foremost duty is to improve the lot of the man in the street in every possible way The Government feels that its success in other spheres of activities will be meaningless unless it is accompanied by radical improvement in the condition of the masses in Pakistan

"I and my Government are fully aware of the nature of the difficulties of the low-paid staff of Pakistan Believe me that the Government is doing its best to improve the general conditions in the country and to redress the grievances and difficulties of the Government servants.

"At the same time, my request is that those who have grievances against the Government should not forget the difficulties of the Government and should not indulge in activities likely to embarrass the Government I have full confidence that after thorough grasp of facts, they will allow the Government in future to work out, to the best of its ability, the schemes which will provide them with happiness and comfort

"It will not be out of place for me to mention here that it was through the organisation of the Muslim League that we succeeded to this extent Had the League not brought us together and infused in us the spirit of united efforts, it would have perhaps not at all been possi-

ble to achieve such a great success in such a short time But I find that today some of us have started thinking that as the League has achieved its objective and done all that was required of it, it is not necessary to keep it alive any longer My own view, however, is quite different from this In my opinion the League is the soul of our body politic and to end the League will be to destroy the very soul of our organisation

'Most of our listners, I think, will be disappointed if I do not mention here the problem of Kashmir But as this matter is at present before the Security Council, I cannot say anything on the subject in detail I am fully aware of the sentiments of deep sympathy and love for Kashmiris in the heart of every Pakistani For their satisfaction, I think it necessary to tell this much that the righteousness of our cause in Kashmir has been made known to the entire world and the world also knows that we are determined to help the poverty-stricken Muslims of Kashmir in securing for them justice and deliverence from their oppressors

"In conclusion, I have to say only this that our difficulties are not yet over in view of the prevalent conditions whatever has been done may be considerable but our goal is yet far off We have to establish a Government based on the Islamic principles of equality, fraternity and social justice This dream of ours about Pakistan that we should set an example before the world of a great civilisation and culture of which all of us should be proud is yet to be achieved This cannot be achieved in a short time

"An able architect, before designing a house, makes sure that in the first place, the foundation is secure and secondly the upper structure is so built as to produce not only an artistic but an everlasting building Therefore, it enjoins upon us to overhaul the system of our education This change becomes all the more necessary as what we inherited from the British was entirely for a specific purpose and cannot suit in bringing up the future generations of a free nation. We want to introduce a system of education, which would not only train the mind and body but would also elevate us spiritually

"Your Government is striving to achieve these ends and looks forward to your support No doubt, there are many difficulties to surmount and some of these may appear to be colossal The greatest difficulty we face today in Pakistan is the presence of certain element whose cult is to spread discord

'Sponsored by their selfishness and mistaken beliefs, they have ignored the exigencies of current events and are bent upon creating

such conditions in Pakistan which would seriously cripple this infant State, if not strangle it Such persons are, therefore, the greatest enemies of Pakistan.

"Let it be remembered that the sympathies of those who are among us but practice disruption can be more dangerous than the hostile designs of outsiders. Consequently, I appeal to all the Pakistan nationals to beware of the damaging activities of such men

"Your sincerity, however, leads me to believe that we will overcome all the difficulties and march forward, from success to success On this road to success, we need three things most unity, confidence and action—unity which should be shockproof against the blows of the enemy, confidence that we have the capacity to become a great nation which will bring credit to Pakistan and action which would lead us to our cherished goal *Pakistan Zindabad*"

BROADCAST TO THE NATION

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, broadcasting to the nation from Radio Pakistan Karachi on the death of Quaid-i-A'zam on September 12, 1948, said

"The leader of our nation, the guide of our people and the architect of Pakistan is no more Our beloved and revered Quaid-i-A'zam has left the Muslim nation for ever 'To Him we belong and to Him we shall return'

"It is but natural that this shock should make us intensely sad but in this hour of sorrow, I appeal to every Pakistani not to be affected by grief to the extent that despair empowers him On the other hand, every Pakistani must strengthen his resolve and steel his heart and dedicate his life to the service of Pakistan

"I have no doubt whatsoever, in my mind, that the Quaid i A'zam will go down in history as one of the greatest men of this world Very few people have had the good fortune to undertake a tremendous work and complete it in their own life through their strength and wisdom The Quaid-i A'zam placed before the Muslims not only the ideal of Pakistan but also worked for it so hard that he brought into existence the greatest Muslim State. The Quaid-i-A'zam was one of those great personages who appear in this world only rarely. Through-

out his political life, he always held the good of the Muslims dear to his heart and tried to improve their lot

"Before the Quaid-i-A'zam took over the leadership of the Muslims, they were fully aware of their weaknesses and wished to get out of the abyss of decline into which they had fallen and to march forward on the path of progress but they were not clear as to how they should set about it Though their efforts and sacrifices produced results but they never succeeded to the extent of achieving their objects Through his vision the Quaid-i-A'zam realised that unless a distinct goal was placed before the people and they were united under one banner, it was futile to hope of achieving anything

"For achieving this tremendous task the Quaid-i-A'zam was blessed by God with rare gifts One of them was his great imaginative power and his statesmanship which enabled him to see things very minutely and also to take in view the past as well as the future After studying the conditions of the Muslims, he pointed out what was our goal and what was our ideal

'God had also given him an iron determination which did not care for the difficulties and impediments and carried forward the nation with him His steadfastness was such that it inspired every Muslim with a passion and deep feeling for help Under his guidance, everyone felt that there was no difficulty which our nation could not get over In addition to this wisdom and statesmanship, this determination and iron will, the Quaid-i-A'zam could work day and night and nothing unimportant could distract his attention The determination, with which the Quaid-i-A'zam worked for the Muslim nation to the last day of his life, will be an example to the people who work with courage and determination We are bound in duty to complete the magnificent building, the foundations of which were laid by the Quaid-i-A'zam on the Islamic principles of brotherhood, equality and freedom

"Not only had we to surmount innumberable difficulties in achieving Pakistan but even after it had come into existence we had also to grapple with one difficulty after another Today the Muslims of Pakistan alone are not faced with very serious problems but Muslims all over the world are in very difficult circumstances This is the time when we most needed the Quaid-i-A'zam's deep understanding, experience and determination to guide us at every step

But this shock should not unnerve us We should do, what the Quaid-i-A'zam wanted to We should work day and night for the prosperity and defence of Pakistan We are bound in duty to sink

all our differences and to dedicate our lives for strengthening Pakistan

"My colleagues and myself have dedicated lives to the service of Pakistan afresh and we pledge before God that we will continue with courage and determination the work to which the Quaid-i-A'zam had dedicated his life after the establishment of Pakistan

"I well understand the pain and the sorrow which the death of Quaid-i-A'zam has caused to the Muslim nation, but perhaps no one can fully realise the intense grief with which I am stricken During the last 1[illegible] years, a new period in the life of the Muslim League started I had the honour to be a colleague of the Quaid-i-A'zam We had to face many ups and downs and also many difficulties During this period of comradeship, the memory of the unlimited kindness and the great faith he showed in me will always remain the greatest treasure of my life The death of the Quaid-i-A'zam has created a void in my life But in this transient world, God alone is eternal and we have no option but to bow down to His will

"It is the duty of every Pakistani to ignore all these non essential transient things which may mislead or undermine the energy, lest our enemies should say that—we proved unworthy of the sacrifices that the Quaid-i-A'zam made for us

"There is no better way of showing our love for and reverence to our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam than to keep before us always that ideal which he placed before us and to make Pakistan as great a State as he wanted to The Quaid-i-A'zam was the symbol of the national strength and determination and inspired by it, whatever constructive work the Government or the people of Pakistan do, will be a memorial to our beloved leader

'Everyone of us must realise that the whole nation is on trial today and also that this trial is an extremely hard one We can succeed only if each one of us resolves to do his best and to sacrifice ungrudgingly his life and possession for the defence of Pakistan We must not fail in this test because the consequences would be so terrible Besides our success is also extremely essential for the Muslim world.

"This is my message to my grief-stricken people I appeal to them again not to allow despair overtake them but to redouble their efforts in making the Quaid-i-A'zam's dream of a great and powerful State of Pakistan a reality *Pakistan Zindabad* "

BROADCAST MESSAGE, SEPTEMBER 22, 1948.

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, after eleven days of Quaid-i-A'zam's death, addressing the nation in a broadcast from Radio Pakistan Karachi on September 22, 1948, said

"It is ten days now that the late beloved Quaid-i-A'zam of the Nation was laid to eternal rest His body like that of every mortal man is no more but his message and the work for which he sacrificed his life survive

"It is now our duty to prepare the nation so that we may complete this important work nicely in the light of his message

"Our enemies are watching us from all sides and are hoping that we might go astray from our path They are in every way creating difficulties and obstacles for us

'Our enemies have thrown a challenge to our nation that after the death of the Quaid i A'zam, Pakistan would disintegrate and the Pakistanis would not be able to hold the country, the existence of which entirely depended on the Quaid-i-A'zam Even the newspapers of foreign countries have said so

"I accept the challenge of these enemies of Pakistan because I believe that my nation is a living one and will sacrifice its life for defending and maintaining Pakistan

"I know well that some people are very much disturbed and are asking one another as to what would happen To their mind the existence of Pakistan depended entirely on the Quaid-i-A'zam, but the life of a nation cannot depend on one person alone A leader achieves success because of the ability of the nation to pursue the right course and its intelligence to wait and act upon what the leader places before them If our nation had lacked this ability, the Quaid-i-A'zam would never have succeeded in bringing Pakistan into existence I am not at all disturbed due to this conviction and I have every confidence that we would overcome all difficulties

"Our enemies hoped that after the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam a chaos would set in Pakistan and the whole system would be disorganised You know that these things have not occurred You also know that on the contrary unity among the people and their sense of responsibility have increased so much so that people who formerly had differences with the Government and criticised it have now approached me and offered their services for the country They have realised that at this critical juncture there should be no differences

and the whole country should unite so that we could become powerful

"You will be pleased to learn that the patience, fortitude and firmness which the Pakistanis have shown during the last 10 days have raised the prestige of the nation very high in the estimation of the world and the students of international affairs have been very much impressed

"I fully realise that traitors, spies and agents of our enemies are trying to undermine the morale of the Pakistanis, shake their firm resolve and create disaffection by spreading rumours They have attempted to create a feeling of despair and fear among the people and to engineer distrust against the Government and its leaders That is an old weapon which the enemies use at a critical juncture The Pakistanis must not pay any heed to such rumours It is the duty of every Pakistani to stop the circulation of such rumours They should not leave this work to the police alone, but should themselves work as the police It is your duty to take persons who circulate such rumours to the authorities concerned

"I know fully well how the feelings of the Pakistanis have been wounded by the events in Hyderabad It seems necessary, therefore, that I should make the position of the Pakistan Government in regard to this matter clear because people have tried to create misunderstanding

"You will remember that on behalf of the Quaid-i-A'zam a statement was issued on the first June in the course of which it was stated that three representatives of the *Majlis-i-Ittihad-ul-Muslimeen* wanted to see the Quaid-i-A'zam at Quetta but that he did not consider it proper to receive them In the course of this statement, the Quaid-i-A'zam had said that India should not force Hyderabad to accession or achieve its object by intimidation Such an action would be contrary to justice and morality The Quaid-i-A'zam had also said that not only the Muslims of Pakistan but of the entire world had sympathies with the Hyderabad Muslims In the end the Quaid-i-A'zam had stated that Hyderabad should have the right to decide her future with all freedom and without any pressure The policy of the Pakistan Government has been the same Millions of Muslims live in Hyderabad and we want that no pressure should be brought to bear upon them and they should not be subjected to harassment We have always believed that the solution of international problems should be sought in accordance with the principles of peace and justice and not at the point of the bayonet.

"The newspapers and the statements of most of the countries of of the world, who believe in peaceful methods, are in agreement with us and have declared that India should not have attacked Hyderabad

"I had appealed to Pandit Nehru not to use military force against Hyderabad but to arrive at a settlement in a peaceful way.

"We also drew the attention of other countries to this matter The leaders of every country in the world have often declared that in the interest of peace it was necessary that no country should have the right to decide mutual differences at the point of the sword and rob weaker countries of their freedom In spite of all this the course that India chose to adopt is not unknown to the entire world I am sure that no justice loving country would approve India's action Hyderabad's case is before the Security Council I hope the Security Council will look upon this matter from the angle that peace in the world cannot be maintained so long as big powers are allowed to attack their weak neighbours and rob them of their independence with impunity

"I fully appreciate the apprehension felt by some people that our freedom might also be threatened from some quarter It is not possible for me to tell you nor do I think responsible people expect me to do so, as to what measures have been adopted so far for the defence of Pakistan and what we are doing at present in this direction

"I only want to remind you that in the course of my independence anniversary speech I had said that I would rather see the nation and the country starve rather than allow any slackening of efforts for safeguarding its independence I repeat the same words I also assure the nation that our land, sea and air forces are first rate and are fully prepared for the discharge of their duties Not only myself but all the Pakistanis are proud of their courage, determination and morale I again repeat that in the event of an attack on Pakistan, no matter from which side, myself, my colleagues and every Pakistani will shed the last drop of his blood in defending every inch of the soil of Pakistan

"I well remember these words of the Quaid-i-A'zam 'If Pakistan is to fight in self-defence, you should never surrender in any circumstances, however strong the enemy may be See that you keep on fighting to the very last' So long as I hold charge of the office to which the nation has appointed me, I will never forget these words and I shall always act up to them I am fully convinced that the entire nation will also follow this advice of the Quaid i-A'zam

"I would like to tell the nation here that I would always abide by these principles I do not doubt for a moment that the nation

will not stand by me I have said before that I am doing all that is possible for the defence and security of Pakistan

"I know that, God forbid, if Pakistan is lost, the existence of the entire Islamic World will be jeopardised You should remember that today in Pakistan you and your Government are not something different but parts of one and the same machine, if one part does not work with the rest, the entire machine will cease to function When the Government is doing all that it can to ensure the defence of Pakistan, it is the duty of every one of you to co-operate with it wholeheartedly

"Remember that no country can be defended by armies alone It is the faith and self-confidence of the people, their determination and their spirit of self-sacrifice which really count

"If every citizen of Pakistan makes up his mind to sacrifice his life and all that he holds dear in the defence of his country, no power on earth will be able to deprive you of your freedom and independence It is in this spirit that every Pakistani should halt at this moment and co-operate with the Government

'I started the Pakistan National Guard soon after Pakistan came into being It was the desire of every Pakistani whether old or young, to have an opportunity of sharing in the defence of Pakistan and in making it strong The Pakistan National Guard was formed with the object of helping the armed forces in time of emergency I want the best elements in our national life to join the National Guard for the defence and security of Pakistan Besides, there are other schemes for the defence of the country such as civil defence, *etc*, in which you should co-operate with the Government

"So long as your Government commands your confidence, it is your duty to carry out its orders unhesitatingly and not to pay any heed to rumours and baseless reports, intended to misguide you Always keep before your mind these words of the Quaid-i-A'zam, 'faith, unity and discipline' These qualities helped in the achievement of Pakistan and will sustain it in future

"Now I would like to address a few words to the officers and the staff of my Government My Government and myself are thankful that most of you have served Pakistan honestly and faithfully and have spared no effort to make it strong but I would not be true to myself if I do not mention that there are some among our officers and staff who treat Pakistan as a means of furthering their own interests. There are also others who think that Pakistan has come into existence merely to serve their ends Some of them have thrown overboard all principles of honesty and integrity and have indulged in corrupt

practices They seem to imagine that millions of Muslims sacrificed their lives simply for the benefit of these people

"I appeal to those people who have been serving Pakistan with zeal and sincerity to redouble their efforts and warn those people who want to treat Pakistan as a means to personal advancement that unless they dedicated themselves to Pakistan there would be no place for them in Pakistan It is absolutely essential fora democratic country that its officials should work sincerely and devotedly Government officials provide a permanent machinery for carrying out successfully the Government policy They should forget that they are the rulers or officers of the nation, and the service of the nation should be their sole concern

"If the Pakistanis show courage, determination and firmness and the Government servants work whole-heartedly and honestly, then we should not be afraid of anything For those people who are not brave of heart, are not firm in their resolve and are terrified without any cause, there is no place in Pakistan or its Government The sooner they realise this the better for them and for Pakistan

"In a recent broadcast, the Prime Minister of India said that he wanted to pursue a policy of peace towards Pakistan and that Pakistanis should not entertain in their hearts any suspicion in regard to the intention of India I wish to ensure the Prime Minister of India, his Government and the people of India that Pakistan wants peace and ever since its establishment we have followed this policy We have always been trying in every way to maintain peace in the world and we are still trying for it We want to have friendly relations with every country of the world and particularly with India with which we have so many close ties

"I want to give every assurance to the people and the Government of India that we want to maintain very pleasant relations with them But this cannot be achieved unilaterally. If the Prime Minister of India really wants what he has said in his broadcast, then I assure him that Pakistan's hand of friendship, peace and justice is always there

"In the end, I want you to ask yourself the question whether you are worthy of the legacy that the Quaid-i-A'zam has left us If you are a well wisher of Pakistan and are firm of resolve, then you really deserve this legacy and also a bright future The future of Pakistan, your own future and that of your children and the existence of your [illegible] all depend on you I am confident that you would discharge your duties in a manner as would not be forgotten by the future

generations.

"Every Pakistani must resolve to sacrifice his life and property in order to ensure the existence of Pakistan. Pakistan has come to stay *Pakistan Zindabad*"

'PAKISTAN DETERMINED TO RESIST AGGRESSION'

Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressed a large gathering in the University Grounds, Lahore on September 27, 1948. The speech lasted for 35 minutes, in which he said

"When I addressed you last here I was doing so under the shadow of a great tragedy in which lakhs of our maimed and mutilated Muslim brethern, hounded out of their homes, were trekking into Pakistan Our enemies then thought that Pakistan would collapse under the impact of this unprecedented exodus of millions. But the predictions of these prophets of darkness have been completely falsified and today we have not only survived but are a strong country on the map of the world.

"I am again addressing you today under the darker shadow of a graver tragedy The death of the Quaid-i-A'zam at this critical juncture has robbed us of the guidance of one who was truly the saviour of Is'am and who carved out 'the biggest Muslim State in the world' The immediate effect of his death upon the nation had been almost paralysing and our enemies, in their wishful thinking, started predicting that Pakistan would not be able to servive this great tragedy

"But their dark prophecies will again be belied as in the past Why? Because it was the will, perseverence and patience of millions of Muslims (which the Quaid-i-A'zam canalised) which brought Pakistan into existence and which qualities alone will be the surest guarantee of the continued existence of Pakistan The nation, I know, has these qualities (cheers)

"It may sound paradoxical, but it is a fact that after the death of Quaid-i-A'zam, the nation has become imputed, more than ever before with a spirit of internal cohesion, fortitude and confidence in the future The realisation of an emergency has cemented the nation into a rock of resistance against internal and external forces of disrup-

tion The proof is that even those critics who never spared the Government have given me solemn personal assurances of unconditional support to the Government

"I appeal to the Punjab Muslims to sink their differences, close their ranks and bend their entire energies to make Pakistan an impregnable fortress of defence against aggression, from whatever quarter it might come Every one of you must redouble, nay make four-fold, his effort to serve Pakistan Every one of you must be ready to consecrate the last ounce of blood in his veins to defend Pakistan

"There is some visible tension and anxiety amongst the people This is natural They have a right to know as to what are the preparations of the Government to meet any challenge from any side Let me declare that as far as Government are concerned we are doing everything possible to defend our land As long as the present Government enjoy your confidence, they will deem no price too great for preserving the freedom of Pakistan Of course, you cannot expect me to reveal here our plans for the defence of country, but rest assured the Government know their job, and are doing it well

"But, remember, no war can be successfully fought without total mobilisation of a country's resources—human and material Let every one of you, no matter what his or her station in life is get ready to face any aggression with courage and preparedness

"Our Army is splendid Its morale is superb They are in no way inferior to any army in the world on any score As far as their bravery and dash are concerned, I have no hesitation in saying that they are definitely superior to those in the neighbouring Dominion (Cheers) We are proud of our Army We can depend upon them to defend Pakistan

"I appeal to the people to give up all carping criticism of the Government There is no difference between the present Government and the people As long as the present Government perform their duties honestly they can demand from you unconditional co-operation

"I am deeply grateful to the majority of public servants who have given their blood, sweat and tears in making Pakistan strong. I appeal to them, 'Please redouble your efforts '

'There are others, however, who regard Pakistan as a stepping tone to promotion To them I say 'You have had enough of it in the last 13 months Please now regard Pakistan as a sacred trust for service '

'Then there is a microscopic minority of those who look upon Pakistan as a means of exploiting and grabbing I say to them,

'There is no place for you in Pakistan. Get out. (Cheers).

"We are a peace-loving people. It is not mere talk. We have proved by our actions during the last 13 months that we want peace and cordiality with India I welcome the Indian Premier's recent offer of friendship to Pakistan But verbal pronouncements do not help much in this behalf Something tangible must be done to give reality to verbal pronouncements Let me frankly state that Pakistan sincerely and genuinely wants peace We want to have the most cordial relations with India and with the whole world Our preparations to defend ourselves need cause no nervousness anywhere

"But let me declare unequivocally that if any party tries to deprive us of our independence, we shall prove more than a match for it We shall break the arm that rises to hit us"

REPLY TO PANDIT NEHRU'S STATEMENT

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, Premier of Pakistan, addressed a large public meeting in Peshawar on September 28, 1948. Welcoming Pandit Nehru's statement desiring to keep friendly relations with Pakistan, he said

"Pandit Nehru should support his claim by concrete action and not by mere empty words We are also equally keen to keep friendly relations with India but there can be no friendship between India and Pakistan as long as there is no just and satisfactory decision about Kashmir. Every honest man knows that a large majority of Kashmir Muslims want to accede to Pakistan It is after such a just decision that we can have friendly relations with each other

"The Quaid-i-A'zam, after giving some portion to his sister and relatives, had allotted a major portion of his estate to the Islamia College, Peshawar, apart from giving some shares to the Muslim University, 'Aligarh, and the Sind Madrassa, Karachi The greatest homage we can now pay to him is to make Pakistan strong and prosperous internally and defend it from any external attack.

"With the assurance of your Premier on your behalf that Pathans of this Province and tribal areas were prepared to sacrifice their all for Pakistan . . the entire Muslim population of Pakistan feels very much encouraged and if the Punjab was described

by Britishers as the sword-arm of India, I can rightly name the Frontier Province and tribal areas as the rifle and bullet arm of Pakistan

"Pakistan which was established at the cost of a million Muslim lives is facing great difficulties ever since its establishment and the greatest tragedy of all is the recent death of our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam Nobody can deny that the nation has suffered the greatest loss We needed him most when Pakistan was passing through a very critical time and required his guidance so badly But God willed otherwise The Almighty has put us to test The real proof of our love for that great soul can be shown by making all possible contribution and sacrifice to make Pakistan an ideal Muslim State according to his wishes"

Referring to Pakistan's external relations with foreign countries, Liaquat 'Ali Khan expressed his satisfaction over the friendly relations with the outside world, especially with the neighbouring Muslim country of Afghanistan, 'which is naturally linked with Pakistan through the unbreakable link of Islamic brotherhood and nobody can break that relation Some of our enemies through their mischievous designs tried to create some sort of misunderstanding between these two countries without realising that such attempts were merely futile We know that the existence and safety of Afghanistan is directly based on the safety and existence of Pakistan and we are glad that we are now living like two brothers

'Our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam had always immense regard and love for and interest in the well-being of the tribesmen and the Frontier people I am indeed very deeply impressed with your kind regard and love for me as given out in your address and I should be justified on behalf of myself my Government and all Pakistanis to repose in you our fullest confidence and hope and you will not belie this sacred trust and you will spare no pains in consolidating this Pakistan of ours by following in the footprints of our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam, obeying his famous moto—unity, faith and discipline.

"I must make it perfectly clear that Pakistan is based purely on Islamic principles and is always willing to accommodate every citizen, whether he is a Muslim or a non-Muslim, a member of a majority or belonging to a minority, giving all full rights of citizenship, provided he is loyal to the State from the bottom of his heart There is no place in Pakistan for those whose loyalty lies elsewhere

"The Armed Forces alone cannot tackle the question of defence

of a country unless hearty co-operation from the public is forthcoming and I appeal to you to support the Government and the military to safeguard the integrity, honour and defence of Pakistan.

"I would appeal with all the emphasis at my command to the public to immediately close up all their ranks and patch up all their differences, whether political or private, and stand united to face any aggressor whoever he may be."

INTERVIEW WITH STAR'S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENT

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in an interview with the Star's Diplomatic Correspondent at Claridge Hotel, London, on October 20, 1948, said.

"In my opinion Russia is not going to war Russia's policy is quite definite It is one of expansionism, to create trouble, even to promote a revolution because Communism thrives on chaos.' This policy is not associated with anything like a formal declaration of war.

"Today, for instance, in Downing Street we, Commonwealth Prime Ministers, are again discussing defence and the part Commonwealth countries can best play in the defence of the Commonwealth as a whole

'Obviously the Western and other Powers have to stand up to aggression If the Western Powers had not taken a strong stand in Berlin, Russia would have been in a different position from what she is in now Russia is now beginning to realise that the democracies mean business

"Pakistan is going to play a very important part in defence and particularly in foreign policy as it relates to the Muslim world. As the biggest Muslim country in the world, Pakistan has certainly a great part to play, and inevitably her counsels will carry great weight. Pakistan must play a big part in the economic field, if only because of her raw materials and particularly jute"

Asked if he could comment further upon his meeting last week with South Africa's Dr Louw, he said "The meeting was a very friendly one in which I stressed repugnance of the Muslims towards any suggestion of racial discrimination. I also made the point that it would be much better if the Commonwealth nations could discuss

their differences among themselves rather than ventilate their quarrels before the U N

"So far the Commonwealth as such has been composed mainly o the British people Three more countries are now within her fold and they are racially different, but they all have the same common way of life, they strive for the same democratic principles, they have the same democratic interests

"These new Commonwealth countries represent some 500 million people and the object should be to get them closer together, in other words the Prime Ministers should not just meet occasionally Some machinery should be created whereby there can be close association so that each member could then better play his part in the maintenance of world peace

"With this closer contact there could be better progress in the world along the lines where man has the right to live his own life and without dictation in regard to every one of his actions For the moment this machinery should perhaps be based in London, but it could equally be in any other Commonwealth capital

"The Commonwealth Secretariat is also necessary for handling economic matters With such a machinery, family difficulties could be met and dealt with before they became serious quarrels. This would be much better than any tedious and dubious recourse to the U N"

PAKISTANIS BELIEVE IN PEACE

Addressing a meeting in the Beveridge Hall, London University, on October 25, 1948, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, after paying tribute to the Quaid-i-A'zam, dealt with the propaganda that Pakistan could not exist without Jinnah and said

"The fact that Pakistan's Foreign Minister and myself are in London, (5,000 miles away from Pakistan) so soon after the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam is a positive proof of Pakistan's stability Pakistan has come to stay

"I shall be returning to my country with a greater faith in the idea of strengthening the Commonwealth, so long as the Commonwealth continues on right lines Pakistan will go on making the greatest

contributions it can.

"Pakistan stands for the principles which Islam inculcates—equality and social justice between man and man Islam means peace and the 80 million Pakistanis believe in peace"

BROADCAST FROM CAIRO

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, on his way from the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference held in London stopped in Cairo and broadcast a talk from Cairo Radio Station on November 8 1948 He said

"I am glad to be here and to have an opportunity of broadcasting to the people of Egypt. The people of Pakistan have very close affinity with the people of this great country Not only have the majority of people in Pakistan and Egypt the same religion, they have both inherited the rich legacy of the Arabic civilisation and culture.

"Because of historical reasons our contacts have in the past been not as intimate as we would have liked them to be But now that the circumstances have changed we are anxious to strengthen the ties that exist between Egypt and Pakistan We desire not only cultural contacts but also the closest possible collaboration between our peoples in all spheres of life

"In Pakistan we are trying to build up a State and a Society based on the Islamic principles of equality, brotherhood and social justice—a State which should be progressive and a society which should be dynamic and not static Such a society can only come into existence if the lot of the common man improves and he takes a full share in the life of his community He can become a useful member of the society only when he is free from want and fear

"I have no doubt that the people of Egypt also want to create the same kind of society I believe that basically all Muslim countries desire to do the same The problem is to keep the Islamic ideals before us and at the same time to adopt and absorb all that is valuable in modern life I have had the honour of meeting His Majesty the King and some of the leading statesmen of Egypt and have been struck by their understanding of the fundamental problems

that face a country which aims at to be progressive.

"The Muslim world is today passing through very critical times. Perhaps nowhere is this more evident than in the region of the Middle East This part of the globe forms a bridge between the East and the West and its importance in international affairs cannot be over-emphasised The strengthening of the countries of the Middle East and the improvement of their economic condition can be and must be a very important factor in the maintenance of the peace of the world

"Among the countries of the Middle East unity is essential for achieving their object Like Pakistan no country of the Middle East desires any aggressive war We all want peace But peace has been disturbed in Palestine by an aggressive people who have brushed aside all attempts at a just and peaceful solution of the problem

'Pakistan has from the very start supported the cause of the Arabs of Palestine and in this struggle has identified itself with Egypt and other Arab countries The Arabs of Palestine have as much right to freedom as the people of any other country and it is a grave injustice that they should be driven out of their own home and their own land by people coming from outside

"The world has other problems besides that of Palestine. History tells us of few instances when mankind was in such travail or in greater distress. The consequences of another war are too horrible to contemplate It is all the more necessary for everybody, therefore, to work for peace

"The one organisation through which we can find a solution of these problems is the United Nations It is true that so far it has not been able to fulfil the aspirations of a large number of people, but it is the only organisation in existence which can take the people of the world out of their difficulties and despair and put them on the road to peace freedom and prosperity United Nations can, if made really efficacious, safeguard the independence of the smaller nations and see that law is respected and justice done both by the weak and strong It is imperative to make the United Nations so strong that it can really become an effective organisation which the democratic and peace-loving people of the world desire it to be "

FREE VOTE ONLY SOLUTION OF KASHMIR ISSUE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, after his return from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference held in London, in a broadcast to the nation from Radio Pakistan, Karachi on November 10, 1948, said

"We should clearly understand two things about the Commonwealth Firstly, that in this brotherhood every country is completely free and can leave the Commonwealth whenever it likes Secondly, the Commonwealth as a whole is not hostile to any other country or countries.

"The countries of the Commonwealth have not grouped themselves against anyone But they have joined together to help one another Just as unity between free individuals brings strength in the same way unity between free countries is beneficial for each of them

"The history of the Commonwealth during the last few years brings out one thing conspicuously. In the beginning only those countries formed part of the Commonwealth whose people belonged to the British European stock and they were bound to England not only by political or economic ties but also those of sentiments. But the Commonwealth has now entirely changed. The inclusion of Pakistan, India and Ceylon in the Commonwealth has changed its complexion and instead of being a combination of people of only one race it now consists of people of different races and colour and each of its constituent units enjoys perfect freedom both in regard to internal and external matters .

"All those problems with which our countries are faced today were discussed in the Conference, i e, defence, commerce, industry, international situation and economic conditions. In short, not a single important matter was left undiscussed or unexplored I had sufficient opportunity of placing before the Conference the Pakistan's point of view and the leaders who participated in the Conference are now fully informed about Pakistan s affairs and point of view There was much of plain speaking in our discussions No attempt was made from any quarter to shirk from tackling a problem simply because it was ticklish.

"Apart from attending the sessions of the Conference, I had the opportunity of having detailed discussions with the Prime Minister of England, Mr Attlee.

"It is necessary for the countries of the Commonwealth that they should not only consult one another but also work together In case of difference between two member countries, it should be possible to arrive at a just settlement and differences should not be allowed to

weaken the unity of the Commonwealth This unity can bear fruit only when there is unity of action as well We feel that the nature of the next Commonwealth Conference should be something more consultative

"After a stay of 17 days in London, I went to Paris for four days on October 27 Here I met the President and members of the Security Council as well as the representatives of other countries who had come to participate in the United Nations I also met the President, the Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister of France, the American Secretary of State, Mr Marshall, the Argentine Foreign Secretary of State, Dr Bramuglia and the Russian delegate, Mr Vishinasky There was a thorough exchange of views between us and we explained to them last year's happenings in Pakistan We explained to them the troubles with which we were faced at the very inception of our State and how we succeeded in overcoming them Our greatest problem arose from the calamity which forced seven million Muslims to leave their hearths and homes and come to Pakistan penniless To rehabilitate these destitute refugees including lakhs of sick and wounded was a colossal task which could not be successfully tackled without ceaseless effort and immense sacrifice We also told them of our present difficulties and how we were going to solve them

"It is very reassuring and encouraging that every statesman whom I met took keen and sympathetic interest in the affairs of Pakistan and fully appreciated what the people of Pakistan had achieved in one year.

"Everyone told me that he was highly impressed by the courage and determination shown by our people and that it was highly commendable that the people of Pakistan, beset by difficulties on all sides patiently faced every kind of misfortune and did not lose courage Many people assured me that they had not the slightest doubt about the future and success of Pakistan because the nationals of this State have given a proof of determination which have few parallels

"On my way to London we halted for a few hours at Cairo where Azzam Pasha extended to me an invitation on behalf of the Arab League to stay in Cairo for some time on my return journey and on his own behalf he emphasised the necessity of my doing so

"Accordingly, while returning from London we stayed in Cairo for two days and met the leaders and representatives of Arab countries. We were in Cairo as quests of the Arab League and on this occasion we met King Farouk of Egypt, his Premier, other Ministers, Azzam

Pasha, the Secretary-General of Arab League and the Grand Mufti We had detailed discussions with them It was a matter of great satisfaction to me to learn that all of them held Pakistan in high esteem and were sympathetic towards our State

"The Muslims in the Middle East look upon Pakistan with brotherly affection and hold this Dominion in high esteem Pakistan, Egypt and other Islamic countries can do a great deal for each other The only solution of the difficulties through which the Muslim World is passing these days is unity of thought and action amongst the Muslim States This journey has proved very useful particularly because the Commonwealth and the leaders of many other countries have acquired a better understanding of affairs in Pakistan People for whom Pakistan was nothing more than a name are now well-informed about our country Not only this but my present journey afforded me an opportunity of studying the international situation at close quarters The knowledge gained thereby will prove extremely helpful to my Government All that we have been able to gain through this journey could not have been achieved otherwise In addition to the other useful aspects, the thorough understanding of conditions in Pakistan secured by people of other countries will prove highly beneficial to us in our future international dealings

"When I was leaving for London I thought I would return within two or three weeks but I had to be away for about a month I am very happy to be back in my country and am glad to tell you that this trip was most successful This visit has confirmed me in my belief in regard to two things Firstly, that we must enter into relationship with all the countries of the world and should extend our hand of friendship to them I assure you that everyone is desirous of true and sincere friendship with us Secondly, we should make ourselves as strong as we can and should spare no pains to organise our defences on sound footing

"A study of the conditions in European countries and the discussions with European statesmen have confirmed me in my belief that no country can progress without ameliorating the lot of its masses

"From the very beginning my Government felt that to improve the lot of the people was as important a duty as that of strengthening the defences of the country My Government has so far directed its efforts towards the rehabilitation and economic uplift of the people and we shall continue our efforts in this direction with redoubled zeal

We must not, however, forget that without the active and full co-operation of the people my Government cannot achieve anything

by itself The success and stability of a nation depends on one essential factor—its nationals should have an unbending will and that they should not shirk hard work I have already assured you that if you are firm in your determination and resolved that no one shall deprive you of your freedom, no power on earth can subjugate you

"History has taught us that peoples who did not hesitate to sacrifice life and wealth for the sake of freedom not only retained freedom but did not suffer much in terms of life and wealth But people who attached greater value to life and wealth, as compared to freedom, forefeited everything

"The people of Pakistan can rightly feel proud of the sacrifices they have so far offered for their country But that moment when we can relax our efforts has not yet come It is the duty of every man, woman and child in Pakistan to be ready to stake everything for their country If we continue to work with determination and courage, *Inshallah*, our efforts will be crowned with success *Pakistan Zindabad*"

PAKISTAN WILL NOT BE A CAPITALIST COUNTRY'

A public reception was arranged in Karachi on November 17 1948, in Liaquat Ali Khan's honour by the Karachi City Muslim League which was presided over by Maulana Shabbir Ahmad Usmani In reply to an address, Liaquat 'Ali said

"The praises which have been bestowed on me in the address are not due to me through services which I rendered to my nation during the last 12 or 13 years, and this is my good luck that the services of the servant of the nation have been acknowledged and praised I promise that I will serve my nation and Pakistan honestly and sincerely till my last (cheers) '

"The glamour of my office is nothing to me. It is only the chance of service that my office gives me that counts with me. If I come to feel that I can serve Pakistan more and better as a *chaprasi* than a Prime Minister, I assure you that I will not hesitate to serve it from that humble position (Prolonged cheers) . . .

Quaid-i-A'zam will rank among the few leaders of the world who

would always be remembered by history It would have been impossible for us to achieve Pakistan without him. But, this is my faith that Quaid-i-A'zam himself could not have achieved Pakistan if his people had not the qualities which go to make a nation strong, mighty, free and prosperous

"After the death of Quaid-i-A'zam our enemies and adversaries had indulged in the wishful thinking that Pakistan would collapse But I had no such doubts because I knew that our people had not lost the qualities which enabled the Quaid-i-A'zam to achieve Pakistan In fact, after my tour of the West Punjab and the North-West Frontier Province, I was convinced that Pakistan would go on prospering as it had, during the lifetime of the Quaid-i-A'zam because I had found that my nation was a living nation My one month's absence from Pakistan in connection with the Prime Minister's Conference in London has added force to my conviction

"When in 1936 the Quaid-i-A'zam had appealed to the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent to stand united and organised under the banner of the Muslim League, some of our own men had laughed at him It was only due to this unity and discipline taught to us by our leader from the platform of the Muslim League that we achieved Pakistan Today we are in greater need of this unity and discipline Therefore, for the existence and progress of Pakistan, the organisation and existence of the Muslim League is essential I am heart and soul with the Muslim League because I know that only by making the League strong can we make Pakistan what we desire it to be

"Beware of those who want to exploit the Muslim League for their personal gain Every Muslim League worker should be endowed with a sense of unselfish service If service is not the motto of workers, the Muslim League can never grow in strength

"There will be no hope for the future of Pakistan if it is left to be exploited by the capitalists I am unable to distinguish between non-Muslim and Muslim capitalists and will rather relinquish my post than let them exploit Pakistan Pakistan will certainly not be a capitalist country, it will not be a Communist country, it will be country whose Government will function on the principles of Islam

"No country can maintain its freedom if its masses are not well off For the prosperity and strength of Pakistan amelioration of the conditions of the masses of Pakistan is the prime necessity. All the Islamic countries are looking towards you, they have great hopes in you If you want to help them, you should strive to make Pakistan strong, because a weak country cannot support another

weak country

"I will always welcome the co-operation of the Muslim League with my Government in every matter, and specially in the matter of civil defence and information regarding corrupt officials

"The Constituent Assembly has decided that Urdu should be the official national language of Pakistan It is the aim and the policy of the Government to popularise Urdu But it will take some time before Urdu replaces English

"Patience, determination and unity is all that I demand from you I appeal to you to stand like an iron wall by your Government and leave it to us to look after your safety"

SPEECH AT DACCA

Addressing a public meeting at Dacca on November 20, 1948, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Pakistan has been achieved after wading through rivers of blood Over one million people—men, women and children—have been killed and over seventy lakhs uprooted from their homes in the cause of Pakistan That was a tremendous sacrifice and it should be enough to make you realise constantly that, dearly as we won Pakistan, it will cost us dearly to preserve it

"The freedom of Pakistan must be preserved at all costs. The chief burden of the defence of Pakistan lies upon you and I have no doubt that you will be prepared to make every sacrifice to preserve the freedom of Pakistan Ever that its freedom is jeopardised, it will affect not only the Muslims of this country but of the entire world You have got to make Pakistan so strong that no Power in the world will dare cast evil eyes on Pakistan.

"In every country loyalty to the State is of supreme importance, but in Pakistan the loyalty assumes an added significance because of the circumstances attending the achievement of Pakistan and the sacrifices made for the purpose Here every Muslim is fired with a zeal for the State, which is unprecedented in history, and every Muslim - man, woman and child—is prepared to lay down his or her life to safeguard the freedom of Pakistan.

"Pakistan is proud of its armed forces who have a distinguished record of past achievements during the last war During the past 15 months, Pakistan's armed forces have made rapid progress and especially during the period when East Punjab was sunk in human misery, the Pakistan armed forces rendered splendid service

"A soldier must possess valour of the highest degree together with a highly cultivated sense of discipline and devotion to duty. I have no doubt that the Pakistani soldiers possess these qualities in abundance But they should also take care to see that they are not cut off from the masses There should be close liaison between the Army and the civil population.

"You should never have any misapprehensions that your opponents are stronger than you or in larger numbers than you Remember, a country may be small in size and yet much stronger than others larger in size. This has been proved amply in the past and you must always be confident of your inherent strength

"I am glad to find the Bengali Regiment smartly turned out, which belies the old assumption prevailing during the British regime that Bengalis are cowards and can never be fighters The Bengalis have, in the old order of things, been kept out of the Army but it is the policy of the Pakistan Government that the Army should fully represent all sections of the nation "

SPEECH AT COMILLA

In the course of a speech in the Town Hall of Comilla East Pakistan, on November 27, 1948, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

" One of my first instruction to my Services Chiefs is to recruit as many Bengalis as possible to the armed services But the results have not been as good as they should have been The fault does not lie with the youth of the country who volunteered in large number but the parents who would not let them join after they have been selected for services Instead of stopping the youth from joining the Services parents should encourage them, for there can be no greater service to the country

"If in the building up of Pakistan, the women, who comprise half of its population, do not play their due part then the progress and development of Pakistan would be greatly retarded I, therefore,

attach greatest importance to female education and hope that the women of the country will be given the fullest opportunity to equip themselves for the important role which they would be required to play in the total effort to make Pakistan a great and glorious State

"Provincial differences are being played up by interested parties for their own selfish ends and you should beware of falling into this trap and remember that finally you are all Muslims

"It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that throughout the tour I have observed and have been assured by representatives of minorities that the relations between the two communities are cordial and friendly I hope that this would continue, for in meeting a fair and just treatment to the minorities the Muslims of East Bengal are not only carrying out the wishes of our dear Quaid-i-A'zam but are also following Islam I hope that the minorities will give their fullest loyalty to the State and will, if necessary, fight side by side with their Muslim brethren in defence of Pakistan "

MOTION OF CONDOLENCE REGARDING DEATH OF QUAID-I-A'ZAM MUHAMMAD 'ALI JINNAH

Putting the motion of condolence before the House regarding the death of Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah on December 14, 1948, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

' Mr President, it is with a heavy heart that I rise to move the Resolution standing in my name I beg to move, Sir

'This Assembly places on record its sense of profound grief and sorrow at the death of the Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah and offers its deepest condolence to the nation at its irreparable loss,

'This Assembly has the fullest confidence in the nation and trusts that it will bear the loss with fortitude and redouble its efforts to maintain the integrity and independence of Pakistan and work with ever-increasing zeal and determination for the welfare and prosperity of the country as the most befitting tribute to the memory of the departed leader,

'This Assembly further conveys its sympathy to Miss Fatima Jinnah and other members of the bereaved family

"Sir, it is indeed not possible to express adequately in words the

long record of selfless service which the Quaid-i-A'zam rendered to this subcontinent and to the nation He occupied, as everyone knows, a very prominent place throughout his long political life of over 40 years He was the greatest patriot and lover of freedom that any country could have. Throughout his life, his ambition was to see this Subcontinent of India and Pakistan free from foreign domination I can say, Mr President, without any fear of contradiction that Quaid i-A'zam Jinnah is one of the greatest statesmen that the world has ever produced It is not often that it falls to the lot of a man to create something out of nothing It is not often that a man is the architect, the founder and builder of a State, which is the fifth largest in the world. As you know, Mr. President, the most glorious chapter of the Quaid-i-A'zam's long political life were the last twelve years of his existence on this earth. In 1936, he saw that freedom to this great Subcontinent was coming but he believed in freedom for all and not freedom for any one section of the people and he also realised that the only way to achieve freedom for this Subcontinent quickly was to provide opportunities for the two major nationalities—the Hindus and the Muslims—to develop themselves in accordance with their own way of life, their own culture and their own ideology There are some who might think that this conception of Pakistan was based on communalism I submit, Sir—and I think having had the honour and privilege of working with the Quaid-i-A'zam in close association for over twelve years, I can claim to know his mind—he was not a communalist He was one of the greatest nationalists that any country could produce but at the same time he was a man who could never see injustice done to any class of people or to any community Sir, there were some people who thought that the Quaid-A'zam's conception of Pakistan was only a dream. This dream became a fact because of the determination, courage, perseverance and sincerity of purpose of the Quaid-i-A'zam I have no doubt in my mind that, when the future history of this Subcontinent comes to be written it will be recognised that the solution for the so-called Indian problem was, in fact, no other than the creation of the two independent sovereign States of India and Pakistan

"Sir, I can say that there was one thing which always made him fight and that was to see that no injustice was done. He was indeed the champion of all the suppressed and oppressed people and I can tell the minorities in Pakistan that the Quaid-i-A'zam was the greatest friend that any minority could have, and I want to assure them that

whatever promises, whatever declarations, the Quaid-i-A'zam made during the time when he was the Head of the State, so long as the present Government is in power, it shall regard it as its sacred duty to fulfil those promises and see that justice is done to the minorities Not only justice, Mr President, but Quaid i-A zam used to say 'not only justice but generosity' I assure the minorities, with all the responsibility, that we shall do our best to see that they are treated accordingly Sir, at this time, his death—of course every human being must die some time or other—but at this time, his death is indeed a grievous loss to the nation and to Pakistan We are faced with many problems, difficult problems, and we needed his guidance most at this moment We needed his courage, we needed his determination to see Pakistan well on the road to prosperity and progress Sir, the only tribute—of course there will be memorials raised to the memory of Quaid-i-A'zam—but I think the fittest tribute that a nation can pay to its leader is to carry on the work which he had begun Quaid-i-A'zam is no more with us, but his mission is with us and will always remain with us,—the mission of making Pakistan into one of the greatest nations of the world, the mission of seeing that Pakistan is run not for the good of a few but for the prosperity of its millions of people That indeed, Mr President, is the mission which Quaid-i-A'zam had And I have no doubt that the nation will carry on that mission and everyone of us, not only inside this House but outside, will make every contribution to see that the integrity and independence of Pakistan is maintained and that Pakistan becomes at the earliest possible moment one of the biggest, richest and most prosperous States of the world That, Mr President, is the only tribute that one could pay to the memory of this great man Sir, I would request you to convey the sympathy of this House to Miss Fatima Jinnah and other members of the Quaid i A'zam's family Their loss is great but they know that their grief is shared by millions and millions of people, not only in Pakistan but throughout the world Sir, I would only say this Quaid i-A zam is dead but his mission is alive. Quaid-i-A'zam *Zindabad*"

CONVOCATION ADRESS, PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

The following address was delivered by Liaquat 'Ali Khan at the Convocation of the Punjab University on January 22, 1949 ·

"This is the first convocation of the Punjab University that is being held after the creation of Pakistan and the achievement of our independence As such it is an important occasion and I am very glad to be able to talk to you who are just going to enter the threshold of life and assume the responsibilities that a citizen of today has to shoulder in this complex world of ours

"A University Convocation has always been for me a solemn occasion surcharged with emotion It is one of the critical links in a man's life in that chain of human crises—birth, the first day at school, the first friendships, the attaining of physical maturity, the choice of a profession, marriage, the first success or the first failure, the stock taking of a life's work in middle age, death

"Common to all the major human crises is the fact of passing from one state of being to another birth death and resurrection are perhaps various phases of this very basic experience—the entering into a new life A convocation stands for such a critical and transitional stage in life It marks the end of a period of preparation, a period during which, freed to a greater or lesser extent from economic obligations and responsibilities, one is allowed by society to be engaged in a virtually disinterested pursuit of knowledge and acquisition of skill The colleges and the universities provide or should provide the necessary environment and guidance Nature bestows the useful and essential gift of youth, with its abundant energy, enthusiasm and idealism Thus nature and society combines to give one the security and the scope for the freest possible self-realisation and development One lives in the enchanted world of books and ideas, in an atmosphere of generosity, sympathy and energy which are the virtues as well as the weaknesses of youth The joys of friendship, the thrilling pleasures of discovery and the happiness of a care-free life, these are the rewards But the gifts of life are never free This life of security and freedom is inevitably followed by a life of duties and responsibilities The convocation marks the transition from the world of ideas to the world of realities The two worlds are, however, closely linked The knowledge acquired in one helps us to face the problems of the other The ideals form and fashion the character which can make the burdens and responsibilites of later life a source of wider and greater pleasure and satisfaction. One enters the next phase of life equipped for it by the first Such is the significance of this occasion for successive generations of students

"Though the life of a student is not without its own duties and responsibilities, compared to the life of a man who enters this world to

earn his living, the duties are of a simpler nature and the responsiblities lighter and less complex To the man, however, who understands the basic realities of life, the performance of duties and the assumption of responsibilities comes more easily You are the citizens of a new State and it is your duty towards this new State that I wish to emphasise today.

"For those of you who have assembled here today, this occasion has a two fold significance. You are not only entering a new life, you are entering a new life in a new State This new life is more complex than the life of a university, but this life in a State, which has only just been born, is bound to be even more complex still It is about this aspect of the life, that awaits you, that I wish to say a few words

"The question that arises is, why did we demand Pakistan? Why did we strive for it? When so many lives have been sacrificed and so many people have undergone such deep anguish, the question is more pertinent than ever. Was it because some individuals wanted power or wealth or position? Was it because it was intended that one group should dominate the other and get all the benefits, or that the common man's life is to be the same drudgery of poverty, hunger and one long continued frustration from the cradle to the grave? If this were so, it would be justifiable to say that we have made all our sacrifices in vain But it is most emphatically not so

"The life that previous generations of students of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent entered on leaving the university, was the life of a people who were not only still striving for political freedom, but also facing an acute internal conflict arising out of a clash of divergent cultures This internal conflict not only stood in the way of the attainment of freedom but threatened to poison the very fruit of that freedom if ever it was acquired. For freedom really means freedom to live and think as we desire Political freedom without religious, cultural and economic freedom would be meaningless and without value It was for the sake of this cultural freedom that the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent made Pakistan the supreme goal of their political efforts Pakistan was for them an idea, a religion, a culture, a way of life It was to have a homeland which we could call our own and in which we could carve out our own destiny, practise our own religion freely, continue our own traditions, evolve our own culture, practise our own way of life that we strove for the attainment of Pakistan. It was only thus that we, as a people, could realise ourselves, for as Renan has said, to have had common glories in the past, to possess a common will in the present, to

have achieved great things together to be determined upon further achievement, these are the essential conditions for being a people.

"Pakistan came into existence because we wanted to create a society which is based on justice, equality and the brotherhood of man In other words, a society which has no inner conflicts, where a man gets just reward for his toil, and where there are no parasites existing on the labour of others—unacceptable both in the eyes of God and man

"Our political struggle of many years was ultimately crowned with success because it was inspired by the united will of our people and sustained by our common sacrifices, and now that our political goal has been attained it is for us to see that the idea which inspired our struggle is given a full and practical shape and the way of life, of which we have dreamt for years, becomes a reality

"This idea, this religion, this culture is, in one word the Islamic way of life And what is the Islamic way of life ? It is a way of life, which on the one hand rests on unquestionable faith in God, and on the other, recognises justice and equality as the basis of social existence reason and knowledge as the arbiters in human affairs, and good conduct as the basis of spiritual progress. It is a way of life which does not oppose cleanliness to purity or social goodness to holiness This identity of the spiritual and social good at once removes that conflict of attitude towards life here and now and the life hereafter which has resulted in so much confusion of thought, so much intolerance and tyranny and so much hypocracy in the lives of many people of the world It firmly lays the foundations for a civilisation which is at once free from the evils of too much materialism and too much spiritualism It produces a culture to which the recluse and cynic are equally alien

"Such is our tradition and our heritage, from which unfortunately our recent history has weaned us. Our political bondage came very near completing our spiritual enslavement also But ideas die hard And a good idea is a thing immortal Get a firm hold of this idea now that you are entering a new life You will find in this life much that is evil You will come across habits of sloth greed and selfishness, born of centuries of subjugation. You will meet cowardice and cruelty, ignorance and injustice Do not be dismayed These are the relics of a past which is fast dying if not already dead. Do not be impatient and give up hope for you will also find in the life that you are now entering unmistakable signs of the dawning future You will find that the heart of our people is sound If it was not, we should not be

where we are today. You will find faith, courage and unselfishness in the most unexpected quarters And above all you will find unlimited scope for re-fashioning the world nearer to the heart's desire The task of my generation of people is well-nigh completed The future rests with yours and the successive generations The curse of servitude is no more and you can at least start with a clean slate Your task is indeed hard But it is well worth the effort You can carry on the message of hope to a sick world It is for you to keep alive the true moral values in a world gone mad There is no better cure for the global malady of strife and unrest today than the principles of human equality and social justice that Islam teaches It is for you to translate these principles into a living reality It is for you to carry Islam's message of peace and goodwill wherever you go So be of stout heart and good cheer, for you have a noble task ahead of you.

"To the learned gentlemen who have adopted the noble profession of teaching as their life work, I pay my homage. You are the real custodians of the nation's future, for you are the architects of the mind and character of the poets and writers, the scientists, the technicians The young student of today is the grown-up citizen of tomorrow What ideas he imbibes, what skills he acquires, what habits he forms and moral and social values he learns to respect, rests largely with you I can think of no greater responsibility that could fall on any shoulders And I can think of no better shoulders to carry such responsibility than those that carry the wisest and the most learned heads Our tradition is one of showing the highest regard to the men of learning, to the scholars, the philosophers, the thinkers and the teachers But alas our recent past, to which I have referred earlier, had tended also to debate the noble profession of teaching Our schools and universities were becoming less and less the spiritual nurseries of the brave citizens of a free nation and more and more the workshops that turned out armies of human slaves or robots While this affected the character and mentality of the students themselves who came out of our educational institutions as only half-grown men, and as virtual strangers to their own culture, tradition and people, it could not but affect the character and mentality of the teachers and the professors also This is one of the many things that we must now shed completely And gentlemen, I have not the least doubt that you are better aware of this than anyone else. Our people are only just beginning to realise their freedom More surely still will our men of learning realise their real position and status, and our universities come into their own. To that day we have long

looked with hope and yearning And that day must be not next year or next month or even tomorrow It must dawn today, and every day that follows, every week and every month and every year into the glorious future that will see the fulfilment of our destiny *Pakistan Zindabad*"

ADDRESS AT MIRPUR

Liaquat 'Ali Khan received a big ovation by a large and enthusiastic crowd when he visited the bomb-battered town of Mirpur in Azad Kashmir territory on January 28, 1949 He was welcomed by Chaudhuri Ghulam 'Abbas and Sardar Muhammad Ibrahim Addressing the gathering, he said

"By your steadfast stand against oppression, you have proved that you hold liberty dear as your lives The sacrifices made by you in the struggle for liberation have hardly a parallel in the annals of history The first phase of the struggle is over and you have been given an opportunity to decide your own future

'Don't forget what has happened to the Muslims in the States of Patiala, Nabha, Faridkot and even in Kapurthala, where Muslims were in majority The fate of these Muslims should be an eye-opener to all.

"As a result of the establishment of Pakistan, Muslims of Pakistan have acquired a new status It has also enabled them to shape their lives in conformity with principles and traditions of Islam

"It is now for the Muslims of Kashmir to decide whether to link their future with the Muslims of Pakistan and thereby with the rest of the Muslim world or to accept the position to which the Muslims of India have been reduced ."

Addressing officers and men at the Brigade Headquarters, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"The nation has watched with admiration your deeds of valour against forces, which were superior in number and equipment. For you soldiering is not new Your traditions go back to many generations and you have added one more glorious chapter to this brilliant record and confirmed once again what I have always said that the Army of Pakistan is one of the finest of the world

"I have come to congratulate you for your high sense of duty and

devotion both to the nation and the State. The courage, determination and bravery shown by you will be remembered. Keep up your traditions, do not relax and guard your country as you have done. Pakistan is proud of you."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, PLANNING ADVISORY BOARD

Addressing the first meeting of the Planning Advisory Board on the need of a Master Plan on February 2, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said.

"It is useful to remind ourselves of the obvious truth that no country in the modern world can progress and take its rightful place in the comity of nations unless and until it has a developed industry and a balanced economy Moreover, it has been found by experience that it is not only wasteful but it takes too long to allow the industrial potentialities of a country to be developed in an haphazard manner by private enterprise Government must take an important part in planning, encouraging and developing industry and helping those who are desirous of taking an active share in the development of their country. The Government of Pakistan is fully alive to this problem and took early steps to do something about it

"Quaid-i-A'zam once said that nature had given us unlimited resources and it is for us to utilise them properly so that Pakistan could become a strong and prosperous country. This is very true and I will cite a few examples to make my point clear. We have a virtual monopoly of raw jute which is of the finest quality, yet we have insufficient baling capacity and no manufacturing capacity in Pakistan and have to depend on India for hessian for our cotton bales and gunny bags for our foodgrains We grow nearly 1.3 million bales of good quality cotton (and can certainly grow more), yet we have to depend largely upon foreign countries for clothing our people because the few cotton mills that we have in Pakistan can provide only about 5,000 bales of cloth per month as against our present requirement of about 50,000 bales per month. Similarly, while we have approximately 26 million cattle and 13 million sheep and goats in Pakistan which besides giving us the milk and meat we need, yield about 3½ million cow hides, 1½ million buffalo hides, over 3 million goat skins and about 2.3 million sheep skins, yet we have to import all kinds of leather goods because we

cannot manufacture them ourselves and have to export hides and skins to foreign countries It is obvious from these examples the amount of loss we have to undergo because certain manufacturing facilities are not available in our country

"It must be remembered, however, that as against these and other resources which are unlimited because they come out of the soil and are therefore inexhaustible, we are deficit in mineral resources such as oil, iron, coal, copper, zinc, *etc* Both for industrial development and in the interest of a balanced economy, it is necessary that we should have adequate supply of these materials Unless and until they are discovered as a result of an intensive and extensive geological survey, we have to import them from other countries in exchange for our surplus agricultural raw materials. It is, therefore, essential that we should properly explore, assess and exploit our natural resources We should, in fact, prepare a national budget of resources and requirements

"On the resources side, beside the man-power in which fortunately Pakistan is quite rich, both quantitatively and qualitatively, we must take into account our resources in agriculture, industry, mining, forestry, utilities and services, and make tentative estimates for their expansion as a result of scientific surveys and technological application On the requirements side similarly we must take into account the total needs of the country for a number of years We must try to adjust the budget so as to leave a favourable balance for our growing economy and increasing population of men and animals, conserving material in short supply and exchanging surplus commodities for essential materials, goods and services

"I have already pointed out that work of vital national importance which I have outlined cannot be done on the basis of a policy of *laissez-faire* If it is to be done in a really satisfactory manner it has to be carried out according to a master plan in the preparation of which the Government must play a positive role and ensure that while on the one hand sufficient scope is allowed to individual freedom and enterprise, on the other hand the interests of the community as a whole are safeguarded against the abuse of individual freedom The most satisfactory way of doing this work would be to prepare a plan for the next five or ten years with clear cut objectives targets which must be achieved according to pre-determined rate

"In the abnormal and difficult times through which we have passed, it has not been possible to prepare such a plan covering the entire field of our economy and technological development. This does not mean,

of course, that planning has been altogether neglected. A number of conferences on industries, education, power development, food and agriculture, health, etc were convened by the Central Government to which representatives of the Provincial and States Governments and the special interests concerned were invited The immediate lines of development and the tentative targets to be achieved in the next few years were laid down and defined at these conferences A resume of the recommendations made at the conferences and the action taken by Government Departments to implement these is given in the notes relating to item (4) of the agenda I would greatly appreciate if the members of the Board specially the non-officials would express their views on

(a) the scope of the subjects covered by these recommendations,

(b) the adequacy of the action taken to implement them, and

(c) the practical steps which may be taken with the active co-operation of the merchants and the industrialists to speed up the realisation of these targets

"During the period 15th August, 1947 to 30th September, 1948, Government gave sanction to 100 Companies to issue capital aggregating to nearly Rs 21 70 crores More than half of this capital was for industrial development and the rest for trading concerns, public utility services, banking and insurance While this shows fair amount of enthusiasm on the part of our industrialists and businessmen in preparing schemes for the economic development of Pakistan, it must be pointed out that the actual number of Companies which have been registered, and have started functioning during this period, is quite small It is, therefore, necessary that our businessmen and industrialists should redouble their efforts, and should translate their schemes into practice, as Pakistan offers splendid opportunities for industrial development, and the Government, with a view to attracting capital for such development, have offered special concessions in rates of taxation and depreciation during the initial years

"Since the inception of the Development Board no less than 143 schemes pertaining to development were received and examined in the Secretariat of the Board. In some cases, it was found necessary to refer the schemes back to the Ministries sponsoring them for further details In other cases, the schemes were postponed either because they were not found sufficiently urgent or essential or because of the limited resources available But even after making these necessary

eliminations, the Development Board during the last year has approved 52 Central and Provincial schemes The expenditure involved on the execution of these schemes would amount to approximately Rs 13 crores in 1948 49 and Rs 18 crores in 1949-50, the total expenditure for the two years being approximately Rs 31 crores Of this amount Rs 12 crores have been approved as loan to Provinces for expenditure on their schemes during 1948-49 while the expenditure on Provincial schemes during 1949-50 would amount to Rs 16 5 crores Keeping in view the fact that our Government has only recently begun its indenendent career and has been faced with large demands in other fields specially for defence, the attention paid to development as reflected in the number of schemes and the estimated expenditure on them shows the great importance it attaches to the overall development of the country

"The undivided Government of India before partition, while inviting the Provincial Governments to prepare and submit their development schemes, had indicated that they would be in a position to make outright grants up to a certain limit for the implementation of these schemes After partition when Pakistan was established, it was realised that its present position would not permit it to undertake this responsibility for sometime to come It was at the same time felt that however straitened the financial resources of the country and however large the demands on the exchequer for other purposes may be it would be a short sighted policy to neglect the nationally vital cause of development A compromise formula was, therefore, arrived at by intimating to the Provinces that although the Central Government would not be in a position to make any outright grants for their approved development schemes, it would be prepared to advance them loans on reasonable terms of interest and repayment of the loan after the implementation of these schemes It was at the same time arranged with the Provincial Governments that in order to bring about uniformity and avoid competition of borrowing in future this should be done by the Central Government who should then advance loans to the Provinces for their essential requirements Accordingly, the Provinces were requested to re-examine their development schemes in the light of altered conditions arising through the division of the country as a whole, and of Punjab and Bengal in particular, and to submit only such schemes for the consideration of the Central Government which were productive and which they wished to execute with the help of loans from the Central Government In response to this

request, the total demands made by the four Provinces for the years 1948-49 and 1949-50 amounted to approximately Rs 44 crores, out of which they asked for approximately Rs 23 crores during 1948-49 The Development Board after a very careful consideration of the Provincial schemes, the financial position of the Central Government, the supply position of the capital goods required for the implementation of these schemes, the availability of technical and other relevant factors decided to recommend an allocation of Rs. 12 62 crores in 1948-49 as under —

East Bengal	Rs 4 crores
West Punjab	Rs 5 crores
N-W F P.	Rs. 0 52 crores
Sind	Rs 2 50 crores.

These loans have been offered to the Provincial Governments to enable them to undertake and execute their development schemes which cover a wide range of activity, such as development of hydro-electricity, reclamation of land, extension of canals, roads, *etc* It is now for the Provincial Governments to draw and spend these amounts to the best of their ability on economically productive and vitally important schemes of development. . "

INAUGURAL ADDRESS—LABOUR CONFERENCE, KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, inaugurating the First Pakistan Tripartite Labour Conference in Karachi on February 8, 1949, said

"I am glad to have the opportunity of being able to address you and to say something about the labour policy of the Pakistan Government.

"At the outset I would like to point out that when I use the word labour in my address I am not thinking only of industrial workers but of workers in general In other words I am thinking of all those who render services to society, of which they are a part, by their physical labour

"Considered in such wide terms labour constitutes not only the largest section of the population of any country but also the most important It is obvious that if a Government really intends to improve the lot of its people it is the worker, the man in the street it

has in view. My Government is fully determined to make Pakistan a progressive state and to make every possible effort to improve the lot of the common man

"I have pointed out before that the real progress, rather the only progress, of a country lies in the betterment of its people I have also said repeatedly that Pakistan is based on the Islamic principles of freedom, equality and social justice Therefore, the first and foremost duty of my Government is to end all exploitation of one group of people by another There can be no greater guarantee of justice to labour

'It might well be asked why I lay so much stress on social justice It is for a very good reason Since the dawn of history thinking people have realised and declared again and again that no human society can endure which allows the exploitation of man by man or which permits the application of different sets of laws to different classes of people Because if these things are allowed society develops inner conflicts

'History tells us that internal strife rather than external aggression is the greater danger for a people A house divided cannot but fall The Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) with his deep wisdom had understood this well and he said it again and again that every man must receive the wages that are his due and the full fruit of his labour He also declared that all human beings were equal before God and before law

"The Holy Prophet (Peace be on him) not only recognised the inevitability of social justice for a stable society but also insisted that all recognise the dignity of labour He himself, though loved and revered by millions, did all his own work because he said it was pleasing to God He also said that there is no life nobler than the life of work, of earnest and honest toil Let us not forget these words as they have stood the test of time.

"It is true that we have not been able to do as much for labour as we want to but this has been due to abnormal circumstances rather than to a lack of desire on the part of Government. I know that labour is faced with some very serious problems—the most important of these is the high cost of living Necessities of life are not only very dear they are difficult to come by Accommodation is inadequate and so on I need not repeat here what the people of Pakistan have gone through since it came into existence You know it quite well as you have been through it yourself It was this upheaval which absorbed all our efforts and energies and put a tremendous strain on our physical and financial resources The people of Pakistan can take just pride in

having faced the challenge with such courage and determination and in having emerged successful from the ordeal which no country in history ever had to undergo at the very birth of its life as a free country

"Now that we have come out of the first phase successfully we must devote all our energies to constructive work You must have gathered from newspaper reports about the meetings of the Planning Advisory Board, which took place a few days ago, that the Government of Pakistan intend to take an important part in planning, encouraging and developing industry and helping those who are desirous of taking an active share in the development of their country Our intention is to have a developed industry and a balanced economy as early as possible For this purpose the Government have several very important projects under operation and many important schemes under consideration

"Everybody realises, however, that the fulfilment of our schemes and certainly the rapidity of development of industry cannot take place without the full co-operation of labour which should be contented and prosperous We must create conditions which are favourable to labour My Government will take all necessary steps to see that labour gets its due share in all enterprises I must say a few words about the part that labour itself has to play in the life of our nation If there are difficulties they must be shared equally by all and no one must forget that we require above all unity—a unity both of purpose and of action If labour is faced with difficulties, if it has grievances, it must remember that these can be overcome and redressed more easily and fruitfully by methods of conciliation rather than those of conflict

"I have already said that I am aware of the difficulties which labour has been and is facing I must pay tribute to its steadfastness and the wonderful spirit it has shown by going on doing its duty and realising that Pakistan comes before every thing else

Workers must continue to realise and remember that they are a part of the nation and if they lose patience and resort to unreasonable methods they retard the progress of their own country.

"Labour must remember that the interest and welfare of Pakistan comes before the interest of any individual or class of individuals and it must not do any thing which in any way weakens Pakistan. If Pakistan endures and prospers the problems that labour has can be solved.

"We all know that the backbone of a country is its peasantry and its labour and we shall do our best to strengthen them. The workers must remember, however, that there is no problem which cannot be solved by methods of conciliation if there is goodwill on both sides.

So far as the Government are concerned I can state emphatically that they have all the goodwill needed and I hope labour will also remember it and act on it

"I do not promise you an Utopia in the twinkling of an eye but I do promise you a rosy dawn and a bright morning which will see us marching on the road to prosperity and well being provided—and it is a very important proviso—you sincerely collaborate with Government in achieving what we all most passionately want to achieve—a progressive and prosperous Pakistan."

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, PAKISTAN MUSLIM LEAGUE COUNCIL

Addressing the first session of the Pakistan Muslim League Council on February 20, 1949, in the Khaliqdina Hall, Karachi, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, said

"Mr. President and Members of the Pakistan Muslim League Council

My first duty is to welcome you all to this, the first Session of the Pakistan Muslim League Council It is not a mere formal welcome for, as you are aware, I have been a member of the All-India Muslim League for twenty five years, and, during the twelve years I was its General Secretary, my relation to it has been like that of the body to the soul

"You will recollect that when the All-India Muslim League last met in this Hall, some people thought that a separate Muslim League for the Muslims of Pakistan was no longer necessary I was one of those who declared that the need for the Muslim League was even greater now than it was when we were struggling for Pakistan. The reason is not far to seek

'The only reason why we and the Quaid-i-A'zam demanded Pakistan was to secure, in this subcontinent, a homeland where the Muslims could live in their own way We wished Pakistan to be a laboratory where we could practise the Islamic principles—the best in the world—and thus demonstrate to the world that what Islam had taught thirteen centuries ago was needed as much now as it was then. We must not forget that it was for that sentiment and in obedience to that call that hundreds of thousands of Muslims gave their lives and

nearly seven millions lost their ancestral homes and migrated from India to Pakistan in utter misery and destitution We, that is to say, the Muslim League, are pledged to make Pakistan a Muslim State and run it on Islamic principles So long as we or any one of us is alive, we must not forget the pledge for which the Muslims made a sacrifice so colossal But this pledge cannot be redeemed unless Pakistan has a political organisation which may say what Islam is and what those principles are which should determine and control the conduct of this State This task the Muslim League alone can accomplish It is the duty of every one of us to make Pakistan strong and this can be done only by making the Muslim League strong, for, a strong League means strong Pakistan

"You can thus understand how keenly sensible I am to the importance of the League But you will pardon me when I appeal to you in the name of God—and I am speaking not only as the Prime Minister of Pakistan but as a Member of this Council—not to indulge in factional wrangles, not to convert the League into a playground for the selfish ambitions of a few leaders but to make it a really representative organisation of the Muslims of Pakistan Then and then alone can you serve Pakistan and Islam

"I congratulate you, Sir, on your election as the President of the Pakistan Muslim League I wish, however, to say that now that the Quaid-i-A'zam is no more, your responsibility as President is indeed very heavy It is difficult to combine in one person the statesmanship, wisdom, perseverence, courage and other gifts with which the Quaid-i-A'zam was endowed But you have worked with the Quaid-i-A'zam for a long time and you know fully well how the Quaid-i-A'zam succeeded in making the League the real organ and mouthpiece of the popular will I have every hope that, with all those events, experiences and Quaid-i A'zam's directions as your guide, you will succeed

"I also congratulate the other office-bearers of the League (Turning to Mr Yusuf Khattak, General Secretary of the League) I must tell you particularly that a Secretary possesses vast executive powers By mis-using your powers, you can, if you like, make one fact on strong at the expense of another I was Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for twelve years and on the basis of that experience I can advise you never to attempt to bolster up any section. A successful Secretary must command the confidence of all sections. You are young The Nation has reposed in you a great trust It is now for you either to justify that trust or to use the League for weakening

any particular group or party. Whenever you need my counsel, you may come to me without the least hesitation and I will help you, as I would help a younger brother, in the light of my experience

"I now consider it to be my duty to render to this Council, which is a representative body of the Muslim League, a brief account of the activities of my Government. You have a right to know what the Government has done and how it has been run In order to appreciate all this, you should keep in mind how we stood on the 15th of August, 1947.

"You will recollect that it was decided on the 3rd of June, 1947 to divide India into the two independent dominions of Hindustan and Pakistan with effect from the 15th of August, 1947 We urged that it was impossible, within a short span of two months, to establish, in a country so vast and with a population so large, a Government which had neither any staff nor office, nor even paper and pencil. We were told that there was no other alternative In other words the British Government gave us a challenge Even if the British Government were told to quit London and establish a new Government somewhere else in two months, they could not, I am sure, have succeeded even in time of peace Perhaps the British Government were not aware how great and grim was the determination of the Mussalmans. Any way, we accepted the challenge of Great Britain and India

"Another difficulty we had to encounter was that all Government servants were given the option to serve in whichever of the two Dominions they liked, although it was known that, majority of experienced high grade officials being non-Muslims, it would be difficult to run the Government of Pakistan. We had urged in vain that the Government servants should be compelled to stay on where they were—arguing that there was no reason why those who could serve a foreign government, could not serve their own The agreed percentage of Muslim representation in the All-India Services was 25, but it was found on actual calculation to be not more than eleven with a nominal proportion of gazetted officers Just think how short of officers we were at the start Peons were plentiful but peons cannot run the Government.

"This is not all The trains bringing our staff and our records were combed *en route* The records were destroyed and many servants killed On the 15th August, 1947 when the Flag of Independence was unfurled, our offices had neither chair nor pen nor inkstand nor paper nor pencil This was how your Central Government came into being.

"Consequent on the partition of the Punjab and Bengal new Governments had to be set up The non-Muslim staff had left for India India got a going concern but we had to start from a scratch Several foreigners asked me how we succeeded in setting up Government in Pakistan To them, it looked like a miracle

"Carnage and pillage were in full swing in East Punjab even before the 15th of August, 1947 Muslims began to die in thousands Thousands began to escape to Lahore Hundreds of thousands were slain, thousands of women were abducted, hundreds of thousands of children were cut to pieces Millions of refugees arrived in Pakistan They had Heaven above and earth below I am not trying to inflame feeling I am only giving a general picture of what was going on then in order to enable you to realise the difficulties our Government had to face when seven million refugees poured into Pakistan Here we had to make arrangements for your stay at two school-buildings much before your arrival The Government could make no arrangements before millions of these refugees reached Lahore Government was nevertheless able, not only to establish camps for hundreds of thousands of refugees but also to make arrangements for the protection and safe conduct of Muslim refugee camps and convoys in East Pakistan and for the supply therefor of food and medical aid In spite of these calamities Muslims have demonstrated their fitness to rule The spirit of devotion and sacrifice with which God has endowed our race came to our rescue

"Seven million refugees have so far come to Pakistan Five million non-Muslims migrated to India Thus Pakistan has 2 million more refugees These seven million arrived in Pakistan in five months At one time, there were as many as one million in the West Punjab Refugee Camps All available food, clothing and medical aid were provided for them I do not say that all desirable comfort was, or could be provided for them From the fact that the maintenance of a single camp cost us ten million rupees, you can imagine the total financial burden which the Government had to bear Add to it, the transport by rail of refugees from one place to the other, their destitution shortage of officers and of food and the inevitable commotion and concern throughout the country All this catastrophe had started before Pakistan came into being Is there any country or any Government in the world which could tackle a refugee problem of such magnitude?

"Our ill wishers--and they were many--used to prophesy that Pakistan would collapse in a few weeks I have no complaint against them because they could not do otherwise But even many Muslims,

who were ready to lay down their lives for Pakistan, began to despair What Goverment could hold its own in a calamity so colossal? But, I assure you, never did I, for a single moment, doubt that Pakistan would survive. For I think, indeed I believe, that we had not done anything to deserve so high a boon as Pakistan, and that God will not deprive us of this boon unless and until we prove ourselves, by our misdeed, to be unworthy of it

"Some of my faint-hearted friends in Lahore were obsessed with the fear that Pakistan might be attacked any moment and that on the first impact, it would go under With their cars filled with petrol and laden with their beddings and luggage, they were ready, at the slightest alarm, to decamp I used to say to them 'Where are you going to run away to? There is the sea at the other end Are you going to drown there? What is the fun in running away? We have wrested Pakistan We have now to make it and to save it If Pakistan goes under, we cannot survive either'

"Foreign correspondents used to say 'Such a large migration is without precedent in history That there has been no revolution even in such conditions is nothing short of a miracle' Why did any revolution not take place? I was in Lahore throughout this catastrophe and I often visited the border, because the Quaid-i-A'zam had told me that Pakistan could be defended from Lahore, not from Karachi

"What a perseverance, what a spirit of sacrifice, did our people display! I am proud of it Those in the Punjab are fully aware of it and many of you who have come from far-off places should also know what the spirit of our people was Refugees—hungry, naked, ill, infirm —trekked on for hundreds of miles from East Punjab to Pakistan On the way, they often enquired 'Has Pakistan come?' and told 'Not yet,' they plodded on with hearts full of hopes On reaching the borders, they used to say, with a sigh of relief 'Thank God! Here is Pakistan where we can find asylum' Some of them saying 'Thank God,' dropped down never to rise again. These are the people who saved Pakistan, to whom Pakistan owes its existence This was the spirit that animated the Mussalmans

"About seven million refugees have now been resettled They have been provided with lands to till and houses to live in Many are still in a quandary With them I fully commiserate The Government is trying its utmost to bring them relief Two hundred thousand refugees have been brought to Sind. There is now no refugee camp except the one for the refugees from Kashmir. They are getting food, clothing and medicine. Neither I nor my Ministers

claim any credit for such success as has been achieved It is all due to the perseverence of our people that today we are free and can hold our head high in the world

"I want now to say a few words about the Indian Muslims But for their sacrifices, Pakistan would have been an impossibility. They were aware of the fate that awaited them They staked their all—wealth, life and honour—only to enable their co religionists of the Muslim majority areas to order their life and society in the Islamic way so that Pakistan, built up on Islamic principles, may be of service to Islam and to the world I say to you what I myself have always felt, that we must never forget their sacrifices and our obligation to them

"Now, I proceed to make a brief mention of the activities of the various departments of my Government

"There is no doubt the defence forces were divided but this division was merely on paper Of defence forces and stores, India got two-thirds and Pakistan one-third But ours remained a paper share For, the forces which had been assigned to us were in India and the forces that happened to be in Pakistan were Indian How the Indian forces stationed in Pakistan might at any time act, and where, was a source of constant concern to us

"I do not [illegible] to conceal anything but you will pardon me if, in this public gathering and in the presence of Press reporters, I refrain from disclosing full data about the actual strength of our defence today

'At the time of partition, Pakistan had neither any Naval Headquarters nor any Naval Dockyard Chittagong, in particular, had no arrangements whatsoever for its naval defence Our share of the Naval officer-personnel included only ten Pakistanis—one Captain six Lieutenant-Commanders and three Engineers Today we have in our Navy three hundred officers, including one Commodore, five Commanders and ten Lieutenant-Commanders All, except twenty British Officers, are Pakistanis

"We are expanding our Navy The two parts of Pakistan—Eastern and Westren—are far apart To maintain our sea communications between the two, we propose to make our Navy so strong that we may go from one part to the other easily and without molestation We have already started the construction of a Naval Dockyard as well as factories for producing Naval equipment and stores All the Naval Training Centres were in India and none in Pakistan Arrangement for naval training in Pakistan have already been made I have a

right to say that we are now in a position fully to defend our shores.

"The military forces that fell to our lot were scattered all over the Subcontinent You will be interested to know that in British India, while there were purely Sikh and Hindu regiments, there was none purely Muslim Such regiments as were preponderantly Muslim had each one or two Sikh or Dogra battalions tacked on to them. The Muslim units that were included in our share were very few, and none was complete. We had, therefore, to re-organise our Army completely We were also saddled with the difficult duty of bringing our forces from India and conducting the Indian forces from Pakistan to India.

"Thank God, our Army is endowed with patriotism, efficiency and discipline We can rightly be proud of our Army Without our army we could not have saved so many Muslims We owe it to our Army that five million refugees were evacuated and hundreds of thousands of tons of food could reach them All this work was entrusted to the army You will be interested to know that West Punjab gets its electric power from East Punjab East Punjab had once stopped the supply of canal water. It was feared it may also stop the current [at any moment, and the current was actually discontinued for a few days It was our Army that set up temporary plants which supplied the electricity

"At the time of Partition, the Pakistan Army had only one Major-General It was on my recommendation that the Commander-in-Chief appointed one Pakistani Major-General By God's grace, there are now, in our Army, eight Major-Generals and thirty-two Brigadiers, of whom nineteen are Pakistanis Half of the General Headquarters staff is Pakistani The Divisional Commanders are all Pakistanis There is no Britisher in the Brigade Staff At present there are in our Army only 410 British officers who are mostly technical men I wish to tell you that the British personnel have been discharging their duties with complete loyalty and devotion I am in favour of the nationalisation of our Army but I will not make a fetish of nationalisation and allow it to impair the efficiency of our Army

"At the time of Partition, there was in Pakistan only one Military Training Centre—the Staff College at Quetta Within a few weeks, however, we established the Military Academy at Kakul, where many officers have already completed, and several hundreds are receiving military training Soldiers there are galore—not officers. Government have therefore decided to start another military training

centre, which may train out five hundred officers in six months. There is no need for organising the Army on sectional lines.

"Our share of military equipment and stores also remained in India In the beginning, we got some in trickles Even that was stopped when the Kashmir issue arose Government are fully conscious that Pakistan should have its own Ordnance Factories, and, I assure you, full arrangements are being made in this regard Sites for these factories have already been selected and Pakistan will be able, within the next few years, to produce its own armaments and other military requirements So far as armaments and military stores are concerned, our position today is satisfactory The strength of our Army now is by far in excess of what it was at the time of Partition.

"India, on the one hand, was securing adjournment after adjournment of the Kashmir issue in U N O and, on the other, embarked on a big offensive in Kashmir We sent our forces to protect our borders which were exposed to danger The Indian Army hoped to finish the Kashmir issue in a few weeks and thus present a *fait accompli* to the Security Council But our forces displayed extreme prowess and did not allow the Indian forces to advance even an inch Had our forces not marched to the Kashmir front, the Indian forces would have occupied the whole of Kashmir and the Security Council would, in that event, have had no alternative to recognising India's occupation During my visit to the front, I was delighted to find that in spite of many difficulties and hardships, the morale of our forces was very high I have already congratulated them, and I may, with your permission, also congratulate them on your behalf

"We got only one Air Squadron at the time of Partition I cannot disclose how many Air Squadrons we now have, but I wish to tell you that our Air Arm has become so strong that should it have to go into action in defence of Pakistan, it would prove itself to be second to the Air Arm of no other country

"Our Air Force at the time of Partition had 224 officers, 50 cadets and 2309 airmen Now it has 378 officers and 136 cadets. There are also 41 officers and 327 other ranks of the Royal Air Force, one Commodore, two Group Captains, 13 Wing Commanders and 36 Squardon Leaders I do not wish to disclose the actual number of airmen we now have, but I can say that their number is much greater than before

We have now one Air Training Centre at Kohat and another at Risalpur Karachi has two such centres. Last year the flying-hours of our aircraft totalled 10,528. We are endeavouring to effect a comp-

lete nationalisation of our Air Force

"Last year we withdrew all our forces from the Tribal Areas Seeing that our forces had left, the Faqir of Ipi started mischief but our forces nipped his nefarious designs in the bud

"At this stage I want to make it clear that it is our intention to keep the Tribal Areas with us, not by force but by our common ties of Islamic brotherhood Pakistan is as much of the Tribesmen as ours At no time during the British regime were there less than thirty-six battalions in the Tribal Areas Today there are no Pakistani troops there. I do not wish to keep any one with Pakistan against his will

'By God's grace, we are now in such a position that any Power which will destroy us will not itself escape destruction at our hands Let me quote a declaration by a British statesman—

'I am a man of peace, but I want peace with honour, not peace at any price'

If I am organising and consolidating the armed forces of Pakistan, I am doing so not to attack another country but to preserve Pakistan itself I declare once again that every Mussalman is and will be, ready to shed the last drop of his blood in defence of Pakistan

"Consequent on Partition, banking and trade in Pakistan came to a standstill, for the non-Muslim employees of these banks and business houses had left, not because they were not safe here but because it was thought that even if Pakistan could survive the Refugee problem and other calamities, it would certainly go bankrupt By God's grace however, this turned out to be mere wishful thinking and our financial position improved You know that there was no Muslim bank in Pakistan, and those that did exist, were very small This was due to the fact that during the old regime Muslim bankers never received any encouragement and economic development was confined to Hindu majority areas The Muslim majority areas which now form part of Pakistan were kept economically backward The result was that there was neither any trade nor industry nor any sources of revenue.

"There is no gainsaying the fact that there were occasions when we were not sure whether we would be able to disburse salaries of our employees From our joint account, we first got 200 million rupees and, later 550 million. Our first was not only a balanced but a surplus budget We have now a favourable trade balance. The Government enjoys the confidence of the people, who have made an unexpected contribution of 700 million rupees to our Public Loans. In the beginning our currency was handled by the Reserve Bank of India, but this work was taken over by the State Bank of Pakistan in July 1948.

Financially we are now free and do no depend on others Government deposits in our banks amounted to 890 million rupees which, by October 1948, had risen to 1,060 million There was a time when the cash balance of the Pakistan Government did not exceed ten or twenty million rupees Now it is 820 million Our credit abroad is going upwards What is more, the value of our currency is higher than that of neighbouring countries Those days have gone when we were content with passing forceful resolutions Now we have to do solid work

"When Pakistan came into being, it had no foreign relations Such relations as did exist came to be treated as those with India We had to create new connections We did not know the people abroad. On the other hand, propaganda was being carried on in foreign countries that Pakistan was bound to collapse in a few months, if not in a few weeks We had to send best men as our representatives abroad. Now there are seventeen foreign missions in Pakistan Pakistan has nine missions abroad and four or five more are shortly to be established

"The people of Muslim countries we regard as our brethren. Even when we were a subject people, we regarded the distress of Muslim countries as our own Now that we are free, our attitude is the same Even today, we are bound by those natural postulates of Islamic fraternity which were formulated for our guidance thirteen centuries ago

"It has been our earnest desire and endeavour to have as cordial relations as possible with our neighbour, India Our relations, at the time of Partition, were strained Our friends from Lahore are aware how great was the panic in Amritsar when the rumour spread there of Pakistan's imminent onslaught on India Such was the state of affairs then The possibility of an outbreak of war was there But our policy has been never to go to war without sufficient cause. Every step we had to take was taken after the fullest deliberation. The tension was further increased by the emergence of the Kashmir dispute Our relations have, however, improved and will, I expect, become more cordial and friendly if the two Governments sincerely carry out their respective understandings, and a just settlement of the Kashmir issue is arrived at For, it is to the mutual interest of India and Pakistan to work shoulder to shoulder with each other. We, at any rate will spare no effort to develop concord and co operation between the two dominions

"Pakistan has not joined any bloc in U.N.O. Pakistan's mission is

to promote peace and concord throughout the world. We will support every matter which is founded on justice and is conducive to world peace

'Our policy in regard to Palestine has been, and will be, to underline the fact that Palestine belongs to the Arabs and to none else. We took the stand that the Palestine problem could properly be resolved by plebiscite and not by the resolutions of the Security Council The manner in which our Foreign Minister pleaded before the Security Council the Arab case and interpreted the sentiments of the Muslim World has greatly enhanced the prestige of Pakistan

"Burma is a new State but she is confronted with many difficulties. It is our earnest desire that complete peace may be restored in Burma and her internal questions may be settled by pacific means

"Our relations with our nearest neighbour, Afghanistan are cordial and are expected to grow stronger and stronger.

"Iran has, from the very outset, sympathised with Pakistan not in a formal but in a practical manner. She aided our refugees We are grateful to the Government and people of Iran who have treated our misfortunes as theirs and have thus demonstrated their sense of Islamic brotherhood Our relations with Iran are what they should be between any two Muslim countries.

"Ceylon is, like Pakistan, a new Dominion Our relations with her are very cordial. Mr Jaya, a Muslim member of the Ceylonese Government has come here to attend the World Muslim Congress, although this Congress has not been sponsored by the Government of Pakistan.

"You are aware of our attitude towards Indonesia. Indonesia should be completely independent Those days have gone when some countries ruled over others as of right Even then force, not right, was the basis of their domination Asia is now awake That Holland can maintain her occupation of Indonesia by force is mere wishful thinking. The Dutch should come into line with the spirit of the new age and quit Indonesia. We will help Indonesia to the best of our ability.

"Pakistan is a member of the Commonwealth of Nations. Do not think that our membership of the Commonwealth detracts from our independence in the least degree. Pakistan is free to declare, or refuse to declare war against or to enter, or to refuse to enter into trade relations, with any country This freedom of action is not affected by the attitude of other members of the Commonwealth. This is, after all, the only criterion of the independence of any country.

"Industry we had none There were abundant raw materials but no machinery The Punjab crisis coincided with our cotton harvest By God's grace, no harm was done to the crop nor was the export of cotton affected Although all non-Muslims had deserted our factories, yet our position today is much better We are trying to make Pakistan industrially independent of other countries Accordingly, we have prepared a 10 year Industrial Plan which covers hydro-electricity, cotton, jute, wool, coal, oil, paper and other industries In view of the importance to industry of hydro-electric power, schemes for the production of hydro-electricity in East and West Pakistan have been finalised These include the Rasul, Malakand, Dargai, Warsak and Karnafuli projects which will produce hundreds of thousands of Kilowatts for use in our industrial development The Warsak project is expected to produce 20,000 Kilowatts and the Karnafuli project, 40,000 Kilowatts Several companies are prospecting for coal and oil in East and West Pakistan Machinery is our main bottleneck which will however, disappear in due course

"Pakistan has 12 textile mills, which produce one-tenth of our cloth requirements We have 170,000 spindles and 4,500 looms With more mills under way our output of cloth will, by the end of this year, be doubled We are trying to increase our spindles to 3,25,000 Wool industry is also on the upgrade and we are trying to procure 20,000 spindles for our woollen mills

"Baling presses have been installed in East Pakistan which now export jute direct from Chittagong I am not disclosing any secret when I say that if the capitalists of East Pakistan do not come forward and start jute factories, the Government itself will undertake the task, for industrial development will bring in more revenue

'Government has provided many facilities for the import of the necessities of life You will find plenty of merchandise in the market here The necessities of life are cheaper in Pakistan than in other countries In March, 1948, the value of our imported merchandise was 180 million rupees, now it is 740 million The restrictions on import have been relaxed with the object of bringing down prices and preventing inflation

"In order that Pakistan may not depend on any one country and may be free to obtain its requirements whenever and wherever it deems proper we are trying to negotiate trade agreement with all countries We can combat high prices—only by importing necessary merchandise as much as possible While scarcity continues, controls must continue. We are against control and in favour of free

movement of goods That is why import of most commodities have been made licence free

"The policy of my Government has been to re-organise Education as to inform the minds of students with the real concept and spirit of Islam Religious instruction has accordingly been made compulsory for Muslim students Urdu has been made a compulsory subject in Post-Primary schools throughout Pakistan Bengali has been made an optional subject in Western Pakistan and arrangements to that end are in hand These changes have been made on the recommendations of the Pakistan Educational Conference and of the Education Advisory Board which recently met at Peshawar The States have also been asked to give effect to these recommendations as far as possible

"Council of Technical Education and Historical Records and Archives Commission have already been established A 20,000 rupees grant has been made to the Anjuman-i-Taraqqi Urdu. We have already established four cultural associations—The Pakistan-Arab, Pakistan-Afghanistan, Pakistan-Iran and Pakistan-Turkey Cultural Associations Every effort is being made to bring Baluchistan and the Tribal Areas, educationally, on a par with the Provinces One Degree College, one High School, forty Primary schools have been opened in Baluchistan The establishment of schools in the Tribal Areas is also under way Pakistani students are awarded scholarships for scientific and technical education abroad Karachi has now 18 new Middle and Primary schools which are attended by five thousand children

"We are fully alive to the inconvenience caused by the shortage of housing accommodation in all the large towns of Pakistan, particularly in Karachi In 1940, the population of Karachi was less than 4 5 lakhs, now it is over a million Again, house-building came to a standstill during the last war We are encouraging private societies to undertake house building programme for its lower-grade employees

"You know what the state of our Railways was when Pakistan came into being The number of Railway staff who came from India was thirty thousand, but those needed for special type of work were scarce Our greatest handicap was the stoppage of coal supply from India We had to reduce train services and at times we could have barely one train service. On the other hand, our Railway had to bear the brunt of refugee transport, but the services rendered by our Railway in this respect are indeed praiseworthy All the pre-Partition train services have now been restored We have adequate stocks of coal, but we no longer depend on coal For, as a precaution against suspension

of railway service in the event of coal shortage, we are working some types of engines with oil. Karachi is growing rapidly. A scheme for constructing a grand Railway Station and a network of suburban lines has already been finalised I assure you that Karachi will before long become the greatest metropolis in Asia

"We have prepared a programme for the construction of double-track railway lines and new roads in East Pakistan Every effort will be made to overcome communication and transport difficulties which are very serious there,

"There is a general complaint that passengers remove bulbs from the railway carriages This causes loss to Government and inconvenience to passengers The Muslim League can be very helpful in eradicating this complaint To harm Pakistan railways is to harm Pakistan itself It is the duty of us all to realise and make others realise that theft of railway bulbs is a serious offence

"Pakistan has two big ports—Karachi and Chittagong. The Port of Karachi is considered to be one of the good ports of the world. It has all facilities For the development of the Port of Chittagong there are two schemes—a short-term and a long-term scheme The delay is due, not to lack of finance but, to the difficulty in an early procurement of machinery We are prepared for any amount of expenditure because the development of this Port is essential for the progress of Pakistan.

"There has been a great expansion of our Posts, Telegraphs and Telephone systems The number of Telegraph carriers and lines has risen from three to six and from six to eighteen respectively Despite the shortage of telephone requisites there are now 1,400 new connexions We can now speak over the Radio Telephone to London and other countries direct and not through Bombay. Our Air Mail Service is growing apace A scheme for the production of tele communication apparatus in Pakistan has already been finalised

"We are encouraging Civil Aviation. Before August, 1947, there were no arrangements for Civil Aviation in Pakistan We have now two Air Companies These companies are run for the national good and not on a profit-making basis. They came to our rescue in the hour of need We are grateful for the great services they have rendered to Pakistan I hope for the establishment of more Air Lines

"Civil Aviation is a great source of strength to our air arm. Interest in Civil Aviation is growing and flying clubs have been established in Karachi and Dacca.

"No airfield in the world has so much traffic from 8 p m. to 3 a.m.

s the Karachi airfield The Karachi airport is one of the finest in the world and, God willing, it will soon become the greatest in the whole of Asia. Aerodromes are also in the process of construction in East Pakistan. We have no arrangement for the repair of aircraft. We are anxious to build an aircraft repair factory and to procure technical staff

"These departments have come in for frequent criticism We are publicising Pakistan abroad but this work is not done as well as it should be This is owing to the dearth of seasoned journalists Again, we did not get any short-wave transmitter Dacca and Karachi have medium transmitters and will soon have two short-wave transmitters As soon as they start functioning we will be able to transmit our message to all parts of the globe. I am fully sensible to the importance of publicity and every effort is being made in that direction But words are not enough for the accomplishment of this task

"In the year 1947-48 there was shortage of wheat in West Punjab Sind and West Punjab had already been denuded of their rice stocks before Pakistan came into being Those who came to Pakistan outnumbered those who left Pakistan by 2 5 millions Again, East Pakistan had its floods We went to every nook and corner of the world to procure food stuffs But for our success in this direction, East Pakistan's fate would have been the same as that of Bengal a few years ago What the food situation will be if some unforeseen natural calamity intervenes, I cannot say, but the present situation is very satisfactory

"We are very short of women doctors This is owing to the state of our society of which you are aware We need as many women doctors as possible. Miss Fatima Jinnah Medical College, Lahore has been established to train medical women Karachi has the Jinnah Civil Hospital and six dispensaries. We are also short of Nurses and Health Visitors. Our doctors here have shown praiseworthy courage and self-denial in their work in our Refugee Camps. The students of the Lahore Medical College and other colleges have also done very valuable work in the Camps. Our women were a great help to refugee women and children Pakistan has a Malaria Institute, a Medical Council, a Red Cross Organisation and a Tuberculosis Hospital.

"You should know what our policy has been towards the States. On the 15th August, 1947, Paramountcy lapsed and the States in Pakistan became independent. Not only have all these States acceded to Pakistan but so far as their defence is concerned, their forces have come under the direct control of the Pakistan Government. You may ask: Should the States have an autocratic or a democratic

form of Government? I wish to make the States as democratic as Pakistan itself, and I am glad the Rulers also agree But, as the States are not used to elections and representative institutions, we should not proceed hastily You know to what a pass our own democracy has come Personally I think that we should try, by the time our own constitution is framed, to level up the administration of our States to that of our Provinces

"During the British rule, India was divided into British India and States' India As we had decided to confine the membership of the All-India Muslim League to Muslims of British India, the Muslim subjects of the States formed the All-India States Muslim League The late Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung and many other States Muslims had suggested the merger of the States' League with the All India Muslim League The circumstances of British India and the States being then different, the Quaid-i-A'zam had advised that the States' Muslims should have a separate organisation of their own but the States have now acceded to Pakistan and, together with our Provinces, constitute Pakistan As there can now be no discrimination between Pakistan and the Pakistan States and the Government of Pakistan is responsible for the defence of the States there is no need for a separate League for the Muslims of these States Now that the Pakistan States' Muslim League has decided to merge with the Pakistan Muslim League, it will be wrong to keep the one separate from the other I welcome the decision of the States' League, and this Council will, I trust so amend Section 65 of its constitution as to include in this Council the representatives of the States' League

"Some people may possibly be of the opinion that the framing of our Constitution is proceeding at a very slow pace I myself feel that the pace is not as fast as it should be This is due, firstly, to the great crisis through which we have passed and, secondly to the passing away of our Quaid-i-A'zam who was even more helpful to us than he had been during our struggle for Pakistan I hope the Constituent Assembly will speed up the work of constitution-making

"Some extremists seem to think that while they themselves are angels our Government servants are villians I wish to make it clear that the successful working of administration in Pakistan owes itself neither to me nor to my Ministers but to the industry and devotion of our Government servants While criticising them we lose sight of the circumstances in which they had to perform their duties Before we left Delhi the Government of Pakistan in view of the shortage of housing accommodation in Karachi, asked its employees to leave their

families in their homes in Delhi or in East Punjab and to bring them later to Karachi These people left their families behind in the hands of God In September 1947 Delhi witnessed the same massacre and pillage which took place in East Punjab We know the state of feeling of those employees, young as well as old, whose parents, wives, children, sisters and brothers were still there Imagine your own perturbation when your child goes astray even for an hour, and then think of these people They did not know whether their near and dear ones were dead or alive, yet it made no difference to their work There are, no doubt, some officers of the Pakistan Government who seem to think that Pakistan was created only for their benefit and advancement Even they are serving Pakistan even though from the selfish motives Foreign representatives told me that it was nothing short of a miracle to run the administration under these conditions I used to tell them that even greater miracles would come to pass in the future.

"Pakistan needs a political organisation which may help the Government The Muslim League could not be as helpful in India as it can be here There was no Muslim League here, but now that it has been reorganised, it is expected to be of great service to the Government

'I most earnestly assure you that I regard my present position as an opportunity, not for gaining personal prestige but, for doing some service to the Nation As soon as I feel that I have lost the confidence of the Nation, I will not go convassing support for the retention of my office I would rather consider that some other sphere has been opened for my services It is the duty of every one of us to preserve Pakistan We live or die with Pakistan *Pakistan Zindabad*"

THE GENERAL BUDGET—GENERAL DISCUSSION

During the discussion on the General Budget, Liaquat Ali Khan, replying to the speeches of the members of the opposition on March 4, 1949 said

"Mr. President, Sir, it is not my intention to take much time of this Honourable House on this occasion. I have no doubt that my Honourable colleague, the Finance Minister, will deal at length with all the points that had been raised during the course of the debate. Sir, the budget has been under fire, as a matter of fact, to put it more

correctly I should have said, under misfire for the last 2 days. So far 23 Honourable Members of this House have expressed their views on the financial proposals of the Pakistan Government

"I should like to compliment the members of the Opposition on the sobriety and the dignity of their criticism as a responsible Opposition I wish I could say the same about the speeches of some of the other Honourable Members of this House When I was listening to the speeches of some of the Honourable Members, I was wondering whether I was sitting in the Parliament of a free and independent country or whether I was still in the old Legislative Assembly of undivided India, where the Government was neither responsive nor responsible It does take time to change habits and mentality But I would appeal to the Honourable Members of this House that they should realise their new responsibility We are not responsible any longer, thank God, to any foreign Government It is your own Government If you do not like this Government, put in another Government, if you do not like this set of people put in another set of people, but for God's sake, when you offer criticism, do talk sense, so that it may be for the benefit of the State and its people

"Mr President, my Honourable friends, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan Mian Iftikhar-ud-din and Shaikh Karamat 'Ali, who is unfortunately not here, made some contribution—it does not matter whether the contribution was of any value or not, but they did make a contribution to the debate When I was listening to these Honourable gentlemen, these three *ex*-Ministers and *ex*-Members of the West Punjab Legislative Assembly, I was not surprised that the people of West Punjab heaved a sigh of relief when section 92-A was introduced in that province My Honourable friends, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan and Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, said that they longed for the day when sons of *chaprasi's* sons will have their turn. Sir, as far as I am concerned I am willing to make room for my Honourable friends today, provided they are able to get confidence, trust and the support of the people of Pakistan Sir, I want to tell the Honourable Members of this House that I do not regard a Minister's office as a job As Honourable Members are aware, there are other jobs in the country which are more paying, as my Honourable friend, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan has himself found out after he gave up the Ministership in West Punjab It is not a job, but it is an opportunity for service We are here—and I am speaking now for all my colleagues—we are here as long as our services are required by the nation. My Honourable friend,

Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, longed for the day when I, as a *chaprasi*, would bring his *dak* to him and to Mr Nur Ahmad Sir, if I can render service to Pakistan as *chaprasi*, I shall be the proudest man in the country. (Hear, hear) To me and to those of us, who have been through this struggle from the very beginning and have not come and joined because the Muslim League had become the winning side, Pakistan is dearer than anything in this world, and, therefore, it does not matter in what capacity I serve Pakistan I will serve Pakistan in any capacity that I am required—the privilege of every true citizen of Pakistan is to serve Pakistan in any capacity irrespective of the fact whether he is in office or not

"Sir, I will not say much about 'the men of crisis' My Honourable friend, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, yesterday said that we were alright for normal times but we were not men of crisis Sir, I think, he has not done justice to truth when he made that remark If by 'men of crisis' he means men who face crisis, then I say that we have faced the greatest crisis in the world that any country had ever faced. We did not run away from our duty We had been all alone with the ship of state when people thought that it was sinking We had made up our mind either to sink or swim with the ship of the State of Pakistan I am glad that through the determination, courage and perseverance of our people we have succeeded in meeting that crisis with which we were faced We are nearer normal times today than we were even three months ago.

"Sir, my Honourable friend, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din, waxed eloquence on nationalisation He is an authority on nationalisation just like the proverbial *Bujhbujhakkar* Now I do not know whether the Honourable Members of the House have heard the famous story of the *Bujhbujhakkar* (*Voices from the Congress Benches* No") I intended to say it in Urdu, but now I will say it in English so that you can understand it also In a little village in the Punjab there used to live a wise man of the village whom they used to call *Bujhbujhakkar* Whenever these poor villagers had any trouble or any difficult problems to solve they used to go to the *Bujhbujhakkar* for advice. It so happened one day that a little boy who was learning to climb a tree got on the top of a tree but he could not come down All these poor villagers gathered round that tree and they did not know how to bring down this boy So, they went to the *Bujhbujhakkar* The *Bujhbujhakkar* came, looked up the top of the tree and he shook his head and said. 'It is, indeed, a difficult problem' So, he asked these villagers to bring a rope When the rope was brought, he asked them to throw it up to the

boy upon the tree They threw one end of the rope to the boy and asked him to catch it and tie it round his waist The poor boy did as he was told Now, the great *Bujhbujhakkar* said 'Come out three or four stout fellows and pull this rope' So the rope was pulled and this poor boy fell down and died They all got round him, this great wise man from a village in the Punjab They said 'Look, what you have done' So, he shook his head again, after offering prayers for the soul of the departed He said 'You know, my dear friends, his time had come, and when death comes nobody can do anything I have pulled out hundreds of people by the same method from the well!' That is the conception of my Honourable friend of the nationalisation In spite of the fact that he said that we were not 'men of crisis', he did pay us a compliment, because truth will be out, no matter what you do He said, why do you not raise 50 crores of rupees? The people have confidence in the Government and they will give you 50 crores of rupees and then you establish industries In one year you can establish 25 industries. You will get 50 lakhs a year on each industry as profit So, on simple calculation you will get 12 1/2 crores every year and in four years you will get back your 50 crores I am sure the hard-headed businessmen of Pakistan are not so soft as the Mian Sahib thinks them to be If there was all that profit, he probably would have been the first one to go in for industry

"After having said that, Sir, there are one or two points that have been raised during the course of the debate, mainly by the Members from East Bengal They have expressed anxiety, a natural anxiety, about the position of defence of East Pakistan I want to tell them that the defence of East Pakistan is not so weak as they think it to be I am afraid I am not in a position to tell them all the details Let me tell you that the problem of the defence of Pakistan is the problem of overall defence of Pakistan Every inch of the territory of Pakistan is equally sacred, whether it is East Bengal, West Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Baluchistan or Sind And, as I have said on other occasions, we as a nation are determined to protect and defend every inch of our territory whatever the cost may be So Sir, I want to assure my Honourable friends that I am not unmindful of the position of East Bengal and, as I said, I regard every inch of East Bengal as sacred as every inch of land in Western Pakistan.

"Another question was raised regarding recruitment to our armed forces from East Bengal I have stated it on other occasions that

my policy is to have in our armed forces adequate number of people from each and every part of Pakistan We have removed the distinction between martial and non-martial races and I can assure my Honourable friends from East Bengal that I am anxious—very anxious —to have people from East Bengal in the armed forces of Pakistan and you may rest assured that I am doing whatever is possible At the same time I would appeal to my friends from East Bengal to put a spirit into the hearts of East Bengal people to come forward and join the armed forces of Pakistan I think during the course of the debate one of the Honourable Members from East Bengal said that they want an army purely of East Bengalis to defend East Bengal, which should be self-contained and self-sufficient in every way Let me tell them that even if it were a practical proposition, I shall never be a party to it, because, I think, it is the duty of every Pakistani, irrespective of the fact whether he belongs to East Bengal or West Pakistan, to defend and take responsibility for the defence of every part of Pakistan And, therefore, I think the Honourable Member who made that remark probably did so without understanding or realising the implications of the adoption of such a policy As far as I am here I shall never adopt that policy and I hope my successors in the future will never adopt a policy of that kind

"Sir, my Honourable friends of the Opposition supported the appeal which was made by my colleague, the Finance Minister, for cultivating and strengthening our relations of friendship with the sister Dominion of India I can tell this House that it has been my earnest endeavour and it has been my greatest effort to have nothing but the friendliest of relations with India and I shall continue and we as Government shall continue to follow that policy but as I have said on other occasions you cannot clap with one hand We want nothing but amity and peace with India because I feel that if we the peoples of these two countries involved ourselves in any struggle, in any conflict, we will destroy each other It would indeed be a sad commentary on the achievement of our freedom by joint efforts Therefore, Mr. President, I can assure every Member of this House that it has been our effort and it shall continue to be our effort to have the friendliest of relations with India. As a matter of fact as has been stated over and over again we are a peaceful nation We are a peace-loving nation We have achieved our freedom, we have achieved Pakistan, not with the object of having any conflicts or of desiring any territory or advantage which is not ours or which does not belong to us. I

believe that Pakistan has a mission in front of it Pakistan has a part to play in the future of this world and that mission is of peace and goodwill for the whole mankind which we have inherited from our Prophet nearly 1,400 years ago. That is the mission which we have of peace and equality of mankind, and I hope Pakistan will always keep that mission in front of it and Pakistan will succeed in showing to this world some light, when there is darkness all round"

AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE CONSTITUTION

Moving the resolution regarding the aims and objects of the constitution of Pakistan in the Constituent Assembly on March 7, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Mr President, Sir, I beg to move the following Objectives Resolution embodying the main principles on which the constitution of Pakistan is to be based

'In the name of Allah, the Benificent, the Merciful

'Whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limit prescribed by Him is a sacred trust,

'This Constituent Assembly representing the people of Pakistan resolves to frame a constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan

'Wherein the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people,

'Wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, as enunciated by Islam, shall be fully observed,

'Wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the *Sunna*,

'Wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities freely to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures,

'Whereby the territories now included in or in accession with

Pakistan and such other territories as may hereafter be included in or accede to Pakistan shall form a Federation wherein the units will be autonomous with such boundaries and limitations on their powers and authority as may be prescribed,

'Wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental rights including equality of status, of opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, and freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association, subject to law and public morality,

'Wherein adequate provision shall be made to safeguard the legitimate interests of minorities and backward and depressed classes,

'Wherein the independence of the judiciary shall be fully secured,

'Wherein the integrity of the territories of the Federation, its independence and all its rights including its sovereign rights on land, sea and air shall be safeguarded,

'So that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their rightful and honoured place amongst the nations of the World and make their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of humanity'

"Sir, I consider this to be a most important occasion in the life of this country, next in importance only to the achievement of independence, because by achieving independence we only won an opportunity of building up a country and its polity in accordance with our ideals I would like to remind the House that the Father of the Nation, Quaid i A'zam, gave expression to his feelings on this matter on many an occasion and his views were endorsed by the nation in unmistakable terms Pakistan was founded because the Muslims of this subcontinent wanted to build up their lives in accordance with the teachings and traditions of Islam, because they wanted to demonstrate to the world that Islam provides a panacea to the many diseases which have crept into the life of humanity today It is universally recognised that the source of these evils is that humanity has not been able to keep pace with its material development, that the Frankenstein monster which human genius has produced in the form of scientific inventions, now threatens to destroy not only the fabric of human society but its material environment as well, the very habitat in which it dwells. It is universally recognised that if man had not chosen to ignore the spiritual values of life and if his faith in God had not been weakened, this scientific development would not have endangered his very existence It is God-consciousness alone which can save humanity, which means that

all power that humanity possesses must be used in accordance with ethical standards which have been laid down by inspired teachers known to us as the great Prophets of different religions We, as Pakistanis, are not ashamed of the fact that we are overwhelmingly Muslims and we believe that it is by adhering to our faith and ideals that we can make a genuine contribution to the welfare of the world Therefore, Sir, you would notice that the Preamble of the Resolution deals with frank and unequivocal recognition of the fact that all authority must be subservient to God It is quite true that this is in direct contradiction to the Machiavellian ideas regarding a polity where spiritual and ethical values should play no part in the governance of the people and, therefore, it is also perhaps a little out of fashion to remind onrselves of the fact that the State should be an instrument of beneficence and not of evil But we, the people of Pakistan, have the courage to believe firmly that all authority should be exercised in accordance with the standards laid down by Islam so that it may not be misused All authority is a sacred trust, entrusted to us by God for the purpose of being exercised in the service of man, so that it does not become an agency for tyranny or selfishness I would, however, point out that this is not a resuscitation of the dead theory of Divine Right of kings or rulers, because, in accordance with the spirit of Islam, the Preamble fully recognises the truth that authority has been delegated to the people and to none else, and that it is for the people to decide who will exercise that authority

"For this reason it has been made clear in the Resolution that the State shall exercise all its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people This is the very essence of democracy, because the people have been recognised as the recipients of all authority and it is in them that the power to wield it has been vested

"Sir, I just now said that the people are the real recipients of power This naturally eliminates any danger of the establishment of a theocracy It is true that in its literal sense, theocracy means the Government of God, in this sense, however, it is patent that the entire universe is a theocracy, for is there any corner in the entire creation where His authority does not exist? But in the technical sense, theocracy has come to mean a Government by ordained priests, who wield authority as being specially appointed by those who claim to derive their rights from their sacerdotal position I cannot over-emphasise the fact that such an idea is absolutely foreign to Islam.

Islam does not recognise either priesthood or any sacerdotal authority, and, therefore, the question of a theocracy simply does not arise in Islam If there are any who still use the word theocracy in the same breath as the polity of Pakistan, they are either labouring under a grave misapprehension, or indulging in mischievous propaganda

"You would notice, Sir, that the Objectives Resolution lays emphasis on the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice, and further defines them by saying that these principles should be observed in the constitution as they have been enunciated by Islam It has been necessary to qualify these terms because they are generally used in a loose sense For instance, the Western Powers and Soviet Russia alike claim that their systems are based upon democracy, and, yet, it is common knowledge that their policies are inherently different It has, therefore, been found necessary to define these terms further in order to give them a well-understood meaning When we use the word democracy in the Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life, it relates to our system of Government and to our society with equal validity, because one of the greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea of the equality of all men Islam recognises no distinctions based upon race, colour or birth Even in the days of its decadence, Islamic society has been remarkably free from the prejudices which vitiated human relations in many other parts of the world Similarly, we have a great record in tolerance, for under no system of Government, even in the Middle Ages, have the minorities received the same consideration and freedom as they did in Muslim countries When Christian dissentients and Muslims were being tortured and driven out of their homes, when they were being hunted as animals and burnt as criminals—even criminals have never been burnt in Islamic society—Islam provided a haven for all who were persecuted and who fled from tyranny It is a well-known fact of history that, when anti-Semitism turned the Jews out of many a European country, it was the Ottoman Empire which gave them shelter. The greatest proof of the tolerance of Muslim people lies in the fact that there is no Muslim country where strong minorities do not exist, and where they have not been able to preserve their religion and culture Most of all, in this sub-continent of India, where the Muslims wielded unlimited authority, the rights of non-Muslims were cherished and protected. I may point out, Sir, that it was under Muslim patronage that many an indigenous language developed in India. My friends from Bengal

would remember that it was under the encouragement of Muslim rulers that the first translations of the Hindus' scriptures were made from Sanskrit into Bengali It is this tolerance which is envisaged by Islam, wherein a minority does not live on sufferance, but is respected and given every opportunity to develop its own thought and culture, so that it may contribute to the greater glory of the entire nation In the matter of social justice as well, Sir, I would point out that Islam has a distinct contribution to make Islam envisages a society in which social justice means neither charity nor regimentation Islamic social justice is based upon fundamental laws and concepts which guarantee to man a life free from want and rich in freedom It is for this reason that the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice have been further defined by giving to them a meaning which, in our view, is deeper and wider than the usual connotation of these words

"The next clause of the Resolution lays down that Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accord with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the *Sunna* It is quite obvious that no non-Muslim should have any objection if the Muslims are enabled to order their lives in accordance with the dictates of their religion You would also notice, Sir, that the State is not to play the part of a neutral observer, wherein the Muslims may be merely free to profess and practise their religion, because such an attitude on the part of the State would be the very negation of the ideals which prompted the demand of Pakistan, and it is these ideals which should be the corner-stone of the State which we want to build The State will create such conditions as are conductive to the building up of a truly Islamic society, which means that the State will have to play a positive part in this effort You would remember, Sir, that the Quaid i Azam and other leaders of the Muslim League always made unequivocal declarations that the Muslim demand for Pakistan was based upon the fact that the Muslims had a way of life and a code of conduct They also reiterated the fact that Islam is not merely a relationship between the individual and his God, which should not, in any way, affect the working of the State. Indeed, Islam lays down specific directions for social behaviour, and seeks to guide society in its attitude towards the problems which confront it from day to day. Islam is not just a matter of private beliefs and conduct It expects its followers to build up a society for the purpose of good life—as the Greeks would have called it, with this

difference, that Islamic 'good life' is essentially based upon spiritual values. For the purpose of emphasising these values and to give them validity, it will be necessary for the State to direct and guide the activities of the Muslims in such a manner as to bring about a new social order based upon the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice These I mention merely by way of illustration, because they do not exhaust the teachings of Islam as embodied in the Quran and the *Sunna* There can be no Muslim who does not believe that the word of God and the life of the Prophet are the basic sources of his inspiration In these, there is no difference of opinion amongst the Muslims and there is no sect in Islam which does not believe in their validity Therefore, there should be no misconception in the mind of any sect which may be in a minority in Pakistan about the intentions of the State The State will seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions, but this does not mean that it would curb the freedom of any section of the Muslims in the matter of their beliefs No sect, whether the majority or a minority, will be permitted to dictate to the others and, in their own internal matters and sectional beliefs, all sects shall be given the fullest possible latitude and freedom Actually we hope that the various sects will act in accordance with the desire of the Prophet who said that the differences of opinion amongst his followers are a blessing It is for us to make our differences a source of strength to Islam and Pakistan, not to exploit them for narrow interests which will weaken both Pakistan and Islam. Differences of opinion very often lead to cogent thinking and progress, but this happens only when they are not permitted to obscure our vision of the real goal which is the service of Islam and the furtherance of its objects It is, therefore, clear that this clause seeks to give the Muslims the opportunity that they have been seeking throughout these long decades of decadence and subjection, of finding freedom to set up a polity, which may prove to be a laboratory for the purpose of demonstrating to the world that Islam is not only a progressive force in the world, but it also provides remedies for many of the ills from which humanity has been suffering

"In our desire to build up an Islamic society we have not ignored the rights of the non-Muslims Indeed, it would have been un-Islamic to do so, and we would have been guilty of transgressing the dictates of our religion if we had tried to impinge upon the freedom of the minorities. In no way will they be hindered from professing or protecting their religion or developing their cultures The history of the

development of Islamic culture itself shows that cultures of the minorities, who lived under the protection of Muslim States and Empires, contributed to the richness of the heritage which the Muslims built up for themselves I assure the minorities that we are fully conscious of the fact that if the minorities are able to make a contribution to the sum total of human knowledge and thought, it will redound to the credit of Pakistan and will enrich the life of the nation Therefore, the minorities may look forward, not only to a period of the fullest freedom, but also to an understanding and appreciation on the part of the majority which has always been such a marked characteristic of Muslims throughout history

"Sir, the Resolution envisages a federal form of Government because such is the dictate of geography It would be idle to think of a unitary form of Government when the two parts of our country are separated by more than a thousand miles I, however, hope that the Constituent Assembly will make every effort to integrate the units closer and forge such ties as would make us a well-integrated nation I have always advocated the suppression of provincial feelings, but I want to make it clear that I am not an advocate of dull uniformity. I believe that all the areas and units, which form Pakistan, should contribute to the richness of our national life. I do, however, want to make it clear that nothing should be permitted which, in any sense tends to weaken national unity, and provision should be made for bringing about a closer relationship amongst the various sections of our population than exists today For this purpose the Constituent Assembly will have to think anew as to what will be the best method for the distribution of subjects between the Centre and the units, and how the units should be defined in our new set-up.

"Mr President, it has become fashionable to guarantee certain fundamental rights, but I assure you that it is not our intention to give these rights with one hand and take them away with the other. I have said enough to show that we want to build up a truly liberal Government where the greatest amount of freedom will be given to all its members. Everyone will be equal before the law, but this does not mean that his personal law will not be protected We believe in the equality of status and justice It is our firm belief and we have said this from many a platform that Pakistan does not stand for vested interests or the wealthy classes It is our intention to build up an economy on the basic principles of Islam which seeks a better distribution of wealth and the removal of want Poverty and the backwardness—all that stands in the way of the achievement of

his fullest stature by man—must be eradicated from Pakistan At present our masses are poor and illiterate We must raise their standards of life, and free them from the shackles of poverty and ignorance So far as political rights are concerned, every one will have a voice in the determination of the policy pursued by the Government and in electing those who will run the State, so that they may do so in the interests of the people. We believe that no shackles can be put on thought and, therefore, we do not intend to hinder any person from the expression of his views Nor do we intend to deprive anyone of his right of forming associations for all lawful and moral purposes In short, we want to base our polity upon freedom, progress and social justice We want to do away with social distinctions, but we want to achieve this without causing suffering or putting fetters upon the human mind and lawful inclinations

"Sir, there are a large number of interests for which the minorities legitimately desire protection This protection the Resolution seeks to provide The backward and depressed classes are our special charge We are fully conscious of the fact that they do not find themselves in their present plight for any fault of their own It is also true that we are not responsible by any means for their present position But now that they are our citizens, it will be our special effort to bring them up to the level of other citizens, so that they may bear the responsibilities imposed by their being citizens of a free and progressive State, and share them with others who have been more fortunate than themselves We know that so long as any sections amongst our people are backward, they will be a drag upon society and, therefore, for the purpose of building up our State we must necessarily look to the interests of these sections

"Mr President, in the end we firmly believe that by laying the foundations of our constitution on the principles enunciated in this Resolution, we shall be able to put Pakistan on the path of progress, and the day is not far distant when Pakistan will become a country of which its citizens, without distinction of class or creed, will be proud. I am confident that our people have great potentialities Through their unparalleled sacrifices and commendable sense of discipline, displayed at the time of a grave disaster and crisis, they have earned the admiration of the world Such a people, I am sure, not only deserves to live, but is destined to make a contribution to the welfare and progress of humanity It is essential that it should keep alive its spirit of sacrifice, and its adherence to its noble ideals,

and Destiny itself will lead it to its place of glory in the affairs of the world, and make it immortal in the annals of humanity Sir, this people has traditions of great achievement to its credit, its history is replete with deeds of glory, in every sphere of life it has contributed its full measure of achievement, its heroism adorns the pages of military chronicles, its administrators created traditions which have withstood the ravages of time, in creative art, its poetry, architecture and sense of beauty have won their tribute of appreciation, in the matter of spiritual greatness it has few parallels It is this people which is again on the march, and, given the necessary opportunities, it will surpass its previous record of glorious achievement This Objectives Resolution is the first step in the direction of the creation of an environment which will again awaken the spirit of the nation We, whom Destiny has chosen to play a part, howsoever humble and insignificant, in this great drama of national resurrection, are overwhelmed with the magnitude of the opportunities which are before us Let us use these opportunities with wisdom and foresight, and I have not the least doubt that these humble efforts will bear fruit far in excess of our widest expectations, through the help of Providence which has brought Pakistan into existence. It is not every day that great nations come into their own, it is not every day that peoples stand on the threshold of renaissance, it is not every day that Destiny beckons the down-trodden and the subjugated to rise and greet the dawn of a great future. It is the narrow streak of light heralding the brilliance of the full day, that we salute in the form of this Resolution"

Replying to the demand of some members for circulating the Resolution, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Sir, I am afraid there is a lot of contradiction in the arguments that have been advanced by the Honourable Members who have moved the motion for circulation of this Resolution One of the chief arguments that has been advanced is that the House is very thin as most of the Members have left and are not here and that they have not had enough time As far as the Members of my Honourable friend's party are concerned every single one of them is present in the House except one who unfortunately is not well but is present in Karachi So far as absence of Members is concerned I do not think that this is really a very valid ground"

Mr. Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya "There is no party of mine I will deal with every one"

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "When I said 'party', I meant the non-Muslim Members of the House, because after all if anything can be said about this Resolution, if any objection can be raised, it can only be from the non-Muslim Members of this House, and as I said just now, every one of them is present here. Even on the confession of my Honourable friend they have had this Resolution for six days. I do not think that my Honourable friends are so dull that they could not possibly know as to what it meant. If my Honourable friends would like to study it—because it is possible that they may like to consider this Resolution in the light of the speech that I have made in moving it because that explains, in greater detail, the purpose of this Resolution I am quite willing that without any further discussion of this Resolution today, we should adjourn till tomorrow evening so that my Honourable friends may be able to consider it in the light of my observations which I have made this afternoon

"With regard to other Members of this House, I mean Muslim Members, I think there are more present today than what there have been no previous occasions

"Sir, my Honourable friend said that there was no need for this Objectives Resolution I am afraid I do no agree with him I think it is absolutely necessary that before this House starts framing the future constitution of Pakistan, the Members should have some idea as to what sort of constitution and what type of constitution they want to frame Therefore, I think it is absolutely necessary that there should be an Objectives Resolution which this House should approve of, before we actually start framing the constitution Now, Sir, my Honourable friend said that he was very upset about the Premier of his province not being present here All I can say is that the Premier of his province knew before he left Karachi that this Resolution was coming up today, and if the Premier of his province had any objection against this Resolution, I am sure, he would have been present in the House today and if he is not present here, I am afraid, we cannot help The Members had sufficient time to be present here today.

"Then, my Honourable friend said that we are at the fag-end of the budget session. It is not the fag-end, it is the beginning of the budget session in the sense that the budget was presented on the 28th February and we have come to discussion on cut motions but

there is still one day more for discussion At least this is my experience of parliamentary life that the most important matter in the budget session is the Finance Bill because it is a Bill which imposes a burden on the people of the country and it is the duty of every representative of the people to be present in the House when fresh taxation is being levied and when more burden is being put on them. The Finance Bill is still to be considered If those Honourable Members, who do not choose to be present even on such an occasion, I am afraid, it is not our fault and, I do not know, it may not be their fault either They may have something more important to do than looking after the interests of the people Anyhow that is quite different I am afraid I cannot accept this motion that has been moved, but I am quite willing to accommodate my Honourable friends to the extent that I would request you, Sir, that further discussion of this Resolution be postponed till tomorrow afternoon, so that they may have time to examine this Resolution in the light of the observations that I have made this evening while moving this resolution "

The Objectives Resolution was reconsidered in the Legislative Assembly on March 12, 1949 Replying to the speeches of the members of the Congress Party and others, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"I have listened to the speech of my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Congress Party, with great care I assure him that whatever I say will be with full sense of responsibility and in all sincerity

"I do not propose, Sir, to take the time of the House by traversing the same ground which has been covered by so many speakers before me There were certain amendments that were moved by the members on the other side to this Resolution which has been under discussion and some of my colleagues on this side, I thought, had succeeded in removing all the doubts that were raised in the form of those amendments But Mr President, you cannot convince a man who refuses to be convinced and, therefore, Sir, I would not waste the time of this House in trying to explain once again the implications of this Resolution and the futility of the amendments which have been proposed from the other side

"Sir, my Honourable friend, the Leader of the Congress Party, had a visit from some *Ulema* He did not tell us whether it was that they

had come in search of knowledge to him or whether he had gone in search of knowledge to them But I presume that this visit was paid by certain *'Ulema* according to him from Lahore on their own initiative and they left certain literature with him, which seems to have upset my Honourable friend, who is very seldom upset I can quite understand why this visit and why this handing over of this literature was done There are some people here who are out to disrupt and destroy Pakistan and these so-called *'Ulema* who have come to you, they have come with that particular mission of creating doubts in your mind regarding the *bona fides* of the Mussalmans of Pakistan Do not for God's sake lend your ear to such mischievous propaganda I want to say and give a warning to this element which is out to disrupt Pakistan that we shall not brook it any longer They have misrepresented the whole ideology of Islam to you They are in fact enemies of Islam while posing as friends and supporters of Islam

"Sir, my Honourable friend said that according to these people, the Muslims will not offer their Jum'a Prayers if there was a non-Muslim as the head of the State Well, Sir, till yesterday--when I ay yesterday I am only talking figuratively—we had non-Muslim rulers here. Were not the Muslims offering prayers ? Were they not offering Jum'a Prayers ? Can you say they have never offered Jum'a Prayers in this country ? How can, then, anybody come to you and how easily you get taken in by a statement of this kind ?"

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya "They did not tell me I mentioned Dudu Mea's party whose grandson is Pir Badsha Mea "

The Honourable Mr Liaquat Ali Khan "Supposing there are some maniacs in this country or amongst the Mussalmans, are you going to be guided by what they say or are you going to be guided by what a vast majority of Mussalmans believe in ? If my friend wants that we should succeed in persuading every Mussalman in Pakistan to think in the same way on every matter Well that is a task which is not possible for any organisation or leader or any people to do

"Sir, my Honourable friend said that you have talked of equality and again he has been misled by these so-called *'Ulema* because according to these people there can be no equality I am really surprised that a man of his ripe experience should really be taken in so easily and should put all his belief in what these two people have told him and not believe in what we and men like Maulana Shabbir Ahmad 'Usmani have been telling him about Islam Sir, as I said when you have made up your mind it is very difficult to try and

convince you

"Sir, my friend said that these people told him that in an Islamic State—that means a State which is established in accordance with this Resolution—no non-Muslim can be the head of the administration. This is absolutely wrong A non-Muslim can be the head of the administration under a constitutional government with limited authority that is given under the constitution to a person or an institution in that particular State So here again these people have indeed misled him

"Sir my Honourable friends last peroration I very much regret But for the fact that I have great regard for him and a belief that whatever he says is out of sincerity I would have said it was a most mischievous statement to have been made by any responsible citizen of Pakistan He had interpreted the Resolution in a most undesirable manner He has by his remarks told the non-Muslims here that if this Resolution is passed there is no place for them in Pakistan. This, Sir, as I said is not the type of statement that one would expect from the Honourable friend The greatest guarantee that the non-Muslims can have, they will get only through this Resolution and through no other manner and therefore I would request him not to be misled by interested persons and do not think for a moment that this Resolution is really intended, or will really result, in driving out the non-Muslims from Pakistan or reducing them to the position of—as he described—hewers of wood and drawers of water. In real Islamic society let me tell you, Mr. President, there are no classes of hewers of wood and drawers of water The humblest can rise to the highest position Of course, I can quite understand his believing it because my friend has been brought up in a society where there are condemned people who are born as hewers of wood and drawers of water and remain as such But let me tell him that there is no such thing in Islamic society or in Islam When we say social justice we mean social justice And when we say democracy—as a matter of fact he propounded some other theory that he had learned from the so called *'Ulema* that there is no such thing as democracy in Islam—we mean democracy in the real sense and nothing else. I think, Sir, even the bitterest opponents of Islam have never made such an astounding statement As a matter of fact it has been recognised by non-Muslims throughout the world that Islam is the only society where there is real democracy

"Sir there was another astounding statement that he made and for this statement he did not get his inspiration from the *'Ulema* from

Lahore, but I do not know from where he got it. He said, 'Your Resolution is a mis-statement of facts, because you say here that this Constituent Assembly does not represent the people of Pakistan'. Then, Sir, whom does this Constituent Assembly represent? If it does not represent the people of Pakistan, then why are my friends wasting their time here and sitting in this Constituent Assembly? Then what are we talking about? Either this Constituent Assembly represents the people of Pakistan or it does not? If it does not represent the people of Pakistan, then this Constituent Assembly has no right to frame any constitution for the people of Pakistan. Is that what he expects me to accept? Sir, I do not know why he made that statement because he did not tell us what were his reasons for making such a statement "

Mr Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya · "I gave them."

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan ' "He said, he gave those reasons. They may be in his mind but they were never uttered

"Sir, my Honourable friend said that Muslim League has fulfilled its mission because it has achieved Pakistan I submit, Mr President, that the Muslim League has only fulfilled half of its mission The other half of its mission is to convert Pakistan into a laboratory where we could experiment upon the principles of Islam to enable us to make a contribution to the peace and progress of mankind Therefore he is not right when he says that the Muslim League has completed its mission.

"Sir, my Honourable friend said. 'Are the Pakistani nationals only Hindus or Muslims? I say we are both There are Hindus and Muslims in Pakistan and everyone of us is a national of Pakistan. I do not see any contradiction in this statement. You can be a national of a State, with equal rights, equal privileges and equal responsibilities and yet remain Muslims and Hindus. I really do not see, Mr. President, what is the difficulty about that My Honourable friend said that when he went to England and Europe last year, they would not believe that there was any non-Muslim in Pakistan and they all took him to be a Muslim It is not the fault of Pakistan. Mr. President, it is the fault of the Honourable Member's erstwhile friends and co-workers! The propaganda regard to this very particular matter is responsible for this misunderstanding, not that the Muslims have ever said that there are no non-Muslims in Pakistan. As a matter of fact, let me tell you, Mr. President, what we have provided here for minorities. I only wish that the sister Dominion

of India had provided similar concessions and similar safeguards for the minorities in India Here, we are guaranteeing you your religious freedom, advancement of your culture, sanctity of your personal laws and equal opportunities, equality in the eye of law What have they done on the other side ? No question of culture As a matter of fact, the personal law of Muslims is not to be recognised in India. That is the position Does my friend really want me to create a state in Pakistan like what his erstwhile friends are doing in India ? Does he really want me to create a state like that ? I shall not, Mr President. I want a State where every community will be free to live its own life and not be forced to act as the majority wants it to act

"Sir, my honourable friend said towards the end of this speech which I call—I think he will pardon me, I am not used to using strong language, but I think on this occasion I must say—a mischievous portion of his speech He said that in Bengal it is communal rule The position of non-Muslims is pitiable Who is responsible for this communal rule, may I ask him ? Did we turn out the non-Muslim officers from our administration ? Was it not due to the fact that it was a part of the plan to destroy Pakistan administratively and all the non-Muslims were made to opt for India and not serve Pakistan ? Is it my fault today if there are no non-Muslims in the administration of Pakistan ? My friend knows what was the position in Bengal and, therefore, I think that it was not really right for him to have made this grievance against the Pakistan Government or the Muslims of Pakistan. I hope, in due course of time, there will be non-Muslims in the services of Pakistan, because we are leaving the doors open for everyone, Muslim or non-Muslim, to enter Pakistan services

"Mr President, my friend said that he was going to oppose this Resolution After listening to his speech it is clear that he had made up his mind from the very beginning to oppose this Resolution, not because he has reason on his side, but because he has suspicion in his heart Now it is up to us to try by our action and to show by framing our constitution in such a way that whatever suspicions, whatever misgivings he has got they may be removed

"Sir, my Honourable friend, Mr B C Mandarl, told me that the posterity will curse me for bringing forward this Resolution Let me tell my friend, if we succeed in building Pakistan on the basis of this Resolution we shall be able to create conditions that the posterity instead of cursing me, will bless me But I assure you, as the world is

moving today, there will be no posterity to curse or bless Mr President, the fundamental difference in our outlook and the outlook of other countries and those who are opposing us is that We feel that what the world today needs is not pure and simple materialism but what the world needs is spiritual and moral values In all these so-called advanced countries, all human intelligence, all human knowledge, is being used today for the purpose of destroying humanity My Honourable friends know it very well All these big nations, what are they doing today? They are inventing and making weapons mightier and mightier, weapons of greater and greater destruction We feel that we will not be making any contribution towards the peace and security of the world if we just framed our constitution on the basis of the other constitutions of the world Your constitution will either be of one type or the other type You will either help this combination of nations to destroy each other and thereby destroying the whole humanity What we are trying to do and what we believe in is that we must at least try and see if we cannot put something before the world which might mean its salvation I know—it is a very big ambition—that it is what some people might think and say 'Well, you are too presumptuous' But at the same time, Mr President, Pakistan is a very big nation also and, therefore, a big nation must have big ambitions and I feel that if we honestly and sincerely work for the advancement and building up of Pakistan in accordance with the principles of this Resolution, I think we will succeed Sir, in the words of that great poet

> 'It is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all'

I would say:

> It is better to have tried and failed than never to have tried at all

"Sir, I would just once again tell my friends on the other side that whether you believe us or whether you do not believe us, whether you desire it or whether you do not desire it, as long as you are citizens of Pakistan, we are determined to do the right thing for you for the simple reason that our religion tells us to do so, for the simple reason that we are trying to build up this State on morality and on higher values of life than what materialism can provide. Sir, as I stated in the beginning, I will not waste the time of the House by going through the same arguments with regard to these amendments. I know and, let me tell my friend, the Leader of the Congress Party, fully appreciate his feelings. I know how he feels. But at the same time I would appeal to him to trust us, give us a chance to show that what we are

preaching, we are determined to practise Mr President, Pakistan is a great country It is one of the wealthiest countries—I know some of my friends may be thinking why I am saying that—because the greatest wealth of a country is its people and we have a wonderful people, we have a wonderful nation Given an opportunity, given proper environments, I have not the least doubt in my mind that a day will come when people will be grateful, humanity will be grateful, to you and us for producing something which will bring peace and prosperity to mankind and which will save it from self-destruction." (Loud and prolonged cheers)

REFORMS IN BAHAWALPUR STATE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing civil officers of the Bahawalpur State on March 24, 1949 on the usefulness of the introduction of reforms in the government of Bahawalpur State, said.

"Your mission and aim in lives should be to serve the people honestly and diligently The old notion that Government servants are responsible to none has become obsolete. In the changed times, the Government servants mean servants of the people and nothing else The Government servants, whether he is the Prime Minister of Pakistan or a petty official in any Government department, can no more rule over the people . . .

"You decided to associate the people of the State with the administration of the Government The success of this experiment (responsible and Parliamentary Government) will entirely depend on the manner in which the civil servants of the State perform their duties The civil servant has no politics of his own except to serve the people honestly and diligently. But doing so you will be doing great service to your Ruler because the strength of the Ruler like that of any other depends upon the prosperity and happiness of the people . .

"The Objectives Resolution passed by the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has paved the way for the framing of the Pakistan Constitution on these principles But mere framing of Acts would not create Pakistan as an ideal State based on Islamic principles. The most essential thing is that the Muslims should mould their lives as enjoined upon them by Islam This can only be possible

if Pakistan is created as a State which would be symbolic of the message of peace and goodwill which the Founder of Islam (may peace be upon him) brought to the world 14,00 years ago . . . .

"As long as 8 crores of Muslims of Pakistan do not knit their identity as citizens of one State, progress will be considerably impeded Pakistan was created for improving the lot of the common man and unless each one of us stands steadfastly to his duties. however low or high he might be, and unless we do not work for the common purpose of building Pakistan stronger and stronger, this ideal would be lost . . . .

"Mere criticism without giving the reforms a trial is futile. If the public of Bahawalpur can choose 25 honest, hard-working and selfless people in the coming elections, the Bahawalpur State would be the most fortunate part of Pakistan. The Ruler of Bahawalpur is very keen to introduce reforms culminating in the establishment of a responsible Government as in any other province of Pakistan.

"One thing which the Ruler of Bahawalpur has announced, has surpassed even the existing election system prevailing both in India and Pakistan, is that of adult franchise. With these facilities available to the public, it would not be possible for them to say that because franchise was restricted, therefore only a certain group could compete in the election."

STATEMENT ON THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a statement issued from Karachi, on April 28, 1949, expressed his views on the changed relationship of India with the Commonwealth of Nations, caused by India declaring herself a Republic He said

"The basic conception underlying the whole idea of the Commonwealth of Nations is that it is an association of free, equal and independent nations This association is both elastic and dynamic In 1926 an attempt was made to put up on paper the outstanding characteristics of this association and some of them were subsequently translated into statutory form in the shape of the Statute of West Minster in 1931 Common allegiance to the Crown had hitherto been understood and accepted as the principal link binding the member nations of the Commonwealth together.

"The decision of the people of India to adopt a constitution which would convert India into a Republic presented all the nations of the Commonwealth with a fresh problem The meeting of the Prime Ministers of the Commonwealth which has just concluded its deliberations was called together to consider and explore methods of resolving this problem, which, stated in its bare form, amounted to this Could a member nation of the Commonwealth continue its full membership after it had decided to become a Republic and renounce its allegiance to the King and, if so, under what conditions? This problem has been carefully and anxiously considered by the representatives of the various nations of the Commonwealth and the conclusion reached by them has been announced in the shape of a formal declaration

'India's unqualified affirmation of her desire to continue as a full member of the Commonwealth and her willingness to accept the King as the symbol of the association of the free nations of the Commonwealth has enabled the other members of the Commonwealth to accept the continuation of India as a full member of the Commonwealth One obvious change that has occurred and has been recognised and given effect to is, that allegiance to the King no longer constitutes the essential requirement of membership of the Commonwealth On the coming into force of India's new constitution, India will become a Republic and the King will cease to be the King of India

"On the other hand, India has declared its acceptance of the King as head of the Commonwealth and the symbol of the free association of the nations of the Commonwealth The new position that the King will henceforth occupy in this relationship is a purely symbolic one and does not confer or imply any new function or authority upon the Crown or the King The freedom of association and the equality of status between the various members of the Commonwealth continues as the basis of Commonwealth membership

'The declaration that has been agreed upon between the different members of the Commonwealth as embodying their conclusion with regard to the problem that they had met to consider does not, by itself, affect the relationship between each member of the Commonwealth, other than India, and the Crown, for it is India alone that has, at this stage, intimated its intention to alter that relationship The very doctrine of the equality of the members of the Commonwealth however, predicts that if any member of the Commonwealth chooses henceforth to frame a constitution for itself which

involves an alteration of its relationship with the Crown, of a character similar to that which India has chosen to make and decide, nevertheless to continue its full membership of the Commonwealth on the same terms as have been accepted on behalf of India, it would be open to it to do so

"This is a remarkable development in the Commonwealth conception and constitutes an important landmark in the process of its developments. It also emphasises both aspects of its elastic and dynamic character The members of the Commonwealth are pledged to free co-operation in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress and we feel sure that if the Commonwealth remain true to its ideas it will prove too potent and effective instrument for the attainment of these ends

"Pakistan's position in the Commonwealth remains unaffected as a result of the deliberations of the meeting of the Prime Ministers It continues to retain full freedom with regard to the shape of its constitution, which is in the process of being framed, and with regard to whether it shall freely choose to continue its membership of the Commonwealth on the existing basis or shall, if it so decides, go out of the Commonwealth altogether"

STATEMENT IN LONDON

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing a Press Conference in London on April 29, 1949, said

"Pakistan is not a nation of people made of clay and mud These 80 million people are made of flesh and bone and they have a very strong blood in their veins I have been worried to find in Britain a tendency to take Pakistan for granted It will be a great mistake for Britain or any other member of the Commonwealth to go on doing so Pakistan is willing and ready to make a contribution towards the ideals of the Commonwealth, but not as a camp-follower I believe in the Commonwealth and so long as we are true to its ideals, we shall be able to play an effective and useful part in world affairs . . .

"There has been an improvement in Pakistan's relations with India. Since the cease-fire in Kashmir there is no more tension. But it would be hypocrisy to say that the relations will really be

friendly so long as the Kashmir question is not settled satisfactorily. I hope we shall be able to settle all the problems between Pakistan and India, and that relations will be improved more and more in the future."

Asked, if the "White Australia" policy was an obstacle to the relations between Pakistan and Australia, Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied "I dislike any racial discrimination I am only hoping that all the countries of the world will recognise this fact that there are no whites, no browns and no blacks, but that we are all human beings created by one God and are equal in every respect "

In reply to another question, he said "Communism is only a name in Pakistan Pakistan's geographical position is such, however, that whenever any action was taken against Communists in neighbouring countries, they just walked quietly into Eastern Pakistan I believe that a Muslim country is not a fertile ground for Communism, provided the country concerned carried out a programme of social justice There must be a spiritual ground of the policy of the State I do not think we have a problem in Communism Pakistan can hope to be free from all such influences in the future "

Liaquat 'Ali accused Afghanistan of carrying on a "very vicious and false' propaganda campaign against Pakistan to create resentment among the Pathan tribesmen on Pakistan side of the boundary between the two countries but that propaganda had no effect and they remained completely loyal to Pakistan

He added "Pakistan will never agree to any method of settling the Kashmir question which will not give the Kashmir people an opportunity of deciding their own future Pakistan has very close relationship with all other Muslim countries but there are no secret agreements between them "

RELATIONS WITH THE COMMONWEALTH

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing a large gathering of Pakistani nationals in the United Kingdom at a reception given at the London Islamic Cultural Centre, on May 4, 1949, said

"The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, which is now drafting Pakistan's new constitution has the right to decide whether Pakistan

will remain in the Commonwealth on the present basis, or whether it will remain in the Commonwealth as a Republic, as India has decided to do, or whether it will leave the Commonwealth altogether. I was asked what my personal opinion was and I answered my personal opinion will be the same as that of my Constituent Assembly.

"To my mind the one main purpose of the Commonwealth is to enable its member States to discuss their problems like brothers Its purpose is not that one of the States should exploit another or that the Commonwealth should exploit weaker peoples Its purpose, I believe, is that we should all help each other in our difficulties and helping ourselves in the progress, prosperity and the peace of the world The question is not whether we have a common head in the Commonwealth but the real question is whether the member States of the Commonwealth will work together for each other

"We, Pakistanis, are in the Commonwealth because we want to help other members of the Commonwealth and because we believe that through this not only will we be helping in maintaining peace in the Commonwealth and furthering its progress but that we would in effect also be contributing towards the progress and prosperity of the world as a whole .

"Pakistan will not be a capitalistic State Equally, it will not be a Communist State It will be based on the principles of Islamic social justice, which respect private enterprise private rights and personal freedom but does not permit capitalist exploitation ...

'Of the 7 million refugees who had crossed the border into Pakistan following the partition of the Indian subcontinent into the Dominions of India and Pakistan on August 15, 1947 not one is today in a refugee camp in Pakistan "

He claimed that though Pakistan was only 19 months old "it is financially and economically as much a sound proposition as India and its neighbouring countries." He added that while there was inflation in India, there was none in Pakistan and that there was no evidence of a rise in the prices of essential commodities or a rise in the cost of living in Pakistan

"Pakistan wishes that the Muslims of Kashmir should have the right freely to determine their future in a free and impartial plebiscite Pakistan will never agree to the State's future being decided by any other means It certainly will not allow a forcible annexation of the State ... We hope that the United Nations' Commission for India and Pakistan which will shortly conduct the plebiscite will fulfill its mission successfully " He disclosed that there

were now about 5,00,000 Muslim refugees from Kashmir State in Pakistan He stated that no country in the world had to face so much difficulty at its birth as did Pakistan "Literally we had to pass through the fire of hell Within a few days of Pakistan being created, one million Muslims lost their lives in the communal troubles that followed and about 7 million Muslim refugees came into Pakistan within six months of its establishment from across the border. We were unprepared to stand this strain Even our friends said that Pakistan would not survive the refugee problem I never had any doubt in my mind about Pakistan having come to stay I did not doubt for a moment because I knew and believed in the qualities that go forth to make the Pakistani people

"It is not my Government that solved the refugee problem. It is not my Government that has made Pakistan economically and financially very stable, but it is the people of Pakistan Pakistan will be a great nation because its eighty million people have passed through hell-fire and have showed qualities of brotherhood, patience, endurance, courage and unity of which there is no paralled in history "

He further stated that some of the Dominion Prime Ministers had told him at the Conference that their experts and advisers had told them when Pakistan came into being that it was not a financially and economically feasible proposition They said that their advisers had said that Pakistan would not last for more than six months When the Communal trouble started, they said that their advisers had told them categorically that Pakistan would not be able to overcome the problems that it was facing "The Dominion Prime Ministers asked how and what were the reasons for Pakistan having not only survived but becoming a strong and powerful nation I told them that answer was to be found in the unity and determination of its robust and martial people

He declared that when the first Governor-General, Quaid-i-'Azam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, died the world doubted again whether Pakistan would survive "but none of the Pakistani critics realised that the people with whose help Mr Jinnah realised his dream were determined to consolidate Pakistan and be true to the ideals of their great leader. They did not realise that there was, and is, unity and brotherhood amongst the people of Pakistan

"Seven months have passed since the death of Quaid-i-'Azam, Pakistan is being true to his ideals and is growing from strength to strength "

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BROADCAST FROM CAIRO

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a broadcast to the people of Egypt from Cairo Radio Station on May 11, 1949, said

"I have no doubt in my mind that we shall succeed in creating a society which does not suffer from internal stresses and strains In the words of our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam, the people of Pakistan are determined to forge ahead with unity, faith and discipline

"The world is passing through critical times and it is necessary that all of us realise this So far as it lies with the people of Pakistan, they are determined to work for peace in the world and prosperity of all nations of the globe . .

"We do not believe in any *isms* but are determined to proceed in a practical way to provide food, clothing, shelter, education and medical relief for every Pakistani

"I do not feel a stranger in Egypt I feel completely at home because I am among my brother Muslims."

After referring to the progress made by Pakistan in the resettlement of seven million refugees, and in trade and commerce, he said "All this has been achieved by the tremendous sacrifices which the people of Pakistan have made and the unity of purpose and action which has inspired them

"The people of Pakistan have now taken up the formidable problem of creating a society based on the Islamic principles of social justice, equality and brotherhood of man Some people think that it is an impossible task They say, you cannot have a really progressive State based on Islamic principles These people fail completely to understand the basic principles of Islam and the real spirit behind it which at one time made it sweep the whole world

"Human beings are constantly reminded by events that they do not live by bread alone The people of Pakistan are confident that they would be able to set up a living example of a society which balanced material progress with spiritual advancement before the world in a comparatively short period of time

"I wish the people of Egypt an era of progress, prosperity and happiness and I am also looking forward to my visits to Baghdad and Teheran I shall be happy to meet people and statesmen in these countries and to strengthen the existing close ties between Pakistan and Middle East countries"

PAKISTAN AND THE MUSLIM COUNTRIES

Liaquat 'Ali Khan returned to Karachi on May 18, 1949 after attending Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference in London and touring the Muslim countries on his way back. Addressing a Press Conference, he said

"Muslim countries are looking up to Pakistan for playing its destined role in the service of Islam and humanity There is a tremendous feeling of goodwill and brotherliness among the Muslim countries for Pakistan

"This is not the time to say anything in detail I am very nappy to be back home I had a most interesting and happy tour of the Muslim countries where I was received as if I was one of them and I myself did not feel that I was in a strange country

"The great progress that Pakistan has made during the past 18 months and the way in which it has surmounted the tremendous difficulties and problems with which it was faced has astounded the world I have been told by more than one great statesmen of the countries that I have visited that it is nothing short of a miracle

"We have no doubt achieved much but we have to go a long way still if we want to be a great and progressive State which was the cherished wish of our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam I ask my people to always remember the words of the Quaid-i-A'zam 'Unity, faith and discipline' Those are what have given us Pakistan and if we continue to follow this advice we shall achieve all that we desire

"I have been asked by the leaders of these countries to give the people of Pakistan brotherly greetings and all the good wishes on their behalf I am glad to do so now and know that similar sentiments for the Muslim countries exist in the heart of every Pakistani"

STATEMENT ON THE WEST PUNJAB MUSLIM LEAGUE WORKING COMMITTEE'S RESOLUTION

Liaquat Ali Khan, in a statement on May 24, 1949, expressed his *regret at the resolution* passed by the *Working Committee* of the West Punjab Muslim League in its meeting of May 23 demanding the recall of the Governor (Sir Francis Mudie) of the West Punjab He said

"The proper thing for the Working Committee to do would have been to approach the Central Government and place before it any complaints that it might have had against the Provincial administration.

"Shorn of all verbiage, the complaint of the Working Committee seems to be that the Governor of West Punjab has not sought the co-operation and assistance of the Muslim League organisation in his difficult task of administering the Province.

"I am afraid there is no substance in this complaint because the allegations are not based on facts. When I was in Lahore during January last and it was decided to suspend the constitution and to enforce Section 92-A, the veiws of all the sections of the public of the West Punjab were taken into consideration.

"During the time of the last Ministry, the administration of the Province was on the verge of a breakdown. It had become almost paralysed and it was feared that if things were allowed to continue any longer a catastrophe might take place which might not only damage the Province irretrievably but might have disastrous consequences for the whole of Pakistan.

"I should in all fairness say here that the Governor of the West Punjab himself did not at all cherish the idea of administering the Province under Section 92-A. It was the insistent demand by the public for the suspension of the constitution which finally led to the enforcement of Section 92-A by the Governor-General

"Amongst others who met me in Lahore was the then President of the West Punjab Muslim League, Mian Mumtaz Daultana who was definitely of the view that the only solution of the ills of the Province was the suspension of the constitution and enforcement of Section 95-A.

"I cannot do better than quote a passage from the letter of Mian Mumtaz Daultana dated January 23 which he had sent me at Lahore. One of the paragraphs of the letter runs as follows

'I have already given you my honest views, which, I think, correctly represent the feelings of all educated people in the Province but which are naturally not shared by the M.L.A.'s. There has been such a decay in civic responsibility and integrity in the Province, the services are so deeply corrupted and the M L.A.'s have such an irresponsible consciousness of their power that the present Ministry is not likely to bring about substantial improvements in that situation. On the other hand if strong measures are not taken, the very fabric of the Government and society in

the Province will perish Therefore, in my view the only solution is the suspension of the constitution and the imposition of Section 92-A, followed by general elections'

"At that time the Governor and I discussed what would be the best method of associating public opinion with the administration of the Province so that the wishes of the public might be ascertained and the administration carried on in harmony with them

"The Governor of the West Punjab made two suggestions. He proposed that either advisers to the Governor be appointed to take charge of various departments, or that Advisory Committees consisting of the representatives of the Provincial Muslim League be appointed for the same purpose

"The day following the suspension of the constitution, a deputation of the Working Committee of the Punjab Muslim League met me at Government House, Lahore It consisted of, amongst others, the then President of the Provincial League Mr Mumtaz Daultana and the present President Mian 'Abdul Bari Among other matters that we discussed the question of associating the Muslim League with the administration was also considered It was suggested that it would be a good thing if non-official advisers to the Governor were appointed I asked the deputation to let me have about half a dozen names and told them that I would be prepared to consider the appointment from amongst them, of non-official advisers I suggested that the names which the Muslim League was asked to propose should be of persons who commanded the general confidence of the people and would not use the position of authority for the purpose of strengthening any particular faction which unfortunately existed in the Punjab

"A deputation of the members of the Provincial Muslim League from West Punjab again, consisting of, amongst others, Mian Mumtaz Daultana and Mian 'Abdul Bari, met me in Karachi during February last at the time of the meeting of the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League I again repeated the offer that I had made in Lahore, but I am sorry to say that till today the Provincial Muslim League of the West Punjab has not sent me any names I must point out that the Central Government and Governor of West Punjab have been desirous of associating the representatives of the people in the administration of the Province

I once again invite the Muslim League to submit for consideration names of suitable persons for appointment as advisers to the Governor Some time ago the Governor asked the Provincial Muslim League to suggest some names for the Advisory Committees which he

was anxious to appoint to the various departments of the Government The Provincial Muslim League has not sent him any names either. From this it would appear that the allegations that the Governor has not been wanting the co-operation of the Muslim League and has been ignoring it are not based on facts It is to my mind not fair that the Working Committee of the Provincial Muslim League should put the blame on the Governor for its own acts of commission "

Replying to a question, Liaquat 'Ali said, "I am aware of the fact that the Working Committee has levelled some other charges against the Governor including the one of attempting to discredit and disrupt the League For these allegations they have produced no evidence whatsoever They have not brought any instance of this kind to either my notice or to the notice of the Central Government Obviously I cannot attach any importance to allegations which are not substantiated " Answering another question, he said, "I am quite aware of the facts that an effort has been made to cloud the issues by harping on the irrelevant fact that Sir Francis Mudie is British. It is deliberately ignored that the British officers who are serving in Pakistan have not been imposed upon us by any authority outside Pakistan Their appointments have been made by the Pakistan Government itself and they are responsible for every action of theirs to that government I am very glad to say that they have been serving Pakistan loyally I may, however, point out here that all British officers are employed for limited periods The policy of the Government is to nationalise completely both its civil and military services as quickly as is consistent with the efficiency of administration and the time required for the training of Pakistan nationals

"It should be remembered that Sir Francis Mudie was selected by the Quaid-i-A'zam for appointment as Governor of West Punjab and he has been discharging his onerous duties as Governor of the West Punjab, both before and after the suspension of the constitution, loyally and faithfully

"I am confident that he would continue to serve the West Punjab without fear or favour He has a very difficult task before him and I sincerely hope that all those who believe in pure and efficient administration will continue to give him their co-operation and assistance and that West Punjab will soon regain the glorious position which it deserves in Pakistan

"The Pakistan Government and the Governor of the West Punjab are very anxious that the elections of the Provincial Assembly should be held as soon as practicable so that the normal democratic mechinery

may be restored in the Province. The report of the Elections Enquiry Committee has been received by the Pakistan Government and is being very urgently examined

"I would like to appeal to all Pakistanis to think constructively and not indulge in loose talk and destructive criticism. No Government welcomes this and mere destructive thinking helps no one. It creates disaffection amongst the people and undermines both their morale and their confidence Any one indulging in destructive criticism is no lover of his own country"

BROADCAST FROM KARACHI

In a broadcast from Karachi on May 25, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan expressed his views on the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference held in London He said

'The object of the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference recently held in London was to consider the constitutional changes which India wanted to bring about in her constitution *vis-a-vis* her relations with the Commonwealth. The Indian Constituent Assembly sometime back had decided that the future constitution of India would be on a Republic basis. The Government of India also informed the British Government that in spite of India becoming a republic, she did not desire to break her relations with the Commonwealth.

'The Conference of Commonwealth Premiers was thus called to consider this issue and its decisions are fully known to you. But these decisions are viewed by some people with grave doubts and misgivings and it is necessary for me to explain their significance in greater details It is not possible in this brief talk to throw light on the successive events which brought into existence the Commonwealth. It is equally impossible to state how the British Empire which, on behalf of England, dominated over other countries forcibly, gradually came to assume the form of the Commonwealth as it exists today.

"At this stage it is necessary to stress that all the members of the Commonwealth are completely independent in their internal as well as external affairs. In fact, the unity of purpose which has been agreed upon by all the Commonwealth countries is based on those ideals which the United Nations have set before them. These ideals are to further peace, prosperity and progress in the world and to remove

differences likely to arise between various countries by peaceful means so that more friendly relations may be established among them. No member country of the Commonwealth is either subordinate of or dependent upon any other member, nor does it acknowledge any responsibility which it has not voluntarily accepted.

"In this Conference it was agreed to let India shape its relations with the Commonwealth on a different footing, *viz.*, to break its constitutional relations with the King of England. But India at the same time would continue to remain as before a member of the Commonwealth on the basis that the British King is the symbol of the unity of the Commonwealth. In other words, India, remaining as a Republic, has accepted the King as a symbol of unity as well as the head of the Commonwealth. It was clearly stated in this Conference that Pakistan could, if it wanted, change its relations towards the Commonwealth in the same way as India has done.

"Now there are three courses open to Pakistan. Firstly to continue its existing relations with the Commonwealth, secondly, to reshape its constitutional relations with the Commonwealth in the same way as India has done, and thirdly, that it may sever all connections with the Commonwealth. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan which is drafting the future constitution of our country is fully competent to adopt any of the three courses stated above. The Constituent Assembly is the representative body of the people of Pakistan and as such has full liberty to take a decision on this issue It was on this very ground that I expressed satisfaction over the decision of the Commonwealth Conference.

"In view of our being in a position to adopt whichever course we like, I fail to see the basis for any misunderstanding. The Government of Pakistan, or myself while in England, have not made any commitment, binding the Constituent Assembly in any way. On the contrary it has been clearly stated that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan can take whatever decision it chooses.

"This time, when I was in England, I had occasion to meet many political leaders, proprietors and representatives of newspapers and other leading personalities. As a result of these meetings, I gathered that most of the people in England believed that whatever shape the events might take, Pakistan's relations with Great Britain would remain unchanged. Therefore, I considered it necessary to point out to those, who held this view that they were entirely mistaken and that Pakistan could not rest content with mere words, unless those who professed friendship gave practical proof of their sincerity.

Pakistan's sincerity towards her friends was genuine and, therefore, she expected to be paid back in the same coin by those who sought her friendship

"At the conclusion of the conference I visited Ireland, Italy, Egypt, Iraq and Iran on the invitation of the Governments of these countries People of Ireland and Italy were very much interested in Pakistan The leaders of both these countries expressed their surprise over the progress which Pakistan had made during the short period of her existence Some of them even said that to control and rehabilitate 70,00,000 refugees was nothing short of a miracle, especially when communications and transport had temporarily been suspended, the Government had not yet started functioning and other necessary adjuncts were not even available

"What equally surprised them was that in this short period not only the refugees were rehabilitated but trade and commercial life which had gone to pieces was reorganised afresh The army which was disintegrated and ill-equipped was strengthened and the economic and financial condition of the country, which in the beginning was extremely poor, was on a sounder footing

"Today our financial position is much better than that of some of our larger neighbouring countries When I visited the Muslim countries, I was also asked how Pakistan could achieve so much in so short a time? My reply was that for this glorious success, credit had to be given to the people of Pakistan, who had displayed such unparalleled courage, determination and spirit of sacrifice hitherto unknown in the history of the world

"Whatever we have achieved is the result of the sacrifices of the people of Pakistan and I hope, *Insha Allah,* we shall achieve still more I was very happy to note that Muslim countries have a genuine feeling of friendship towards Pakistan because it expressed in a clear manner that we were coming closer to each other and that this was a very healthy step towards the maintenance of world peace

"The Muslim countries do not want to usurp the rights of others On the contrary, it is their desire to live peacefully, to work for the betterment of their countries, to raise the standard of living of their people and to solve those problems with which every country is confronted independently and without interference of any foreigner in usurping their rights The Muslim countries will always try to maintain peace in the world, and it will be their endeavour to see that every dispute is amicably settled

"Wherever I went, I made it clear that we are preparing our

future constitution on the principles of Islam because only on these principles can a durable organisation be built For the salvation and happiness of man mere material progress is not sufficient We want to establish such an order which would guarantee fully the spiritual and material demands of man Such an order can be built only on the true principles of Islam. The Muslim countries have great expectations from Pakistan because Pakistan is the greatest Islamic country in the world I am sure that we Pakistanis will do our best to fulfil their expectations

"There is no doubt that Pakistan has achieved a great deal so far and this success is a source of great satisfaction to us But we should not forget that we have yet not surmounted our difficulties and have not so far completed even a small portion of the splendid work which we had undertaken

"It will perhaps not be incorrect to say that many things which are necessary for Pakistan's progress and her peoples' welfare have not so far even been touched by us The reason is that Pakistan's most crucial problem has yet to be solved—I mean the problem of Kashmir I fully realise the importance that you attach to the question of Kashmir and how important its solution is for all of us We have several times made our position clear that the only solution of Kashmir problem is that her people should have the right to determine their future without any interference from Pakistan or India

"I want to make it clear that no other solution of Kashmir will be acceptable to us The conditions under which the cease-fire agreement was reached and which forms basis of the solution of the Kashmir problem are contained in the U N Commission's resolution dated August 13, 1948 These conditions have been accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan and it is imperative for both the Governments to comply with these terms

"So far we have adhered to all these conditions scrupulously Unfortunately propaganda has been set afoot to show that Pakistan army has violated these terms The allegations are entirely baseless and unfounded The fact is that these terms have been violated by the Indian army and those who carry on this propaganda campaign against Pakistan are fully aware of the true situation

"We have not only sincerely adhered to these terms but have also taken action on certain items before time We have made the people of the Tribal Areas agree to leave Kashmir. This was a delicate and difficult question, which should have been given a

practical shape after the truce. But as we are really keen to solve the problem of Kashmir peacefully, we have not hesitated even to take certain steps before the appointed time. It is necessary to emphasise that these steps were taken in face of the party's attitude which was most trying

"India has always adopted a stringent attitude towards peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem and has tried to show to the world that plebiscite in Kashmir is not only difficult but well-nigh impossible Let me repeat that these efforts cannot succeed because all the machinations and contrivances set afoot for the suppression of truth and justice must always fail. Only those are afraid of an impartial plebiscite on the Kashmir issue who realise that public vote will go against them I want to make it clear once again and for ever that we shall not accept any other solution which does not guarantee free voting right to the people of Kashmir.

"I have just now said that we have been able to complete only a part of that great task which we undertook at the time Pakistan was created What is that great task? It is the building up of an order based on Islamic principles of brotherhood, equality and justice, which will not ignore the spiritual advancement in preference to material progress which will not enable the rich and the powerful to subjugate the poor and the weak, and which will guarantee food, clothing and literacy to all In short, our aim is to enable all citizens to be free from want and to evolve an order where those Islamic principles may be revived which were brought to this world centuries ago and which laid the foundation of a glorious civilisation.

"In recent times a country can be deemed to be completely free only when it does not depend economically on others and its armies are able to defend it without any outside help. It is, therefore, very important for us that we should concentrate on our industrial development and should not be dependent on others and also to strengthen our armies to the fullest capacity. The Government of Pakistan is devoting its full attention to both these problems.

"It is evident that this task cannot be achieved in a day. It requires a lot of patience and ceaseless effort. It is our desire that conditions of the cultivators in Pakistan may be improved as soon as possible The Government of Pakistan will never hesitate to bring about such changes in the existing agrarian laws and practices as may be found necessary

"The interests of the people at large cannot, under any circumstances, be sacrificed for the sake of a few. Pakistan is not a

country of the wealthy, landlords and capitalists, but belongs to the poor and if we are not able to improve the lot of the common man, I will consider all other successes, however great they may be, as meaningless

"Pakistan can progress and become a strong nation only when we are completely united and we must be united and must have faith in ourselves In addition, what we preach must be practised, so that we do not allow selfish people to create dissension among us, or to induce us to adopt a wrong course Unfortunately, there are some among us who are prepared to sacrifice the interest of the country for their personal ends These people do not realise that Pakistan is not yet safe from danger and that their deeds are not only harmful to Pakistan but can bring about a position which might result in a calamity so dangerous as to threaten its very existence

"The time is far away when we should slacken our efforts or should be complacent enough to think that everything will be set right automatically We are passing through such a delicate phase that any omission on our part at this stage may render us incapable of building up Pakistan according to our most cherished desires

"Pakistan's enemies are still active and she is not yet out of danger Complete unity is, therefore, the greatest need of the hour It is the bounden duty of every patriot to do his best for his country We should never forget what our revered Quaid-i-A zam said 'Unity, faith and discipline,' and this should be our motto as our guiding light, we can always rely on God's help and will succeed in achieving our objectives No power on earth can shake my faith that Pakistan's glorious achievements will one day be written in letters of gold in the history of the world. *Pakistan Zindabad* "

SPEECH AT WAH CAMP

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing the Kashmir refugees at Wah Camp on June 14, 1949, said

'We will not budge an inch from our stand even if it took us a long continued struggle to achieve our aim.

"The people of West Punjab rose true to the occasion and played their part well when Pakistan was faced with a huge influx of refugees. It was at this critical juncture that the West Punjab Muslims came to

the rescue of the homeless refugees by keeping to the high ideals and displaying the true spirit of Islam. They, like true *ansars*, shouldered the great burden with unparalleld courage

"It proved a very heavy drain on the economy of the province. The five lakhs of Kashmir refugees are still being supported and fed by the same Province The people of the West Punjab deserve congratulation for their spirit of service, courage and patience I am proud of them and I am sure they will uphold their regulations and continue to make sacrifices in the cause of Islam.

"For the achievement of its national aspiration a nation requires a party and a leader You have the Muslim Conference which commands your allegiance and in Choudhry Ghulam 'Abbas a leader who has a long and splendid record of service and sacrifices in the cause of his people Choudhry Ghulam 'Abbas is a man of high integrity and you can depend upon him and be sure that he will not sell his people. To win the plebiscite war it is essential for you to rally round the Muslim Conference flag and create discipline and solidarity among your ranks.

'The Governments of Pakistan and India are committed to a solution of the Kashmir issue through a just and impartial plebiscite Till the issue of Kashmir's accesion to either of the countries is settled, the question of taking in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly of the representatives of the State of Jammu and Kashmir does not arise .

'Ballots or bullets, there is no third solution to the Kashmir problem While we are most anxious to seek the solution of the grave issue, through a fair and impartial plebiscite, we are prepared to fight a hundred years war for the freedom of Kashmiris Whatever the consequences we shall never be a party to any proposal or a scheme which aims at placing the Kashmir Muslims under the yoke of Hindu imperialism."

ID MESSAGE

Addressing the *'Id* congregation in Karachi on July 28, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"We celebrated our first *'Id* when immediately after partition we were engaged in a bloody struggle to preserve our freedom. Our clothes were then drenched in blood

"Pakistan's second *'Id* saw her surrounded with difficulties on all sides and her enemies had thought that Pakistan would collapse—that it was a matter of days That, however, was all wishful thinking The nation's determination and sacrifices saw it through all those trails and now, when they were celebrating their third *'Id* they could rest assured that Pakistan's foundations were unshakable.

"On this happy day of *'Id* let us not forget the three-and-a-half crores of Indian Muslims, our blood brothers who are not free today and who are not celebrating this *'Id* as a free and independent people Let us remember that their existence is dependent on our strength and our independence

"You should strive to strengthen Pakistan more and more so that we may be able to challenge the world that Islam—upon the lofty principles of which Pakistan is being built—is the only way to world peace and prosperity.

"May be we may have to make more sacrifices may be we may have to face harder trials. So let us be prepared for them with unity and discipline. We must make Pakistan a country of which posterity would be proud"

INDEPENDENCE DAY MESSAGE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in an Independance Day message to the nation from Karachi on August 13, 1949, said

"We are celebrating the second anniversary of our Independence It is a day of joyous thanksgiving to God for his blessings and guidance and of thoughtful review of our own work The world has passed through another year of strife and turmoil Great social forces are at work which are changing the face of some parts of the globe—whether for good or ill only time can decide. Meanwhile men of goodwill in all countries are trying against great difficulties to bring lasting peace and prosperity to our troubled world We all sincerely hope that these efforts will succeed.

"For the people the past year has been one of struggle and of achievement. For while we must not become complacent and rest on our oars. We can, while looking back, take legitimate pride in what we have achieved. This gives us renewed confidence in our ability to go forward. While none is more conscious than myself of

difficulties, we still have to face. I think it can be asserted with confidence that Pakistan is strong enough to overcome them. For this achievement the credit goes to the people of Pakistan, who have struggled so bravely and worked so arduously.

"We have passed through a difficult period and there are many problems we still have to solve I am however confident that we shall reach our goal soon, provided we work really hard and do not dissipate our energies in internal dissensions No danger from outside can really adversely affect a people who are united. The greatest threats to a nation are the inner stresses and strains that weaken a family, a group of people or a nation

"A house divided cannot but fall We must be always on guard against those who for selfish reasons try to divide our ranks. We must have faith and discipline and most important of all a unity of purpose and action which alone can bring to fruition our efforts to make Pakistan a really strong, prosperous and progressive nation.

"We must always remember that Pakistan is a heritage from our beloved leader the late Quaid-i-A'zam We must prove ourselves worthy of this heritage and always act on the advice he gave us, namely, to have faith, unity and discipline amongst us. *Pakistan Zindabad*

SPEECH AT LAHORE

Addressing a large gathering in the Punjab University Grounds, Lahore on August 25 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"I remember fully well that memorable day in 1947 when on this very same ground I addressed fellow Pakistanis for the first time after the establishment of Pakistan Those were the days when Pakistan in general and your province in particular had to face difficulties of a magnitude for which history has no precedent In fact there were several who went about saying that Pakistan would not last for more than a few days and that this new born nation would not be able to survive the difficulties confronting it I would, however, assure you that not for one moment did I have any misgiving that Pakistan would suffer injury and I again wish to reiterate my firm conviction that, despite the disunity and confusion prevalent in the province, West

Punjab—which the Quaid-i-Azam rightly called the heart of Pakistan—is bound to occupy its rightful lofty position in the country The present conditions in the West Punjab are a direct consequence of the difficulties that beset the province in the immediate post-partition period and which were exploited by certain interested elements to spread defeatism.

"I am happy to find our youth are present at this meeting in such large numbers To them I would say The Quaid-i-A'zam left us two legacies, namely, Pakistan and the Muslim League It is our sacred duty to jealously guard both of them Those of us of the 'Old Guard' are only in the position of trustees If you find we are betraying or abusing the trusts placed in our charge it is your duty to throw us out (loud cheers). This, however, does not mean that out of deference to any group or section I would allow this twin legacy to be weakened or destroyed. What the West Punjab needs most at present is to constantly keep before it the memorable watchwords of unity, faith and discipline given to us by the Quaid-i-A'zam. You should not for a moment think that our difficulties and trials are at an end Danger still haunts us and will continue to haunt us so long as a just and proper solution is not found to the Kashmir problem It is, therefore, most essential that for the safety of Pakistan and for the cause of 32,00,000 Muslims of Kashmir we should stand solid and firm as a rock against every aggressor (prolonged cheers).

"Thanks to the Almighty, our armed forces are today 100 per cent stronger than what they were last year (Loud applause) In making this statement I would reassure you that I am not given to exaggeration or to misleading people

"But as you are no doubt aware, the defence of a country or nation does not depend merely on its armed forces Nowadays every man, woman and child is a soldier where questions of his country's defence, security and survival are concerned. Through unity, courage and steadfastness alone can you ensure your country's safety

"This brings me again to the vital question of Kashmir Every Pakistani, nay every Muslim in the world, wants a fair and proper solution of the Kashmir problem We have always sought and shall continue to seek a peaceful solution of this problem. But with all the emphasis at my command I wish to make it clear once again—and in doing so I am conscious that what I am saying represents the feelings of every man, woman and child in Pakistan—that we shall never allow Kashmir to be taken away from us by force by anyone (loud and prolonged cheers). We can never think of handing over the 32,00,000

Muslims of Kashmir to the mercy and sweet will of others. With Pakistan, Kashmir is a matter of life and death Our demand is fully consonant with the universally recognised right of self-determination. People should have the right to decide their own destiny. In fact, this is what India herself was saying before partition In the case of Kashmir, Pakistan has accepted that the people of the State should have this right of self-determination The Kashmir problem cannot be solved until and unless the people of the State are given this right and exercise it themselves to decide their future

"But mere slogans cannot give us Kashmir I would like to stress that never before was the need for removing disunity so great as it is now. I would, therefore, plead with you earnestly to rise above petty squabbles You have big issues confronting you which demand your fullest attention. As far as the Government is concerned, I wish to assure you that until and unless I am satisfied that Pakistan is completely free from the danger of any external aggression, I will not allow any relaxation in our defence preparations, come what may

"The Government is firmly resolved to bring to book every person—howsoever highly he may be placed—who is found guilty of dishonesty or loot and plunder However, I would reiterate that public co-operation is most essential in eradicating corruption History proves that countries which have built their national structure on such weak foundations have very soon lost their freedom and dignity Purity of administration and public life are as vital for us as anything else

"In this connection, there is one unfortunate problem which confronts the West Punjab and of which we all have to find a solution Even our officers have imbibed the dangerous spirit of factionalism and formation of groups This is fraught with serious consequences for the West Punjab and Pakistan Your Governor, who besides being a tried and experienced hand, has proved himself to be one of the best servants of the nation, is firmly resolved to put an end to this factionalism among Government officers It is the duty of all officers to keep aloof from politics and to discharge their administrative responsibilities in a spirit of service to the people and the country At the same time, I would also appeal to my politician brothers not to interfere with the administration or to exploit their relatives and friends.

'In saying all this to you the future is uppermost in my mind. You must realise that once you have finally chalked out a path of progress for Pakistan it will not be possible to change this in future It is, therefore, most essential that this path should be properly chalked out, so that we may take Pakistan to that pinnacle of glory

which was the Quaid-i-A'zam's dream and for which we have suffered and sacrificed so much

"In every country the Press is a sacred trust To establish real democracy, it is absolutely essential to have an independent and healthy Press which can faithfully discharge its obligation of guiding the masses and correctly interpreting their feelings As a large number of our papers are already doing this job magnificently, my appeal is addressed only to that irresponsible section whose sole aim would appear to be to indulge in mud-slinging and villification of others While I always welcome criticism—for I honestly believe that anyone who claims infallibility for any Governmental policy or programme is merely deceiving himself and his people—how could I expect advice or guidance from such quarters To such papers--whose intentions I am not disputing—I would say that if they conduct themselves keeping in mind the paramount need of etrengthening the foundations of Pakistan they will be rendering signal service to their country

"I have been receiving several telegrams and letters advising that all our reforms should be in accordance with the *shari'at* I wish to give a categorical assurance that Pakistan would under no circumstances approve of any reforms which are against these sacred laws It is, of course, a different matter that we are not bound to accept the interpretation which vested interests may give to the laws of the *shari'at* simply to secure their own selfish ends In adopting any reform the whole matter will be carefully considered in the light of the *shari'at*, and before adopting the reform all possible care would be taken to ensure that it was not in any way against any of these sacred laws.

"I would, however, ask the big *zamindars* to realise that their days are gone Pakistan was never meant for the few We did not sacrifice the blood of a million martyrs simply to safeguard the capitalism of a few captalists

"There are a number of *isms* being talked about nowadays, but we are convinced that for us there is only one *ism* namely, 'Islamic Socialism', which, in a nutshell, means that every person in his land has equal rights to be provided with food, shelter, clothing, education and medical facilities Countries which cannot ensure these for their people can never progress The economic programme drawn up some 1,350 years back is still the best economic programme for us In fact, whatever systems people may try out they all ultimately return to 'Islamic Socialism' by whatever name they may choose to call it

"Friends, we must remember that our country is only two years old. There is still much to be done. But I am confident that if you

stand solidly united and continue to show the same courage and determination which brought you Pakistan—'our country' will emerge as one of the world's biggest Powers to whom it will be given the privilage to show the Islamic light to a darkened world."

SIND UNIVERSITY CONVOCATION ADDRESS

Addressing the first Convocation of the Sind University on August 31, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"A great responsibility rests on the shoulders of those who have anything to do with the creation of an educational institution and the shaping of an educational system. If they work hard, honestly and and with an open mind, if they use their imagination and are always on the look-out for improvement, they not only better the lives of a few students but their work affects all the young men of a country for generations I am sure, you fully realise the importance of this work.

"Pakistan was created so that the Muslims of this country can live their lives according to the tenets of Islam and that the Government of this country should be based on the Islamic principles of equality, the brotherhood of man and social justice. Accordingly we have decided that our educational system should also be based on Islamic principles because unless we are familiar with these principles, we cannot live our lives according to the Islamic way

"To shape an educational system on Islamic principles is neither easy nor can it be accomplished in a few days or a few months. If we accept the suggestion of some ignorant and narrow-minded people and re-introduce the educational system which was current a few centuries ago, we will shut down all progress and the springs of our culture will dry up It is obvious that people who consider that Islam, as a religion, bears progress, do not understand the real spirit of Islam. It can be asserted without any fear of contradiction that no religion gives the same importance to knowledge and education as is given by Islam

"If we look at Islamic history, we find that it were the Muslims who at the zenith of their power raised the banner of knowledge. When Europe was lying dormant during the Dark Ages and Greek literature and philosophy had been practically forgotten, it were

the Arabs who translated and revived Greek classics and re-introduced them to Europe It was due to the efforts of the Arabs that a revival of knowledge and science took place in Europe and which in time raised Europe to the height of glory

"Now that we are re-shaping our educational system once again, we must not repeat the old mistakes We should look to the future and we should be willing to learn from every progressive country and benefit from the experience of others so that we may get all possible help in creating a really progressive civilisation

"We must not forget the basic aim of all education Only that education is worthwhile which helps an individual to become a useful member of society, which can train his mind and body and which can help him in arriving at a healthy attitude towards life and above all which can foster his natural abilities We come across with some men who after having graduated from a University can do no useful work for the society or even for themselves They have learned a few books by heart like parrots They know nothing It is our duty to change as quickly as we can an educational system which produces young men of this type

"An educational institution can only be successful when its teachers do not forget that they themselves have a lot to learn and that it is their duty to go on learning as much as they can The process of getting education never finishes because it cannot possibly finish.

"There is no other work which is so beneficial to the community as educational work and no man deserves greater honour than he who teaches, provided he is a good teacher. In all countries of the world and in all civilisations, the teacher has been honoured as no other worker. This is because the fate of nations is dependent on their educational system

"Education is not only concerned with the minds and bodies of human beings but also with their souls If a man does not feel that education has done good to his soul, he has not benefitted from it at all. If he does not become aware of his spiritual duties along with his worldly duties, his education has been incomplete The main object of education is that an individual who claims to be educated should be fully aware of all his responsibilities.

"Perhaps the most important part of education is that which is concerned with the character-building of a student If the people of a country have not had their characters properly formed, the Government of that country cannot be stable and the sincerity which

is needed for national work is not forthcoming

"In Pakistan" we need technically trained people very urgently. There is a great shortage of doctors, engineers and experts of all kinds. This shortage is not likely to be removed for many years It is therefore essential that we should pay special attention to technical education As long as we do not have doctors, engineers, agricultural and other experts, the rate of progress of our country will remain slow

"In Pakistan, it is also essential to make proper arrangements for the educational institutions for women. Deprive the women of Pakistan of the education which is their due, and you have wasted your time No country can progress unless its women are educated

"You must not forget that the first teacher is his mother I am not suggesting that women should be given the same education as is given to men Women should be given education which is useful to them, which not only makes them good daughters, good wives and good mothers but which enables them to take an interest in the affairs of their country and do those things which help it in becoming progressive and strong In other words, an education which can make them useful members of society

"In order to make educational progressive, it is necessary for us to increase the range of our national language, so that in time we can use it as a medium of instruction for education of all kinds Some people say that we should give up English and make Urdu the medium of our instruction In my opinion, it is not possible to do so immediately We cannot successfully make Urdu the medium of instruction for higher education until all kinds of books are available in it Otherwise our students will be cut off from that body of knowledge which is accessible to them through English Today there is no subject on which all kinds of books are not available in English Until we transfer all this material into Urdu, it will not be beneficial to give up English We should make every possible effort to improve our language in such a way that it should come up to the same level as a modern European language

"I have already said that it is not easy to shape an entirely new educational system, but men with courage do not shirk difficult problems In fact, they consider them as a means of getting greater experience and greater confidence Only those people are entitled to see their dreams come true who work with determination and courage and whose determination increases when they come across a difficult problem.

"I am confident that you would be successful in making tde Sind University such a success that it will serve as an example to other provinces "

INAUGURAL ADDRESS—COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIES

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, inaugurating the Council of Industries in Karachi on September 8, 1949, said

"Mr Fazlur Rahman and gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to be here this morning to inaugurate the Pakistan Council of Industries As you are aware under the Development of Industries (Federal Control) Act 1949, the Central Government have assumed direct responsibility for the development of 27 different types of Industries

"The Council which is being inaugurated today has been brought into being as a direct result of the abovementioned Act. To help them discharge these responsibilities satisfactorily Government have felt the need to associate with this work, as closely as can be, the various interests directly concerned I am glad to see these various interests so well represented here

"Let me at the outset recapitulate the attitude of Government towards industrialisation Very briefly put we want to industrialise our country as quickly as we can Firstly because no country can be strong without having developed industries Secondly it loses enormous sums annually if it goes on exporting raw materials and importing finished goods, and thirdly as a consequence the standard of living of its people remains low

"To put it more concretely no country can have really modern and properly equipped army for purposes of defence and a high standard of living without developing its resources Pakistan is an agricultural country with no developed industries This lack of balance between agriculture and industry has obvious disadvantage and must be redressed That, as I said above, is what we want to do But there are obstacles in our way One of them is the timidity of our industrialists and the shyness of investors Investing money in an industry has obvious risks but these risks have to be taken by those who wish to serve Pakistan There also is the temptation to get quick

returns and for a short time at least higher profits, by taking part in trade and commerce But anyone who wants to serve his country must not yield to such temptations There are greater satisfactions than the mere pleasure of just making money What is more the investment of money in industry is in the long run a sounder investment

"Unless industrialists are willing to come forward and show a spirit of enterprise and unless those who have money invest it in industry Government will have to step in. It is these people whose co-operation we want and ask for. I think Government is fully justified in expecting and asking for it. The second obstacle we are faced with is the lack of technicians. I shall refer to this a little latter

"The industrialists on their side have their difficulties. It is for them to bring them to the notice of the Government and suggest ways of getting over them.

"I have always felt that the system of Government that we inherited, was not flexible enough to meet the needs of the ever changing situations A tendency had grown for officers to work in isolation from the people and even among officers themselves to work in compartments We in Pakistan have tried to remedy this deficiency and a large measure of co-ordination is now effected through various official agencies I am not, however, prepared to claim that more cannot be done in this direction I realise that it is essential, specially in these critical times, that Government should speak and act with unity of purpose Such unity of purpose can result only from every part of the machinery of Government realising its role in the general scheme of things and pulling its weight in the same direction.

"I am aware of a feeling in certain quarters that various Government departments are working either at cross-purposes or in complete disregard of the view-points of one another I have heard complaints of the multiplicity of organisations which would be promoters of industry have to approach before their projects can even begin to take a concrete shape.

"I would be glad if you gentlemen, who are so directly concerned with this matter, put your heads together and, after due consideration of all facts, having a bearing on the subject, advise Government as to the manner in which Governmental agencies should be fashioned to achieve the object in view I would remind you in this connection that there is already an agency which can provide a large degree of co-ordination required through the Director-General of Supply and

Development who has his representatives both at Lahore and at Chittagong I would ask you and my other friends interested in industry to make it a point to fully utilise this agency and to bring to the notice of Government any deficiencies or defects that experience may throw up so that we might remedy these to the advantage of all concerned

"I attach great importance to the intimate co-operation and close collaboration of businessmen with Government and Governmental agencies in all matters pertaining to the economic well-being of the country. I am glad to find that judging from the numerous advisory committees set up by the Department of Supply and Development that a measure of co-operation does exist today I would like to take this opportunity on behalf of the Government of Pakistan to express Government's appreciation of this co-operation and of the work done by these committees. The basic fact remains, however, that this co-operation must be on a much larger scale. There must be evidence of greater enterprise and a bold tackling of bigger problems There must also be a realisation of national needs

"I do not want to dilate upon the various subjects which are covered by your agenda, but I do want to call your attention to two or three questions which you will, I have no doubt, discuss at some length later I have already referred to the provision of technical personnel required by industry For sometime now, Government have been studying how best to provide facilities for importing technical education at various levels in the country As in other fields Government have had many difficulties to face But there is no difficulty which does not yield to human effort when rightly directed The question of establishing Polytechnical, Technological, Industrial and Trade Schools in Pakistan is now under the active consideration of Government and before long I expect at least a few of these institutions to begin working The provision of these facilities will not, however, meet the requirements of the situation in the field of practical training Government have, therefore, to plan out a programme for the education and training of our youngmen abroad Government have had this matter under consideration and I am glad to tell you that they propose to send out as many youngmen as are required for various industries to be given practical training abroad after they have acquired the necessary theoretical knowledge in our institutions here. Financial difficulties will not be allowed to stand in the way of implementing the scheme for training of our youngmen abroad.

"Here again it is not enough for Government to make plans and provide facilities It is the people who must realise that without the trained personnel the availability of capital will not achieve much It is only when these two combine that real progress can be made Our people must, therefore, turn increasingly to science and technology Our youngmen must realise that one of the best ways of serving Pakistan is to acquire technical knowledge and help to create wealth in the country

"While I am no this subject, I must acknowledge the offers of assistance which Pakistan has been receiving from the various countries of the Commonwealth, of Europe and of the United States of America These countries have offered scholarships and fellowships to our nationals in fields which are of special interest to us I would like to make mention here, by way of illustration, of fellowships and scholarships offered by Australia, Canada, France, U K and USA I should not forget to mention the assistance offered by the United Nations to train our youngmen

"This brings me to another question which the United Nations has made its special responsibility, namely, the development of underdeveloped countries The question of giving effective aid to such countries in the present day world conditions has now been fully recognised, as also its urgency and immediacy There seems to be general agreement that prosperity, like peace, is indivisible

"I must here point out that it is essential that the advanced countries should give not only the benefit of their store of technical knowledge and of their experience of large-scale organisation to the underdeveloped countries, but also the where-withal for the development of industries Conditions favourable to the free flow of capital should, therefore, be created both in the countries exporting capital and those receiving it

So far as Pakistan is concerned, it is now almost a matter of history that the climate' for investment which investors from abroad so often go in search of has been provided here In April last year, Government of Pakistan announced that Pakistan would welcome foreign capital seeking investment from a purely industrial and economic objective and not claiming any other special privileges We also offered to give all reasonable facilities for remittance of profits earned on capital invested in the country Advantage has been taken of this policy but not to the extent which was expected

"Conditions abroad which would induce investors to export capital in large blocks for investment in productive enterprises here have not so far been all created Efforts are now being made in foreign countries to remove these handicaps I look forward confidently to full advantage being taken of our policy and to larger investments of private capital flowing into productive enterprises here

"Government are aware of a feeling in certain quarters, that foreign capital is not essential for the industrial and economic development of Pakistan This opinion is obviously based on the assumption that there is enough of capital in the country and that all that is required is to remove the several handicaps from which investors now suffer Government do not accept this viewpoint They are satisfied, on the information available to them, that if Pakistan has to take rapid strides in the matter of development of industries, it should obtain financial assistance from abroad

"It has been recognised by those who have made a study of the general condition in undeveloped and underdeveloped countries that the financial problems of development cannot be solved, within a measureable period of time, by reliance on the slow process of local capital formation Such countries must look to the capital markets abroad

"Pakistan's requirements of capital for industrial development have been estimated at Rs 300 crores over the next 10 years This is apart from the large sums required for development in other spheres of activity Everything should, therefore, be done to increase the flow of both indigenous and foreign capital for the purpose of increasing the standard of living of our people through the development of industries In order to stimulate such flow and to give a lead to people here and abroad, Government have decided to form a Statutory Corporation and to charge it with responsibility for the development of certain specified industries which are of vital importance to the economy of Pakistan and to the well-being of the people

"In order to work out the constitution, duties, powers and responsibilities of this Corporation, its relation to Government and the Legislature and to estimate the amount of Government capital to be provided initially and to determine the powers of the Corporation in regard to the raising of money from the public, Government appointed a Committee The Committee has submitted an interim report and I am glad to tell you that action has already been taken on one of the recommendations of the Committee The Ministery of Education and

Industries is now engaged in the task of implementing the Jute Mills Project which, as you are aware, will cost Rs 7 crores Government expect to place order for the equipment required to run the three jute mills very shortly

"The next project which Government have on their list is the Power Mill Project which is estimated to cost between Rs 5 to 6 crores Government expect to be able to place orders for equipment and machinery before the close of this financial year

"Arrangements for acquisition of land, provision of power and facilities for transport are some of the matters which will engage the immediate attention of the Corporation when set up Government have under their immediate consideration this most important matter. They hope to be able to announce their decision on it in the next few weeks.

"Gentlemen, I have dealt with two or three matters of moment and that only to call your attention to certain aspects of them I am sure that the advice which the Council will tender to Government on the various questions raised will help Government to come to right decisions which will be to the advantage of the country at large I have every confidence that with your help and the co-operation of the people, Government will be able to achieve the objects they have in view within the period of the plan"

QUAID-I-A'ZAM SHALL LIVE FOREVER

Liaquat 'Ali Khan issued on September 10, 1949 from Karachi the following message on the occasion of the first death anniversary of the Quaid-i-A'zam

"On this day last year, our beloved leader, the Quaid-i-A'zam, was taken away from us The terrestrial life of all men, great and small, must come to an end, but on great men death confers an immortality not vouchsafed to ordinary mortals The Quaid-i-A'zam was one of those great souls who live for ever He is with us as the fruits of his labour are before us and his inspiring message is here to guide us. The greatest tribute we can pay to his memory is to keep his message always before us and to make Pakistan the kind of peaceful, prosperous and strong State that was his cherished desire to see come into existence.

"I am fully confident that with the help of God, we, the people of Pakistan, shall prove worthy of the heritage which our beloved leader has left us The future belongs to those who dare to look ahead unafraid and, with determination, to do their duty in the face of all difficulties."

REPLY TO ADDRESSES OF ANJUMAN TARAQQI-I-URDU AND URDU COLLEGE, KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan performed the opening ceremony of the Public Library of the All-Pakistan Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu in Karachi on September 19, 1449 In reply to the addresses of welcome presented by Dr 'Abdul Haq on behalf of the Anjuman and Mr Sho'aib Qureshi on behalf of the Urdu College of the Anjuman, he said

"Directors of the Pakistan Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Members of the Executive Committee of the Urdu College, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am grateful to the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu and Members of the Executive Committee of the Urdu College for their invitation to me to participate in this opening ceremony. One is always happy to perform the opening ceremony of any institution, but to open an institution whose aim, besides the pursuit of knowledge, is the progress and advancement of our national language is naturally not only a source of gratification and happiness to everyone but also of pride. I, therefore, consider this evening's gathering a very happy occasion.

"Everyone knows the importance of national language in the work of National reconstruction. An institution whose aim is to serve the national language, therefore, deserves our congratulations. I, therefore, thank those who are working for the advancement of Urdu language through Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu or Urdu College or any other Institution, not only on behalf of the Government, but also on behalf of the entire Pakistani Nation.

"Unfortunately our National Language—Urdu—had to suffer a great deal during the period the foreign Government was in power in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. The language of the ruling nation was English and when they decided that for their convenience the Government work should be carried on in English, the entire people of the country were naturally effected by this decision. The people

started learning English to serve their needs Although the introduction of English benefited us as we were able to draw upon that treasure of knowledge which those nations have whose language is English, yet it cannot be denied that the people became indifferent towards their national language and were so much influenced by Western culture and civilisation that they forgot their own glorious traditions. Some people, however, were farsighted enough to notice this defect and began to work for the advancement of Urdu language by various means In this connection the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu also rendered valuable services. Unfortunately a section in India introduced the Urdu-Hindi controversy and put further obstacles in the way of the progress of Urdu In spite of these difficulties Urdu continued to progress

"Gentlemen, the creation of Pakistan proved to be a boon for the Mussalmans, so also it proved to be a place where our mother-tongue, Urdu, cou'd take refuge from India, which has turned her out In your address you have referred to a part of the Quaid-i-A'zam's speech which relates to the position of Urdu language in our country I have no hesitation in saying and want to make it perfectly clear that Urdu and Urdu alone is our National Language and this is the only language which in the present conditions and circumstances, deserves to be made the *lingua franca* of Pakistan It is, therefore, the duty of every Government institution as also of non governmental bodies and of every Pakistani to do everything possible for the advancement of Urdu, for it is very important that we should enable our national language in the shortest possible time, to fulfil easily and creditably, all our official, educational and other needs Some days ago I made a speech at the Convocation of the Sind University wherein I referred to the Urdu language I am sorry to say that some people did not study this speech carefully and have, therefore, been mislead People connected with Government have sometimes to weigh their words very carefully In view of the importance of that occasion, therefore, the words which I used were carefully weighed As one who does not want that his nation should commit mistakes I had to say in that speech, keeping in view facts, that Urdu had not been made rich enough by us so that it could be introduced immediately as the medium of instruction I think it was my duty to draw the attention of my nation to this weakness so that my nation may realise this serious defect and may try to remove it as soon as possible I think I will not be able to serve my nation rightly if I do not point out those defects which are found in our national life, for no other thing

in a person or a nation is so dangerous as to ignore the disease and consequently to ignore its proper cure No one would have been happier than myself had our language attained that standard of perfection which is necessary for it in these days of scientific progress, for I should have thought that at least one of my burdens had been lessened. But due to our enemies in the past, our language which has every capacity for progress could not progress satisfactorily This is why we have still to organise institutions for the progress of Urdu.

"In this connection I may tell you that although during these two years, the Government was faced with the country's defence and other immediate problems, yet it was not unmindful of the Urdu language As you have yourself referred in your address, various departments of the Government have, from time to time, asked for help from the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu for introducing Urdu in various Government offices. In November 1947 an Educational Conference was held by the Government which *inter alia* passed these two Resolutions

Firstly that it be recommended to the Constituent Assembly to make Urdu the national language of Pakistan

Secondly that teaching of Urdu be made compulsory in all the schools in Pakistan

Both these recommendations were accepted by the Central Cabinet and all the Provinces were informed by the Government of this decision The Advisory Board of Education for Pakistan decided in their second meeting held at Peshawar in February 1949 that during the next four or five years Urdu should be made the medium of instruction for higher education In this connection the Ministry of Education of the Central Government has appointed two Committees—the first Committee is considering over the problem of script and the second has before it the question of scientific and technical terms It will be evident from these facts that the Government fully realises the importance of Urdu

"I should also like to tell you that in the near future the Government will appoint another committee to report, after a careful survey and taking stock of all available scientific material in Urdu, as to how far and in what directions further improvements are necessary Moreover, this committee will prepare a proper plan so that Urdu may be used in all our offices and other institutions. I am sure that in its survey this committee will take full advantage of the efforts of the Osmania University of Hyderabad Deccan and of other institutions in

this regard in the past. I also hope that the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu, Pakistan and such other institutions as are working for Urdu will help this proposed committee in its important work

"I am very glad to learn that in spite of those difficulties which the Anjuman Taraqqi-i-Urdu had to face after the partition, this institution was reviewed in its new environments here and continued its constructive work, started three journals, produced four scientific and literary books and opened a library and an Urdu College

"You have said in your address that the annual grant of Rs 20,000 given to the Anjuman by the Government of Pakistan is not enough for the requirements of the Anjuman You know private institutions are never wholly run on the basis of government funds If the entire expenditure of an institution is to be borne by the Government, there is no reason why the Government should not take over its administration in its own hands, especially when the Government is also a national Government But, I hope, you will at least admit that the aid which the Pakistan Government is giving to the Anjuman at the moment is enough to cover a substantial part of the Anjuman's expenditure.

"We should not forget that Pakistan has to spend a large sum of money on her defence and in our present conditions it would be extremely unwise on our part not to utilise all our resources for strengthening Pakistan. If Pakistan lives our Nation and Urdu language also live, but if, unfortunately, Pakistan perishes, our Nation also perishes, along with our National Language In these circumstances while allocating funds we have to give priority to our defence over all other matters I do not want that through our negligence we should not make even those defensive arrangements which it is possible for us to make. I have repeatedly declared that if need be I shall be prepared to sacrifice everything for the defence of our country and I am sure every Pakistani is at one with me in this. If any institution engaged in constructive work, therefore, feels that it does not receive that financial help from the Government which it should receive, I hope, it will cheerfully face these difficulties, in view of the sacred task of the defence of Pakistan Through the grace of God, we have made satisfactory progress in our defence, but we have yet to accomplish much more Our finances will, therefore, have to bear the extraordinary burden of defence for some time to come. We love peace and tranquillity but we love Pakistan's freedom and stability much more

"I thank you again and hope that you will not only do everything you can for the progress of Urdu, but will also co-operate with those

institutions which are serving the cause of Urdu Those who can serve our country and nation in this field have of necessity to work unitedly You know, in this age of scientific progress, we will have to introduce in Urdu suitable technical terms and phrases If in this difficult and important task various institutions adopt various ways, it will be injurious for our nation If we want to reach our goal at the earliest, we will have to save our nation from this danger.

"I pray to God for the success of your endeavours and earnestly appeal to every well-wisher of Pakistan to give as much help as he can in the cause of Urdu *Pakistan Zindabad*"

GILGIT ADDRESS

Addressing a largely attended public meeting in Gilgit on September 29, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan welcomed Pandit Nehru's statement for settling all disputes between India and Pakistan by peaceful means He also dealt with the Kashmir dispute in detail. He said

"We stand for peace. We have always stood for peace We have repeatedly given palpable proof of our love for it We did it last only the other day when despite our bitter experience of the Radcliffe Award, we responded to the appeal of President Truman and Mr Attlee and accepted UNCIP'S arbitration proposal

"I warmly welcome Pandit Nehru's recent statement that all outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan should be settled by peaceful methods I am glad that at last Pandit Nehru has realised that the interests of both India and Pakistan demand this So far as Pakistan is concerned he himself has repeatedly made it clear that Pakistan does not desire any armed conflict with India, which is bound to result in the ruin of both countries The important thing to remember is that verbal professions in themselves mean little unless backed by concrete acts. That Pakistan has backed its professions of peace with action is known to the whole world

"Peace is not a mere abstraction, nor something which exists in a vacuum, it co-exists with a fair and just settlement of the causes which lead to its breach. An unjust peace is a contradiction in terms. Our disputes with India are not of our seeking In every single case they have been forced on us.

"Judged by any standards, cultural, economic, geographical or religious, Kashmir and Pakistan are irrevocably linked together. But in utter disregard of all these considerations and contrary to the wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people of the State and despite the existence of a Standstill Agreement between Pakistan and the Maharaja's Government, India entered into a deal with the Maharaja and executed an Instrument of Accession, which is void of all legal and moral validity It is on the strength of this document, which was *void ab initio*, that India seeks to part us from our brethren. To the leaders of India, the fact that the people of Kashmir who share with us our faith and our cultural heritage want to be with us, is of no consequence It is of no consequence to them that Kashmir's economic prosperity depends on her accession to Pakistan It is of no consequence too that geographically Kashmir and Pakistan constitute a single indivisible unit. For Indian leaders all this has no meaning They only want the world to believe that their bogus legal claim, bolstered up by self-contradictory platitudes, has precedence over everything else

"It is nearly nine months since the Governments of India and Pakistan agreed on a settlement of the Kashmir dispute on the basis of UNCIP's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949 All subsequent efforts of the Commission to secure implementation of this settlement have been wrecked by India's obstinacy and unreasonableness In these nine months the only progress made was the stoppage of hostilities and demarcation of the cease-fire line This is, however, only the first, though a necessary, step towards a peaceful settlement

'The final objective namely, a free and impartial plebiscite to determine whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan or to India, is as distant as ever From the documents recently released by UNCIP, it would be evident to every fairminded person that India has sought to resile from its acceptance of the Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. At every stage new issues were raised to stultify the truce negotiations. One illustration would suffice to prove this point

"It has been maintained on behalf of India that no progress towards a truce agreement is possible unless provision is made for the disbandment or disarming of the Azad Kashmir Forces Everyone knows that the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948 makes no provision for the disbanding or disarming of these forces. On the other hand, the Commission told the Pakistan Government, as far back as September 19, 1948, that its resolution did not contemplate the

disarmament or disbanding of the Azad Kashmir Forces This clarification was communicated to the Government of India also and the Commission has throughout stood by it.

"The question of disposal of the Azad Kashmir Forces can only arise after the implementation of the truce agreement and during the plebiscite stage along with that of the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces in Indian-occupied territory as provided in clause IV of the Commission's Resolution of January 5, 1949 As the Commission's Press release of September 25, 1949 makes clear, there is no basis whatsoever for India's claim that the question of the disbandment or disarming of the Azad Kashmir Forces is a condition precedent to the withdrawal of the bulk of the Indian Forces from Jammu and Kashmir.

"One can visualise the possibility of an honest difference of opinion on matters of detail concerning the truce terms Such differences can and must be resolved either by mutual discussion or through the good offices of a third party There can be no progress if one party insists on the correctness of its own stand and refuses to accept the findings of the authors of the resolutions or the verdict of an arbitrator Such an attitude of mind is contrary to India's oft-proclaimed desire for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute

"It is being said by the Indian leaders that the two-nation theory is being put to a test in Kashmir The time for testing the two-nation theory is long past It was proved to the hilt in 1947 in East Punjab, Alwar, Bharatpur, parts of the United Provinces and in Delhi itself It was proved in Kapurthala, where, in 1947, 60 per cent of the population was Muslim and before the year ran out not a single Muslim was left It is being proved now in the Province of Jammu where the town is full of placards asking Muslims to quit the State For the proof and justification of the one-nation theory, the leaders of India should look nearer home than in Kashmir If they have any confidence in their own one-nation theory why do they fight shy of holding a plebiscite The result of the plebiscite would convince them, if they really have any doubts in their minds

"Pakistan for its part is determined to ensure for the people of Kashmir the right to decide by means of a free and impartial plebiscite whether they want to accede to Pakistan or to India Pakistan will do all that lies in her power to enable them to exercise this right On the settlement of this dispute, above everything else, rests the fate of Indo-Pakistan relations.

"Pakistan was barely a few months old when India began to

threaten us with the deprivation of our riparian and irrigation rights and for a time actually stopped the inflow of water into our canals This dispute also, like that relating to Kashmir, is not of our seeking. It is India which in violation of our rights and in disregard of justice and equity is seeking to turn our lands into a desert and to imperil the existence of millions of our people We cannot allow such a threat to materialise The rivers of the Subcontinent which irrigate lands in both the Dominions are the common property of the two Dominions In the spirit of finding a peaceful solution of our problem, we have already proposed to India that this dispute should be referred to the International Court of Justice for adjudication.

"Other major dispute between the two Dominions pertains to the exchange and evaluation of evacuee properties on both sides of the border Here again the wide-spread massacres followed by the forced expulsion of millions of people from their homes, which have given rise to this problem, were planned and executed by Indian nationals with the active support of Indian officialdom.

"Nevertheless Pakistan is not only prepared but anxious to come to a settlement. An inter-Dominion agreement was in fact arrived at in January this year. It was India that broke this agreement and entered upon a large-scale eviction of Muslims from their properties and means of livelihood in India So far as non-Muslim evacuee properties, both rural and urban in West Pakistan, are concerned, their value can only be determined after a settlement has been reached on the subject of West Pakistan's riparian and irrigation rights.

"Although enormous difficulties and obstacles were thrown in the way of Pakistan from its very inception, the determination and fortitude of our people and the inherent strength of our economy enabled us by God's grace to overcome all difficulties and obstacles This economic strength was put to a severe test a few days ago when the devaluation of the pound sterling followed by the devaluation of a large number of other currencies confronted us with the question, whether to devalue the Pakistan rupee or not?

"After the most careful consideration of every aspect of the problem, we decided not to devaluate the Pakistani rupee. We put ourselves two broad questions What is the best course considering the question from the point of view of Pakistan? And what is the best course considering it from that of the sterling area? We found that the answer to both questions, was the same, 'no devaluation' We have made the decision, finally and irrevocably Pay no heed to those self-confident but self-deceived prophets who talk about possible

devaluation of our rupee at a future date It shall not be It cannot be"

BROADCAST FROM DACCA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a speech recorded in Karachi and broadcast from the Dacca Station of Radio Pakistan on October 8, 1949, said

"You are fully aware of the great calamity which befell Pakistan on the death of our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam. But very few, I think, have any correct idea of the intense grief caused to me by his sad demise At present when our country is passing through a delicate phase, the Quaid-i-A'zam's leadership and guidance was most needed But God's will must be done We, therefore, have no alternative but to submit to the Divine will,

"It was but natural that the Quaid-i-A'zam's death should come as a stunning blow to the people of Pakistan. It is also natural for some to think as to what would happen next But by God's mercy, this state of suspense is now over and the people feel that for the existence of Pakistan, unity, discipline and hard work are most essential. People have also come to believe that Pakistan is going to stay

"On the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam, our ill-wishers and those not acquainted with the affairs of Pakistan started saying that internal strife among various groups for power will result in the disintegration of Pakistan But they forgot the fact that the driving force which led to the attainment of Pakistan was not confined to one single personality.

"The Muslims knew fully well that unless Pakistan was established their existence as a nation would come to an end and that neither their culture nor their way of life nor their mode of thinking would survive. Under this belief they prepared themselves to sacrifice their all for the attainment of Pakistan and at last came out victorious If the nation was not worthy of it and if it had not striven wholeheartedly, the Quaid-i-A'zam alone would not have been successful in achieving Pakistan The nation is still endowed with these virtues What has happened after the partition has abundantly shown that if Pakistan had not come into being the Muslims' fate would have been sealed

"As I have said before, the people fully realise that for the defence of Pakistan unity and action are necessary I have just returned from a tour of Western Pakistan and was extremely happy to notice everywhere the peeple's high morale and their readiness to sacrifice their all for the defence of Pakistan Nowhere did I see any trace of fear, despondency or uncertainty

"Many persons who previously were the critics of the Government came to me spontaneously and assured me of their unconditional support to the Government They even realised that this was not the time for levelling criticisms or discussing personal differences and that the exigencies of the time demanded that all differences should be eliminated or at least put off for the time being

"I regret for not having been able to pay a visit to Eastern Pakistan up till now This should not lead you to believe that either I have forgotten you or I do not think of you Eastern Pakistan is as much dear to me as any other part of Pakistan and for its prosperity I am endeavouring as much as for any other province of Pakistan

"Once or twice before I thought of visiting Eastern Pakistan, but circumstances necessitated a change in my programme However, you should remember that distance can never separate us The ties which bind us together cannot be affected by considerations of distance I am proceeding to England in a couple of days and on my return, *Insha Allah* I shall try to meet you and visit Eastern Pakistan as early as possible I am confident that I will find among you the same enthusiasm for the defence and maintenance of Pakistan as I witnessed in Western Pakistan.

"There may be some people in Eastern Pakistan who think that as they are far away from the Central Government, the Central Government or the people of Western Pakistan do not take any interest in them I assure you that this is not so If you look at the Central Government, you will notice what great importance you have Same is the case with the Constituent Assembly

"You should not forget that at present the Governor-General of Pakistan belongs to Eastern Pakistan If any one at any time thought that Eastern Pakistan was less important than Western Pakistan, he should get rid of this erroneous notion at once

"You should remember that if a nation is united and is determined to achieve its goal then there is no obstacle which can stand in its way If 80 million people resolve to protect Pakistan with their heart and soul, then there is no power on earth which can deprive them of their freedom You should, at this critical time, fully co-

operate with the Government and their officials

"About the officers and officials of the Government, I wish to say that a great majority of them have served Pakistan with integrity and devotion The Government and myself are, therefore, thankful to them and I appeal to them to re-double their efforts Till such time that we are able to overcome the difficulties facing us, the Government servants should forget their personal comforts

"Among the Government servants there are some who think that Pakistan was brought into existence for their personal gain I wish to warn them to change their outlook and start serving Pakistan sincerely If they fail to mend their ways, then I would like to warn them that there would be no place for them in Pakistan Pakistan did not come into being for the benefit of an individual or group of individuals Pakistan was created so that 80 million people may live a peaceful life free from want and fear Pakistan was created so that its people may be masters of their own fate and its Government may do full justice to all

"Now I would like to address a few words to the business community. The Government are fully alive to their importance as they are engaged in an extremely useful work The Government are ever trying to afford all possible assistance to them so that trade may flourish I shall not be telling the truth if I do not say that some businessmen want to earn in one year which perhaps they ought to earn in 20 years Because of this, they do not hesitate to resort at times to black-marketing I would advise such people to change their methods and not to force the Government to take drastic steps against them

"On many occasions the Quaid-i-A'zam defined the policy of the Government towards the minorities He assured the minorities that they would enjoy the same rights as enjoyed by the majority The only condition is that they should be loyal to Pakistan in the same way as behoves the citizens of a country This remains the policy of the Pakistan Government and shall ever remain so In Pakistan, every citizen, irrespective of his caste and creed, enjoys equal rights, provided he is prepared to sink or swim with Pakistan But a person who is not truly loyal to the State does not deserve any favour nor should he expect it

"You are naturally interested to know what defence measures the Government of Pakistan have adopted It is not possible for me and indeed no one from you expects me to tell you what we have done in this direction so far But I wish to assure you that the Government

are doing all that is humanly possible in this respect. Defence of the state is our foremost consideration and has dominated all other Governmental activities We fully understand that the Government of Pakistan and the wealth of its people can be useful only so long as Pakistan exists We will, therefore, not grudge spending any amount on the defence of the country. We are going to make our land, air and naval forces, which are second to none in the world in their morale and determination, stronger still

"We should not forget that the defence of a country is not confined to its armed forces So long as every citizen of the state does not participate in the defence of the country, the armed forces alone cannot discharge their onerous task This is so because modern warfare is entirely different from that of the past Now every individual whatsover may be his profession takes as much part in the war as a soldier Therefore, everyone of you should understand that the country needs your services for its defence

"I wish to make it clear that we are not making these preparations with a view to attacking any one or to transgressing on any one's right, but only for self-defence If our freedom is attacked from any side we shall fight with our full might and to our last breath I wish to reassure you that if we work with unity, determination and courage, then no power on earth can deprive us of our freedom. The greatest asset of a country is the courage and determination of its people Pakistan has come to stay *Pakistan Zindabad* "

PAKISTAN HAS A MISSION TO FULFIL

Addressing a largely attended meeting at Dacca on October 12, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"It was my desire to come to East Bengal at least twice a year and I had every mind to come here last April but due to other official preoccupations, notably the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference, this was not possible I, however, assure you that you have always been uppermost in my mind since I came here last under the shadow of the national gloom caused by the passing away of the Father of the Nation That was a terrible loss no doubt and for sometime there were grave misapprehensions about the future of the State But the

nation which had proved its mettle in the struggle for Pakistan in an exemplary manner by rallying round the leadership of the Quaid-i-A'zam once again rose to the occasion and demonstrated to the world that Pakistan was founded on solid grounds and was destined to play its rightful role in the comity of nations "

Referring to the decision not to devalue the Rupee, he said "The condition of the people of East Bengal is a major consideration in arriving at the decision which has no political motives behind it Various attempts are being made by the enemies of the State to break the morale of the people," but he asked the jute growers not to give in and to hang on to their jute, if necessary Government itself would come forward to buy it Government were ready with concrete measures to help the grower tide over the present *impasse*

If the decision of the Government not to devalue the Rupee did not suit the convenience of some persons or any other Government, Pakistan could not help it He advised the people of East Pakistan to see that their jute did not find any outlet by illegal means outside the Province such as had been reported

Referring to the ill-treatment of Muslims in the Indian Dominion, Liaquat 'Ali said that "it shows how the secular democratic state of India is functioning." He advised people in Pakistan, however, not to retaliate and to continue their good treatment of the minorities.

Referring to the Kashmir issue, he said "Pakistan will strive her utmost to arrive at a settlement of the dispute by peaceful and democratic means, namely, that the issue should be decided by the will of the people themselves If this fails, however, and India decides to occupy Kashmir by force, Pakistan would be prepared for any eventualities, for, the Kashmir issue is vitally linked up with the future of Pakistan itself and on no account will Pakistan allow India to take Kashmir by the sword "

Dwelling on the constitution for Pakistan that was in the making and about which criticism had been made that it was being delayed, he said "A constitution for any country cannot be hustled through Much less can it be so in the case of Pakistan which is going to make a constitution which will be entirely different from any other constitution in the world, for it would be based on Islamic principles and traditions There is no country at present in the world which can claim to have a constitution so framed

"Thus Pakistan is making a great experiment, namely, to demonstrate to the world that the Islamic ideology is superior to any other ideology and that the precepts and teachings for the guidance of

mankind and man's affairs both temporal and otherwise that were revealed thirteen hundred years ago still are as sound as ever before. But in order to demonstrate this, the people of Pakistan must take an active part and give practical shape to the sublime Islamic principles which would be incorporated in the constitution for which a Board has already been set up of learned divines . . "

"My Government are not unaware of the action taken by the adjacent dominion in regard to evacuee properties Muslims' properties are being seized on each and every pretext

He declared that nepotism and corruption must be rooted out of the body politic for it besmirched the fair name of Pakistan if allowed to continue

"As for proportion in the services, fifty per cent has already been reserved for East Bengal but in the competitive examination the standard has to be lowered for East Bengal to keep up to its quota This is probably because the students or large sections of them fritter away their energies in extra scholastic activities "

He regretted that a sufficient number of East Pakistanis and of the right type had not come forward to join the defence services. He wished to assure the people of East Bengal that their defence was not being neglected by the Centre

He also warned the people against the enemies of the State who wanted to create dissensions among the ranks of the Muslims "Such people are clearly enemy agents, and should be treated as such. They are traitors to the country , whatever the guise in which they carry on their nefarious activities it is not in the interests of the State " He cautioned the people not to be taken in by the wiles and guiles of such people but to deal with them firmly and not to allow their solidarity to be impaired

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SPEECH AT CHITTAGONG

Addressing a largely attended meeting at Chittagong on October 13, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

Government's decision not to devalue the Pakistan rupee is made not on any political ground but is dictated essentially by economic motives The Government have all the time in view the conditions of the grower of Pakistan's crops, especially the jute growers of Eastern

Pakistan.

"My Government have taken an irrevocable step and there is no question of going back on our word. India is now trying to put obstacles in the way of Pakistan's trade by non-co-operation but I want to tell India that this short sighted policy will lead them nowhere . They are mistaken if they think, they can do any harm to Pakistan Instead, they can promote chances of friendly relations between the two countries by recognising the Pakistan Government's decision as an accomplished fact and proceed to deal with various problems in an openhearted manner Indo Pakistan trade, in order that it may not be hindered in any way, has to flow through open channels and that is not possible if India continues that policy "

He asked the jute growers of Eastern Pakistan not to get worried over the present situation They should stick to their places If the worst comes, the Government would themselves buy all their jute. In no case would they allow the growers to suffer He had received reports that jute was being smuggled into India through the East Pakistan-India border. He added that it was very unforunate He urged the growers to see that not a single *tola* of 'The Golden Fibre' went out of the country without the Government's permission He said "Till a settlément is arrived at with India, it is the duty of every Pakistani to give whole-hearted co-operation to my Government in the step that it has taken

"I am fully aware of the importance of the fact that the development of the Chittagong Port is essential to the stability of Eastern Pakistan . . The Government will not lose even a single moment to do all that is in their power in this direction The economic life of Eastern Pakistan depends on the proper working of traffic through Chittagong Port and the Government are taking appropriate measures for the development of Chittagong as soon as possible '

Referring to relations between Pakistan and Burma, he said "these have been thoroughly cordial and I expect them to be so in future I am sure that the Burma Government would take all necessary steps to see that the Muslims in Arakan are put to no trouble or inconvenience .

"So long as big factories are not established in Pakistan, the economy of the country cannot be self-sufficient Pakistan had been created not only that the Muslims of the subcontinent should have the opportunity to live the way they like but also the object had been to better the lot of the common man Pakistan has not been established

for the rich It was created by the sacrifices made by millions of poor Muslims and if their lot is not improved, the very object of Pakistan would be defeated

"Some industrialists do not have the well-being of the country in mind but look to their own interests Such people should change their outlook now that the country is free and should work for the welfare of the State At the same time the Central Government are not sitting idle and they have a scheme to establish three jute mills in Eastern Pakistan The requisite machinery will soon be ordered "

Making a casual reference to the morals of the people in the country, he said "There are certain corrupt elements in the body politic of Pakistan and this is due to their ignorance of the principles of morality Of course the Government can not take up the task of setting them right, it is they who can purify their lives of the evil and serve their State as true citizens The Government is not something different from the people, they were the wheels of the same organism for the working of which it is essential that each one of them should act in the proper way "

Expressing his firm faith in the bright future of Pakistan, he said "Given confidence, courage, determination and discipline, the people of Pakistan would rise to the highest position in the world A nation that follows the path of truth and has the courage to sacrifice its millions for the establishment of a sovereign state can at the same time give greater sacrifices for its maintenance and strength "

FACTIONALISM WILL WEAKEN PAKISTAN

Addressing a largely attended meeting in Mymensingh on October 12, 1949, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"This is my first visit to the district. Nevertheless I and my Government are not unmindful of the problems and requirements of this part of Pakistan For example the Central Government are taking every effort to improve the food situation in East Pakistan But the food problem cannot be solved on a permanent basis until the food production in the province is increased to maximum capacity

"The Central Government have decided to establish three jute mills in East Pakistan as first step in speeding up industrialisation

There are also other problems such as education and communications, but this province has been the victim of systematic exploitation for the last 200 years and it is obvious that it cannot be made up in two years."

Referring to *zamindari* system, he said "It is necessary to replace an antiquated system which is not in keeping with the present economic trends and I am happy that the Provincial Government are proceeding with necessary measures about the adjustment in the economic structure of the Province that are called for"

In the welcome address presented to him it had been urged to hold the next elections under the new constitution in 1950 He regretted that such a demand should have been made without realising that the framing of a constitution and holding of election could not be performed by magic and the next elections will surely be based on a much wider franchise It will take perhaps a year to complete the election rolls . . . ."

He recalled earlier struggles in the achievement of Pakistan which involved massacre of ten lakhs of people and displacement of 70 lakhs besides untold misery, dishonour and privation. "This has been possible because of firm unity and solidarity of Muslims" and he enjoined on them not to lose that unity which was required even in larger measure for building up the State and consolidating hard-won freedom

"Pakistan has to face many obstacles which appear at first to be overwhelming. A sense of unity and discipline will remain with the people for constructive work that is to be done

"I warn those who are attempting to weaken the State by encouraging dissensions These people are agents of the enemy There are many among these who are working against the State who have changed their nationality and have come across from the adjoining Dominion These people will never be tolerated and I warn them of the consequences of their nefarious activities"

BACK UP PROFESSIONS OF PEACE WITH ACTION

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing a Press conference on November 4, 1949, referred to Pandit Nehru's utterances in America and said

"The Indian Prime Minister is trying to mislead the American public by creating a totally misleading impression that Pakistan is talking war and India is talking peace The words of Pakistan leaders since partition conclusively show that Pakistan wants a peaceful solution of all problems Pakistan will not agree to the settlement of any problem by means of force

"I shall never allow India to take Kashmir by means of force, whatever the consequences The Kashmir issue is very clear Both India and Pakistan have agreed to a settlement of the Kashmir question by means of a free and impartial plebiscite of the people of the State and the various steps necessary for such a plebiscite—such as the withdrawal of armed forces and the appointment of Admiral Nimitz as Plebiscite Administrator—have been laid down by the United Nations' Commission and have been accepted by both Governments

"India has obstructed the implementation of this settlement by raising a number of irrelevent issues The United Nations Commission, which was a commission of mediation, tried hard to smooth out the difficulties raised by India and when it did not succeed, proposed arbitration by Admiral Nimitz This proposal was strongly supported by President Truman and Mr. Attlee. **Pakistan** accepted it but India did not

"The whole world can now see what professions of peace by Pandit Nehru mean The reason for India's refusal is very clear India is afraid of the free verdict of the people of Kashmir which she knows will go in favour of Pakistan She is holding down Kashmir by force of arms Let India withdraw her forces from Kashmir and allow a free and impartial plebiscite That would be a test of India's sincerity We are prepared to do the same We have always stood for a free and impartial plebiscite to decide whether Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan That is the only democratic and peaceful solution of the Kashmir dispute and until India gives practical proof of it, her professions of peace are a mockery

"[illegible] violation of our rights and in disregard of justice and equity India cut off the supplies of water for our canals for over a month last year She is seeking to turn our land into a desert and to imperil the existence of millions of our people Once again in the spirit of finding a peaceful solution of the problem, Pakistan has proposed to India that this dispute be referred to the International Court of Justice for adjudication If Pandit Nehru's professions of peace mean anything, let India agree to this proposal We stand for peace and are anxious to settle all our disputes with India in a just

and peaceful manner. An unjust peace is a contradiction in terms. It cannot last. India's occupation of Kashmir against the will of its people is an unjust act. It must be undone Let the people of Kashmir freely decide whether they want to join India or Pakistan That is the way to peace and I invite Pandit Nehru to follow it"

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

The International Islamic Economic Conference was held in Karachi on November 25, 1949 to which 16 Muslim countries sent their delegates Inaugurating the Conference, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"This is a historic occasion because it is for the first time that the representatives of the Muslim world in the fields of industry, trade and commerce have come together to discuss and formulate a course of action which will benefit the people of these countries and which will further strengthen the ties of brotherhood which already exist between them

"Almost all the Muslim countries are agricultural and the bulk of their population lives by cultivating the land and otherwise producing raw materials. They all export these and import manufactured goods One of the consequent results is that the standard of living of their people is not as high as of those in the industrial countries Of course the standard of living of a people does not depend on industrialisation alone Trade and commerce are other important factors

"We want to know each other's needs and also what we can offer each other in terms of goods, services and technical help The Islamic countries have practically all the minerals and agricultural products which are needed for the development of these countries. There is no reason why we should not utilise these in the interest of our people I must make it clear, however, that our intention is not to confine our trade and commerce to Muslim countries alone and to exclude others We are willing to co-operate in mutually beneficial activities with each and every country in the world

"Pakistan today has the honour of being your host The representatives of industry, trade and commerce of this country have organised this conference not for any selfish reasons, not because they

want to get something for themselves alone but because they have a passionate desire for the betterment of the people of the world, particularly those who have been left behind in the race for development and progress If an undeveloped country progresses, it benefits the whole of humanity

"We have worked hard and we are determined to continue our efforts The proof of this is the achievements of the people of Pakistan during the last two years Whatever decisions are made in this conference and whatever plans are formulated for future actions, Pakistan will not fail to do its share gladly and to the full

"I wish this conference God-speed and hope that this conference will initiate a series of conferences which will not only bring material benefit to our countries but also increase mutual goodwill amongst our people"

ADDRESS TO THE PAKISTAN CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was invited at the annual dinner of the Pakistan Chamber of Commerce in Karachi on December 2, 1949 Replying to the address presented by its President, Mr G Allana he said

"I am very glad to be here today and to meet you all who have done such good work during the last two years to rehabilitate the commerce of Pakistan I am very happy to note that you have such warm and appreciative feelings towards the Government of Pakistan and that you feel in complete harmony with the policy of the Government regarding commerce and industry When I look around and review the work done during the last two years, I am acutely conscious of the fact that a lot has to be done yet and that we have a long way to go before Pakistan achieves the prosperity and strength which is the aim of all of us Nevertheless, I cannot but feel pleased with what the people of Pakistan have achieved This splendid achievement is not only creditable in itself but is notable in another way It gives us confidence in our ability to attain our goal

"I should like to take this opportunity to pay my tribute to the businessmen of Pakistan who have, by responding so readily to opportunity made such a contribution to the prosperity of this youthful but vigorous State All the horrors and miseries which

attended partition could not obstruct the flow of our produce to ports and its steady sale overseas All the impediments placed by our neighbours on the supply to us of such essential commodities as cloth served merely to stimulate enterprise in establishing new contacts and securing alternative supplies It is a remarkable proof of the changes which have occurred in two years that while we were then anxious about our ability to clothe our people, our concern a few months ago was about the possibility of saturation in the whole market The pioneering spirit of traders has had every encouragement and support from the carefully considered policies of the Government and it is not too much to claim that the licensing policy consistently followed by the Commerce Ministry in the teeth of criticism has been largely responsible for establishing the Pakistanis, many of them quite small people, in export and import trades It is now up to them to carry on from this point and show that their enterprise is equalled by their business and practices The Government is already doing and proposes to do much more towards the enforcement of commodity standards in export products, but in the last analysis, foreign confidence in the unvarying quality of our products, in the business practices of our commercial community and in their integrity can be inspired by businessmen alone Please do not fail your country in this A set back now would require years to re-establish our reputation I know that the great majority of the businessmen are thoroughly sound in these matters but they also have a responsibility , to impose their own good standards on any defaulters in their community

"In this connection your remarks about the increasing association of non-official advice and consultation in framing the policies of the Government interests me Certain chambers of commerce and trade associations have been recognised and are regularly consulted on matters which arise from time to time in their spheres

'Some months ago their views on the constitution of an Export Import Advisory Council were invited These were on the whole favourable and a scheme of this nature would probably have matured by now, but that the Commerce Minister, as a result of his European tour, thought that it might be possible to give a greater measure to executive as opposed to advisory functions to the business community and is busy preparing a suitable scheme You may, therefore, find yourself saddled with a larger measure of association with the Government than you had expected and I know that you will rise to the occasion.

"It is of supreme importance that you should not only increase

the range and volume of goods that Pakistan exports but that you should also expand the markets to which they go Attention has tended to concentrate on the major raw materials all of which are in demand There is, however, a field so far almost unexplored, for exploiting the products of a number of small but important industries which, in the aggregate, could add significant earnings to our income. Sports goods already have made their way to other countries but this very profitable market is relatively almost untouched by us. We have so many crafts whose products, if properly marketed overseas, would have a special value in the world where individual craftsmanship has largely disappeared You will be able to think of many such lines but do not stop at thinking—get on with the job of promoting Pakistan's prosperity

"The Government, as you are well aware, has met the challenge from India So much has been said and written about this matter that I have no intention to worry you with further repetition here All I should like to say before our guests from the Muslim countries is that all our decisions have been actuated by our assessment of the interests of Pakistan They have been taken in good faith and will be maintained with consistency and vigour We do not indulge in emotional ranting and passionate denunciations These, though they catch the eye and ear of the world for the moment, have no intrinsic value We are confident that in the end our less showy but, we hope, more solid virtues will carry conviction with the world and prevail We always mean what we say

'You, Mr President, called attention to certain factors which have retarded the development of industries such as the availability of power and water The Government is aware of these handicaps and is taking steps to remove them as fast as conditions permit and I hope that before long our industrialists will be free from anxiety on this score

'You have in your speech, called attention to Pakistan's dependence on India for its coal and have suggested that, apart from exploiting to the full our own coal deposits of Pakistan, we should arrange for supplies from other countries So far as our indigenous resources are concerned, the Government has received the report of our consultants from the United Kingdom and has accepted the recommendations of the consultants in so far as the development of the coal industry in Baluchistan is concerned Action to implement these recommendations has already been initiated As regards the recommendations of the consultants on the coal mines of the West Punjab, the matter is under

the Government's active consideration and it hopes to be able to come to a decision in this matter before the close of the year

"As regards the dependence of Pakistan on Indian coal you must be aware that we have been obtaining coal from overseas particularly from the U K and Poland Imports from other countries could also be arranged at short notice and I need hardly assure you that the matter is under the Government's close and constant consideration

"You have also urged the Government to come forward in the larger interest of the country and help in the establishment of jute textile industry in Eastern Pakistan This question has already been receiving close attention of the Government and it hopes to be able to announce before the close of this year the action taken by it to implement the decision to establish this industry in our country

"From what I have said above it must be quite clear to you that the Government is not only willing but keen to help the businessmen to establish the jute industry in Pakistan and to provide them with all reasonable facilities The one and the only aim of the Government of Pakistan is to improve the lot of the common man and to make Pakistan a strong State You have said in your address that you also desire, more than anything else, to make Pakistan prosperous and strong I have no doubt in my mind that you will do your share of work In your efforts you can also count on the full support of my Government "

REPLY TO NAWAB OF AMB'S ADDRESS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan after performing the switching on ceremony of the Malakand Electric Supply to Haripur went to Darband, Capital of the Amb State In reply to an address of welcome by the Nawab of Amb on December 7 1949, he said

"Amb State is dear to Pakistan It is because of this that I have come here first It is a sacred obligation on every Pakistani to serve Pakistan to the best of his capacity and power Pakistan is a blessing and you should be prepared to lay down your lives for its defence and preservation Remember by strengthening Pakistan you ensure security of honourable existence for your ownself

"We must keep pace with the time and adjust ourselves according

to the changing conditions Present is the age of democracy that implies the betterment of the lot of the poor If we fail to achieve that we are certain to be destroyed Pakistan is an Islamic State wherein it is envisaged that none should be poor The true Islamic State according to the Holy Prophet is one where none is so poor as to accept charity

"I want to emphasise that you must work for the welfare of your masses Let there be no delay in bringing about conditions wherein the masses are happy and prosperous There is urgent need of providing educational and medical facilities to the people and adopt measures for their economic development "

N-W F P POLICE URGED TO WORK WITH SINCERITY

Addressing a ceremonial parade of the N W F P Police at Peshawar on December 7 1949, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"Police in every country forms an essential part of the Government machinery and as such, your responsibility is greater than other departments

"As the policemen remain in constant touch with masses, they should not only maintain law and order, but should also help public in every possible way The Pakistan Government, its various departments and the staff are not separate things but together constitute one machinery and if one of it fails to give satisfactory service, the whole structure is bound to crumble down I am sure you will prove worthy of the responsibilities placed on your shoulders and continue to serve your country selflessly

"Not only I but every citizen of Pakistan should be proud of your performance at today's parade I am glad to state that as far I know, the Frontier Police has carried out its duties very well, not only in their province but also in other parts of the country. To make Pakistan strong and powerful, it is essential that every citizen of the State pledges to do his duty diligently and honestly. The keynote to our progress lies in honesty of purpose and if we continue to work with that spirit day and night, the time is not far off when not only the people of this State but also Muslims all over the world will be proud of Pakistan and our achievements "

CONSOLIDATE PAKISTAN

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, speaking at a State banquet at Peshawar on December 9, 1949, said

"If we keep in our minds the interest of Pakistan, we need entertain no doubts about our future We have to work day and night if we want to make Pakistan a mighty State We are building Pakistan not for our own selves, but for the future, for our sons and grandsons We want to show that the teachings of Islam are as fresh today as 13,00 years ago If we succeed, we would have contributed greatly to the peace of the world

"Humanity is overwhelmed in darkness and will remain so until the message of Islam was accepted The world cannot survive Communism or Capitalism It can only survive if it follows the middle course of Islam Our task is indeed difficult but our people have shown in the past that the more difficult the task, the greater had been their effort .

"The people of N-W F P , whether of settled districts or of tribal territory, have an equal share in Pakistan It is the desire of the Pakistan Government to bring this province to the level of others .

"Indeed no province in Pakistan is a problem Province Problems we have to face are those that a child faces while growing and they will be automatically solved as we go forward I regard the N-W F P as the most important province not for its strategic position but for its vast potentialities I am glad, the Government of the N-W F P is tackling the various problems in the right way and with great earnestness "

Regarding a university for the Frontier Province, he said "The scheme submitted by the N-W F P Government is now before the Minister of Education, Government of Pakistan Once the experts have approved the scheme, the University would not remain unestablished for want of funds '

STUDENTS TO AVOID POLITICS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan who addressed the students of Islamia College Peshawar on December 10, 1949, stated.

"When we were struggling for achieving our independence, it was

at 'Aligarh that I gave a call to the students to come out of their lecture halls and devote all the time and energy for winning the general elections to be able to establish our claim for independence and everyone of you responded heartily to that call Today my advice to my young friends is, devote all your time in your lecture halls

"Do not dissipate your energies in other directions but every moment of your life should be devoted to study because what Pakistan needs and will always need would be efficient hands to run the machinery of the State and that you cannot do if you do not equip yourselves from now for that great responsibility which has to be your lot, whether you like it or not

"Therefore, my young friends, my advice to you is, spend every moment of your life, while you are in this college, to the study of various subjects Especially we are short in science and other technical matters and I would ask, as many of our young men as could be, to take in the future as their courses of studies the different science and different technical subjects

"I know some people get very impatient as to why the Constituent Assembly is taking so long in framing the future constitution of Pakistan? For the simple reason young friends, that there is no constitution in existence today which we could adopt as the model for our future constitution and we have to explore new grounds not for the sake that we are looking for having something new because what we are going to frame our constitution upon is already in existence for over 13,00 years But, new grounds, in the sense, that it is one thing to have everything in your Holy Book and it is another thing to modify it and to put it down in concrete forms as the future constitution of Pakistan and that is why it is taking long that I would like it to be But there is no need for us to get impatient because at this moment while we are framing our constitution, if we take one wrong step, then the whole structure of the future will be incorrect So I say that we have undertaken a very big task

"I am asked by some foreigners that don't you think it is a very big task that you have undertaken? My reply is that we the Pakistanis have shown by our courage, determination and sacrifice that we have made since the establishment of Pakistan that there is no task which is difficult enough for us On the contrary the characteristic of a Muslim is, greater the difficulty the greater the effort, and therefore I have no doubt in my mind that God willing we will be able to make Pakistan into a State of our dreams

"We shall be able to show the light to this world which in darkness

is going ahead towards destruction, which might save it from that catastrophe. In this task, my young friends, you have to play your part and you will have to equip from now yourselves for that part which you are called upon to play

"If we are going to build Pakistan into a real and truly Islamic State, we must inculcate in us those qualities which are the essentials of a true Muslim Unfortunately our subjugation during the last 200 years has deprived us of all those qualities and therefore while you are in your college you must, apart from acquiring knowledge through books, must build your character as that of a true Muslim

"Islam is not a religion which only teaches us how to pray in life From the time that you get up in the morning to the time that you go to sleep, Islam has told you how to educate yourselves in different spheres. Therefore, if we want that Pakistan should be an Islamic State, we have got to shape our lives in accordance with the teachings of Islam. If we can do that I assure you that we shall succeed in the mission which we have in front of us"

APPFAL FOR UNITY

Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressing a public meeting on December 11, 1949 at Mardan held under the presidentship of the then N-W F P Premier Khan 'Abdul Qaiyum Khan said

"Those who try to create disunity among Muslims are not only the enemies of Pakistan but also of Islam No matter how strong are the defences of the country, if its people are torn by internal strife and petty squabbles, it can neither make progress nor defend itself against foreign aggression

"Your enemies, who have failed miserably in all their attempts to destroy Pakistan, are now trying to achieve their goal by sowing seeds of disunity among Muslims Now close up your ranks and stand like an iron wall to defy all efforts to break up your unity The Quaid-i-A'zam could not have realised his dreams of achieving Pakistan if Muslims all over the country, resolving all their differences, had not given him united support That unity and that singleness of purpose are also essential now for the consolidation of your State, otherwise you will never be able to make Pakistan powerful and prosperous ..."

"Your achievements reflect a great credit on you and the brave soldiers whom you commanded The eminent foreign military experts have told me that the Pakistan Army is one of the best in the world You can be proud of that But do not become smug and complacent You should not be satisfied at being one of the best armies of the world You should rather aspire to be the best in the world.

"As you know the Government has decided to nationalise the Army by the end of the next year Only some technical and staff appointments, for which we have no qualified officers, will be filled by non-Pakistanis You must equip yourselves to discharge your duties with credit to yourself and your country"

Stating that the Pakistan Army had finest material in the world, he said "It is for you to see that the material is properly shaped and used to the best advantage of the country. It has been rightly said that efficiency of the armed forces depends upon their officers. The officers should possess right attitude to life and their professional duties

"Some of you might think that you have learned everything and that it is not officers' job to study It is wrong In whatever walk of life one might be he should consider himself a student and seeker of knowledge. This is particularly true about the officers in armed forces. My advice to you would be to fight against self-complacency and to strive to deepen and broaden your knowledge"

Regarding salaries, he said "I am fully aware of your difficulties But these matters have to be decided in view of the country's wealth and resources If I have not been able to do more in the matter, it is because of the difficulties that Pakistan has to face Pakistan is spending about 70 per cent of her budget on defence This is a heavy burden on the economy of the country But the people have been cheerfully shouldering the burden because they realise the threat to their newly won independence and are prepared to do sacrifices

"It is a great privilege to be a member of a country's armed forces You are not serving in the forces as mercenaries but as patriots and defenders of your freedom and honour

"Pakistan was established to improve the condition of the masses and to build a new society in the light of Islamic teachings. Islam presents a way of life which could be panacea for world's ills. Today the world is torn with conflict between Communism and Capitalism. But Islam which embodies the best features of these ideologies presents a path which humanity should follow."

AFGHANISTAN'S PROPAGANDA

In reply to Dr Omar Hayat Malik's question that "(a) Will the Honourable the Prime Minister please state whether the attention of the Government of Pakistan has been drawn to the allegations contained in the statement made by the Afghanistan Ambassador in New Delhi on or about the 21st December 1949 regarding the so-called 'Pushtoonistan'? (b) If the reply to (a) be in affirmative, will Government state the correct position regarding these allegations? (c) Are Government aware of the bitter resentment which has been caused by this statement throughout Pakistan and particularly in the N.-W F P and the tribal areas? (d) what action have Government of Pakistan taken to counteract such propaganda by Afghanistan in respect of Pushtoonistan as well as Pakistan itself," Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"(a) Yes, Sir (b) The allegations contained in the statement referred to are as false and baseless as they are mischievous The alleged demand for the so-called 'free Pushtoonistan' is entirely a figment of imagination of certain individuals in Afghanistan The people of N.-W F P. and of the tribal territory on the Pakistan side of Durand Line are not only good Pakistanis but are also rightly proud of the notable part played by them in the struggle for Pakistan along with the other Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. They have throughout remained devoted to Pakistan in spite of the most persistent propaganda and intrigue of interested parties to wean them away from their loyalty It will be recalled that before the partition of Indo-Pakistan subcontinent a referendum was held to decide whether the people of N.-W F P. wished to remain with Pakistan or align themselves with India.

"In spite of the fact that at the time there was a Congress Ministry in power, the overwhelming vote of the people of N.-W F.P. in favour of Pakistan showed in no uncertain manner where the loyalty of the people lay. Even before that the tribesmen had shown their pro-Pakistan sympathies in unmistakable terms. Since then they have entered into agreements with the Government of Pakistan by virtue of which their territory has become an integral part of Pakistan. It will also be recalled that in view of the enthusiastic reception of Pakistan by the tribesmen, the Government were able to withdraw from the tribal territory the strong armed forces which had been stationed in this area throughout the British regime. Under the circumstances the statement by the Afghan Ambassador to the effect that the tribal Pathans were fighting for freedom from the so-called

'oppression' of Pakistan could only have been amusing if it had not been so patently mischievous

"The story of the formation of so called national assembly in Tirah and Shinwar Khyber to which the Afghan Ambassador has referred is a pure invention by the Kabul Radio These so-called national assemblies have not been formed by the people of the areas concerned but they have been set up on paper in Kabul The alleged members of these assemblies have no influence or status in our tribal territory and a few of these persons, on their return from Kabul, have been arrested by the local tribes and have been handed over to the political authorities as traitors to the people and the Government of Pakistan

"The Afghan Ambassador has referred to mass killings in Charsadda and of firing on people in many parts of the N.-W F P by Pakistani troops The statement is grossly exaggerated and quite unconnected with reality The same applies to the stories about the detention of the so-called 'popular leaders' Barring a few people like Khan 'Abdul Ghaffar Khan who have been carrying on anti-State activities, no person has been detained for support of the so-called movement of 'Pushtoonistan' Likewise the story of the economic blockade of the tribal areas is a pure fabrication

"(c) Yes, Sir I would only refer in this connection to the recent action of the Legislative Assembly of the North-Western Frontier Province which condemned unanimously and in unequivocal terms the activities and propaganda carried on by the Royal Afghan Government

"(d) I must confess that the Government of Pakistan have so far refrained from taking any counter-measures in respect of the persistent and malicious propaganda and intrigue by the agents of Afghan Government In doing so, the Government have only followed their declared policy of maintaining and promoting friendly relations with all the Muslim countries Unfortunately the Government of Afghanistan have not appreciated this friendly attitude It will be recalled that when soon after its birth Pakistan applied for the membership of the United Nations, Afghanistan was the only voice which opposed the admission of Pakistan Ever since then, for some incomprehensible reasons, this neighbourly Muslim State has been following a policy of open hostility to Pakistan in spite of the widespread goodwill that the people of Pakistan and Afghanistan have for each other in view of their natural kinship and affinity Government of Pakistan have from time to time endeavoured to find out exactly why the Afghan Government have adopted such an unreason-

able attitude I regret to say that we have still not been able to discover what precisely the Government of Afghanistan want and why at first they requested that the name of the North-West Frontier Province and certain areas in Baluchistan may be changed to Pushtoonistan, so that the racial indentity of the inhabitants of the Province may not remain in doubt. Then they began to demand that the tribal area on this side of the international boundary known as the Durand Line should be declared as a sovereign state under the name of Pushtoonistan and that North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan should be incorporated in it The attention of the Afghan Government has been repeatedly drawn without any result to the provisions of the solemn treaties and engagements voluntarily entered into by themselves to refrain from interfering in any manner in the affairs of the people living to the east of the Durand Line In the face of the utter disregard of international and rational considerations, the Government of Pakistan have found themselves seriously handicapped in coming to an amicable settlement which they have earnestly desired They have, from time to time, offered to discuss with the Government of Afghanistan all matters of common interest relating to the border areas, such as, schemes of economic, educational and moral uplift of the people on both sides of the border. From the negative response that this Government has received it can only infer that the Government of Afghanistan are not so much concerned with the moral nnd material welfare of the people of the border areas as with securing for themselves political advantage in their own country or diverting the attention of their own people for the political and economic deterioration in Afghanistan

"The Government of Pakistan have naturally given the most anxious consideration to the question of their relations with Afghanistan and in particular to the mischief that the persistent Afghan propaganda is likely to cause. They have endeavoured to impress upon the Government of Afghanistan, with all sincerity, the dangers inherent in their rash policy They have drawn attention to the feeling of rising anger and resentment in the tribal area in consequence of the persistent lies that are being told about the tribesmen and the Government of Pakistan. They have further offered—and the offer is still open—to negotiate with Afghanistan a basis of relation of enduring friendship They have done all this and have shown great restraint in the face of highly provocative statements and activities. While the Government of Pakistan are willing to establish friendly relations with the Royal Government of Afghanistan, they cannot be expected

for ever to continue pleading for friendship While they have not given up hopes that sanity will dawn on the Rulers of Afghanistan they must reiterate in clear and unambiguous language that not one inch of our land will be surrendered to any body, come what may We have no territorial ambitions, we desire peace but not at the sacrifice of honour or a portion of our Fatherland "

ACCESSION OF THE STATE OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR TO PAKISTAN OR INDIA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, placing a motion in the Constituent Assembly that 'the dispute regarding the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or India be discussed," said

"Mr President, Sir, I rise to speak on a matter of the most vital importance to Pakistan, namely the future of the State of Jammu and Kashmir This question has been with us since almost the birth of our Fatherland Nearly two and a half years have elapsed since the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or to India first became a live issue. Just over two years ago the question was referred to the Security Council of the United Nations before which body it is still pending During this time the Government of Pakistan have made their best endeavours to resolve the problem by peaceful means and have from time to time made diverse constructive proposals with a genuine desire to seek an honourable solution In a spirit of sincere helpfulness, the Government of Pakistan have offered their unstinted co-operation to the Security Council and to its mediation Commission, to reach a just solution of this very vexed problem But the line adopted by the Government of India has throughout been far from helpful Right from the beginning of this dispute, we have been faced with a deliberate and studied policy of obstruction to all efforts to come to a peaceful settlement. It has not been a case of a single 'deadlock' or a single act of obstruction on the part of India From the very beginning, when the first Indian soldier set his foot in Kashmir, the history of the dispute has been one long series of successive shifting of the ground and of resiling from one position after another by the Government of India The

result is that an ultimate solution of the problem is still not in sight, although an international agreement, laying down the lines of the solution, has been drawn up and accepted by both the Governments.

"The basic facts about the State of Jammu and Kashmir are fully known to you The state has a population of approximately four millions, an overwhelming proportion of which is Muslim According to the official census reports, the Muslims form 93 per cent of the population in the Kashmir Province and nearly 60 per cent in the very much smaller Jammu Province of the State. The Muslim population in the entire State is approximately 80 per cent

"The establishment of the rule of a Hindu Maharaja over a predominantly Muslim State was an accident of history. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was sold to the great-grandfather of the present Ruler by the East India Company in 1846 for a paltry sum of 7 5 million rupees Ever since, the population of the State has remained overwhelmingly in the hands of non-Muslims. The administration has been notoriously oppressive. On several occasions the Muslim population has raised the standard of revolt against its oppressors, though only to be suppressed with the utmost severity. The sustained policy of the Hindu Rulers has been to keep the Muslim population in a perennial state of abject poverty and misery

"On 15th August, 1947, when the partition of this subcontinent took effect, the Jammu and Kashmir State like the other States became free to accede either to Pakistan or to India. Geographically, the State is a part of Pakistan with which it has a common boundary of many hundred miles and into which all its rivers and trade routes flow. Its only connection with India is a narrow strip which was most unfairly and unjustly handed over to India under the Radcliffe Award. The geographical, economic and cultural ties of the State with Pakistan demanded that it should accede to Pakistan Not unnaturally, therefore the overwhelming majority of the people of the State pressed for the State's accession to Pakistan and demonstrated their feelings in no uncertain manner. The interests of the Hindu Ruler, however, pointed in the direction of India, though for the time being he dared not take an overt step in clear defiance of the wishes of the vast majority of his subjects. To avoid an immediate conflict and in order to gain time, the Maharaja adopted the subterfuge of entering into a standstill agreement with Pakistan in August, 1947, with no intention of abiding by the agreement a minute longer than suited his purpose.

"The partition of the subcontinent, as is well-known, was

accompanied by terrible massacres and the wholesale exodus of the Muslims from East Punjab under the savage and cold-blooded plan of extermination adopted by the Sikhs and Hindu R S S. bands, aided and abetted by the Indian officialdom in East Punjab and the neighbouring States of the Union These tragic happenings and the harrowing tales of persecution of Muslims told by refugees fleeing from East Punjab to adjacent areas in Jammu and Kashmir State, made the Muslims of the State greatly apprehensive about their own future and convinced them more firmly than ever that their salvation lay very definitely in the State's accession to Pakistan At this stage the plan to massacre the Muslim population of the State with the help of armed bands of Hindus and Sikhs as well as by the armed forces of the Government was put into effect, and a reign of terror was let loose throughout the State

"During September, 1947, grave news of repression and massacre of Muslims of the Jammu and Kashmir State began to reach Pakistan through Muslim refugees who sought asylum in Pakistan Soon the number of refugees swelled and it became obvious that the objective of the State authorities was the wholesale massacre of Muslims and their expulsion from the State on the pattern of the massacres and expulsion taking place in other parts of the Indian Union The repression of Muslims went on increasing relentlessly and the Hindu army of the State perpetrated acts of the utmost savagery In sheer desperation the Muslim population of the State broke out in open revolt in several areas and declared their independence of the Hindu Ruler.

"These events aroused strong feelings of sympathy for the repressed and persecuted Muslims of the State throughout Pakistan, particularly in the border areas where thousands of wounded and maimed refugees sought shelter It was, therefore, only natural that their kinsmen as well as tribal sympathisers from contiguous northern areas should go across the border in an endeavour to save over three millions of their Muslim brethren At this stage the Maharaja applied to India for accession and appealed for military aid to crush his Muslim subjects The conspiracy which had been hatched between the Maharaja and the Indian Union now became clear as daylight The Government of India hastened to accept the so-called accession and, under cover to protecting the State against external aggression, immediately despatched armed forces to occupy the greater part of the State

'An electric wave of sympathy and resentment ran throughout Pakistan for the liberation movement organised by a mercilessly

oppressed people claiming their irrefutable right to accede to Pakistan where their religious, cultural and economic interests clearly lay In the circumstances, the fraudulently secured accession of the State to the Indian Union and the violent occupation of the State by Indian troops were acts of the very gravest provocation, which would have amply justified offensive action

"But we decided to meet provocation with conciliation Immediately after the entry of the Indian troops into the State on the 27th October, 1947, we took the initiative to propose a conference between the Governors-General and Prime Ministers of Pakistan and India The Prime Minister of India could not come to the conference On the 1st November, the Quaid-i-A'zam made three proposals to Lord Mountbatten urging for the settlement of the dispute He urged, firstly, that the two Governors-General should be vested with full powers to stop fighting in Kashmir, if necessary, by force, secondly, the Indian troops and the Pakistan nationals fighting in Kashmir should withdraw simultaneously and with the utmost expedition from State territory, and thirdly, the two Governors-General should be given full powers to restore law and order, to undertake the administration of the State and to organise a plebiscite without delay under their joint control and supervision

"Nothing could be fairer than these proposals All fighting must stop, all outside troops and armed bands must be withdrawn by both sides and the free will of the people on the issue of accession must be ascertained through the democratic means of an impartial plebiscite That, basically, was the position taken up by the Quaid-i-A'zam in November, 1947 That, in broad outline, is the position to which we have throughout adhered

"What was the reaction of India? For several days no answer was returned to the Quaid-i-A'zam's proposals at all. When the reply came, it was found to be tantamount to a complete rejection of the Quaid-i-A'zam's proposals Counter-proposals were put forward by India providing for the withdrawal of Indian troops as soon as tribesmen were withdrawn and law and order restored and suggesting that the Governments of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to the United Nations to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date In the meanwhile, a broadcast speech of the Prime Minister of India on the 2nd November clearly indicated that India's intention was to force a decision in the Jammu and Kashmir State by military action, while maintaining at the same time a farcical pretence of ultimately obtaining the verdict of the people of

the State through a referendum held after the military subjugation of the State was complete India's reaction was most unsatisfactory It was clear that India was determined to affect, and unjustly maintain, the permanent occupation of the State by liquidating the Muslim population and that its whole conduct was based on the belief that might is right Nevertheless, we decided to persist in our search for an agreement by negotiation In a statement issued to the Press in the middle of November, I indicated the stand of the Pakistan Government in these terms

'The fundamental principle of the Charter of the United Nations is to prevent might prevailing over right. The whole dispute should, therefore, be brought before the bar of international opinion We are ready to request the U N O immediately to appoint its representatives in Jammu and Kashmir State in order to put a stop to fighting and a repression of Muslims in the State, to arrange the programme of withdrawal of outside forces, to set up an impartial administration of the State till a plebiscite is held and to undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State On the question of accession we are prepared to accept a similar solution of the dispute regarding Manavadar and Junagadh

You will observe that in this statement I made it clear the Pakistan Government were agreeable to the whole dispute, including the question of withdrawal of troops, the character of the interim administration and the organisation of the plebiscite being referred for adjudication to the United Nations We whole-heartedly accepted India's proposal for a joint request to the United Nations to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir Indeed we went a step further and suggested that all matters incidental to the dispute should also be referred to the United Nations

"What was India's answer? The answer was that the Indian troops must remain in the State to put a stop to fighting, that Shaikh Abdullah's administration was based on the will of the people of the State and was impartial that the United Nations could offer little help towards a solution of the problem in the circumstances of the case but that India was prepared to invite United Nations' observers to come to Kashmir and advise on the proposed plebiscite. The new suggestion that the United Nations' observers should be asked to offer *advice* on the plebiscite to be held under Indian control was a distinct recantation from India's earlier proposal that the United

Nations should *undertake* a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date

"The next phase of the dispute commenced with India's decision to take the Kashmir issue to the Security Council in the shape of a complaint against Pakistan for committing an act of aggression calculated to endanger the maintenance of international peace While repudiating in unequivocal terms the Indian allegation of aggressive action, the Government of Pakistan readily welcomed the move to invite the intervention of the United Nations in the dispute and in a letter to the Prime Minister of India on the 31st December I expressed the earnest hope that, as a result of the intercession of the United Nations, all outstanding differences between Pakistan and India would be speedily composed

"After some five weeks of exhaustive debate, the Security Council endorsed the essential justice of our stand by embodying our principal recommendations for the settlement of the dispute, including the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite under the Control of the United Nations, in General McNaughton's resolution of the 6th February, 1948 When it became clear that the resolution would be accepted, the Indian representative asked for an adjournment of the debate and returned to New Delhi, in almost open defiance of the Security Council.

"What happened in the intervening period is a matter for speculation but when the debate was resumed in March, 1948, General McNaughton's resolution was entirely forgotten and a new resolution, distinctly more favourable to India, emerged from the discussions on the 21st April. India, however, rejected even this resolution The terms of the resolution were by no means fully acceptable to us. Nevertheless, we undertook to offer our co-operation to the Commission established under the resolution

"In the meanwhile, developments of a most serious character were taking place in the subcontinent. While the Kashmir case was being debated in the Security Council, India was rapidly building up its armed forces in Kashmir. An all-out offensive was launched by the Indian forces in April, 1948, with the unmistakable object of subjugating the entire State and of presenting the world with *fait accompli* The repercussions of the Indian drive in Kashmir were immediately felt in Pakistan, where the first visible result was the arrival of a very large number of refugees from the State. The Indian troops constituted a clear threat to Pakistan on the rear as well as on the flank and the entire border between Pakistan and the Jammu and

Kashmir State was thrown into a state of dangerous insecurity In face of this situation and in order to safeguard Pakistan's vital interests, a limited number of Pakistan troops was sent to Kashmir early in May, 1948 to hold certain defensive positions

"The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan arrived in the subcontinent in the beginning of July. The Commission negotiated separately with India and Pakistan and on the 13th August adopted a resolution providing for a cease-fire and laying down certain principle as the basis for the formulation of a truce agreement, but without specifying in full and clear terms the contemplated arrangements for the holding of the plebiscite We accepted the resolution subject only to suitable elaboration of its Part III so as to include in it the basic provisions for a free and impartial plebiscite as laid down in the Security Council Resolution of the 21st April. The acceptance by the Commission of this eminently reasonable and legitimate request for elaboration was, however, made impossible by Indian intransigence One aim of Indian obstructionist tactics was patently to prevent a clear definition of the mode of ascertaining the will of the people in regard to the future status of the Jammu and Kashmir State The result was that the Commission was unable to bring about a reconciliation of the divergent points of view The Commission suspended its negotiations and proceeded to Europe to report to the Security Council Meanwhile, fighting continued in Kashmir and the Indian offensive gained steadily in strength and intensity.

"Negotiations were, however resumed in November and after much discussion a resolution was framed by the Commission on the 11th December embodying its proposals for the organisation and conduct of the plebiscite to decide the accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India or Pakistan A close study of the proposals will show to an impartial observer that they bore only the most superficial resemblance to the McNaughton resolution of the 6th February and fell short of even the Security Council resolution of the 21st April Nevertheless, Pakistan accepted the new proposals So did India, but with what mental reservations will appear from what I will presently indicate

"The cease-fire orders were issued on the 1st January, 1949 and the Commission's proposals were formally adopted on the 5th January. But, it took another seven months and infinite patience and tact on the part of the Commission and the Government of Pakistan to persuade India to accept a fair line of demarcation.

"When the Commission proceeded to consider the implementation

of the second part of its resolution of the 13th August, 1948, relating to the truce agreement, it came up against a strangely uncompromising attitude on the part of the Government of India Not only did the Government of India, at this stage, raise irrelevant issues concerning the disposal of the Azad Kashmir forces and the control over northern areas, but also it refused point-blank to abide by its undertaking to withdraw the bulk of its forces from the Jammu and Kashmir State It was not the first time that India had gone back on its pledged word But this was not all. India went further and insisted that the Commission should withhold from Pakistan the plan for the withdrawal of the Indian forces Of the Government of India's new demands, the question of the disposal of the Azad Kashmir forces did not at all arise at the stage of negotiating a truce agreement within the terms of the Commission's resolution The second question, that of the security of the northern areas, was not provided for anywhere in the resolution and was inconsistent with the resolution and was inconsistent with the resolution as well as the Commission's various assurances Furthermore, the posting of Indian troops in the northern areas, far from ensuring peace and tranquillity, was likely to create conditions of unrest and insecurity which might well disturb the political equilibrium in that part of Asia The Commission's third report to the Security Council has fully vindicated Pakistan's stand in this matter and has strongly emphasised the totally unjustified refusal of the Government of India to withdraw the bulk of its forces from the State simultaneously with the withdrawal of Pakistan troops.

"It must now be abundantly clear to the Honourable Members that India has no serious intention of allowing the United Nations to complete its task, that it is India's settled policy to obstruct by all possible means the holding of a plebiscite and that India's aim is to crush and demoralise the Muslims of Kashmir to such an extent that they should no longer be able to express their will freely if a plebiscite is ever held.

"After the failure of its efforts at mediation, the Commission proposed on the 29th August, 1949, that all the points of difference concerning the truce terms should be referred to arbitration by Admiral Chester Nimitz, the Plebiscite Administrator designate, whose decision would be binding on both the Governments This proposal was supported, in the interests of world peace, by personal appeals to the Governments of Pakistan and India made by President Truman of the United States and Mr Attlee, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

We accepted the proposal in the spirit in which it was made But India rejected it Wilful intransigence could go no further

"The Commission had no option but to go back and report to the Security Council In its latest report the Commission has recommended the appointment of a United Nations representative with wide powers to bring about an agreement of all unresolved issues concerning its resolutions of the 13th August, 1948 and the 5th January, 1949

"On the 17th December, the Security Council authorised General McNaughton to undertake afresh the work of mediation between the contending parties His proposals of the 22nd December provided *inter alia* for the acceptance by the two Governments of a progressive and balanced programme of demilitarisation under the supervision of a United Nations' representative and the holding of a plebiscite, after the satisfactory completion of the demilitarisation programme, by the Plebiscite Administrator within the terms of the Commission's resolution of the 5th January These proposals were accepted by Pakistan but, with a sickening monotony, rejected by India

'The next move now lies with the Security Council The Government of Pakistan have so far successfully resisted India's repeated efforts to take Kashmir by force and have used their endeavours to secure a just and peaceful settlement As a result of these efforts an international agreement has been reached that the question of accession of the State to Pakistan or India shall be determined by a free and impartial plebiscite The steps leading to the plebiscite and the conditions under which it will be held have been laid down in the Commission's resolutions of the 13th August, 1948 and of the 5th January, 1949, which have been endorsed by the Security Council and accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan The actual implementation of the resolutions has, however, been held up owing to India's intransigence, but the Government of Pakistan have every hope that the Security Council will not fail to reach a speedy decision, re-affirming the terms of an international agreement and directing the immediate implementation of those terms

"I have already stated that geographically, economically, culturally and religiously Kashmir is a part of Pakistan The overwhelming Muslim character of its population, its strategic position in relation to Pakistan, the flow of its rivers, the direction of its roads, the channels of its trade, the continual and intimate association which binds its people to Pakistan from times immemorial, link Kashmir indissolubly with Pakistan Any unprejudiced person who looks at a

map and who is willing to devote a little thought to the problem will inevitably come to the conclusion that Kashmir forms a natural part of Pakistan In spite of all this and because of our sincere desire to promote the cause of peace in the world, we agreed that the wishes of the people of Kashmir should be ascertained in the matter, because it is the inherent right of a people to decide its own fate freely and without compulsion We are not afraid of the verdict of the people of Kashmir But India is, and is therefore, endeavouring to suppress the people of Kashmir and make it impossible for them to make a free choice

"The Government of Pakistan are aware of the acute misery and discontent of the people of Kashmir and of the trials and tribulations which Indian military occupation is imposing on them We are also deeply conscious of the growing impatience of the people of Kashmir and Pakistan with the present attitude of one party who has been allowed to create a virtual stalemate We owe it to the people of Pakistan and of Kashmir as well as to the cause of world peace that we continue to make every effort to settle this question, if possible, in a peaceful manner by securing to the people of the State the right to decide by a free vote whether they will join Pakistan or India

"Our stand is based on justice and I for one have not the slightest doubt in my mind that we shall be successful in our endeavour During the thousands of years that mankind has existed on this Planet many civilisations have emerged, prospered and gone down into oblivion Those civilisations which were based on principles of truth and justice have lasted longest and prospered most Anyone who reads history carefully will discover it for himself that this is a universal law which invariably governs the lives of individuals as well as groups, nations and civilisations.

"Nevertheless, there have been peoples who thought they could ignore the lesson of history. They tried to grab what was not theirs, they enslaved other peoples, they broke their pledged word and they thought they could mock God But you cannot mock God. You may choose to forget the moral laws that govern history, but you do so at your peril The mills of God grind slowly but they grind exceedingly well

"History also teaches us that those who do not strive for what is their due and those who fail to protect what is theirs, go under, because life demands a perpetual and unceasing struggle.

"We do not want war, we do not want conflict with anybody, and we do not wish anyone ill. But at the same time we shall not

bow down to force or accept an unjust solution of the Kashmir problem. (*Applause*) No matter what the sacrifices, no matter what the consequences and irrespective of what anybody may say or do, we shall not allow India to dominate Kashmir by force and we shall not forsake those millions of Kashmiri Muslims whose lives have been made hell on earth by their Hindu oppressors and by the Indian army These people are striving for liberty and for the right to call their lives their own They are struggling so that they may receive the just reward of their labours and achieve freedom from terror and tyranny and from injustice They may meet with temporary setbacks but their cause, God willing, will ultimately triumph and the gruesome schemes of their oppressors to enslave them and their mean intrigues to deprive them of human rights will come to nothing Putting our trust in God, without hatred and without fear we shall go forward to accomplish the task which we have set out for ourselves' (*Applause*)

SPEECH AT ABOTTABAD

Liaquat Ali Khan, addressing a memmoth public meeting at Abbottabad on February 4, 1950, stated that Pakistan Government would, under no circumstances, allow India to conquer Kashmir by the force of arms Continuing, he said

"I want to tell every Kashmiri and I hope my words will reach them that so long as a single Muslim is alive in Pakistan we will not allow you to become slaves Kashmir is a question of life and death for every Pakistani man, woman and child At present the mind of every Pakistani is preoccupied with the thought of a just solution of the Kashmir problem On it depends the independence and the very existence of Pakistan We should not get impatient. We must take every step with studied care"

Referring to Afghanistan, he said "Whatever I have to say on this subject pains me because both Pakistan and Afghanistan are Islamic countries and it is really painful to imagine a conflict between them We have always regarded the people of Afghanistan as our own brethren We want to do everything for them because we will be strong In fact co operation and cohesion between the two Islamic countries benefits the whole Islamic world. We have tried our best

to have friendly relations with the Government of Afghanistan but the people in power in Afghanistan are trying to vilify Pakistan "

Explaining the delay in the framing of the constitution, he said. "It is due to the enormity of the problem which we are trying to tackle for the first time, namely, of putting Islam into practice We hope to show that the salvation of the world lies in Islamic socialism.

"In fact, Pakistan Government wants to see every province strong. We have not been able to do all that we desire because we have to spend a large sum of money on our defence. I am not one of those who will spend money on defence without justification If need be, I declare, we will not hesitate to spend more

"Pakistanis can go hungry and naked but will not let the defence of their country become weak. We will not allow anyone to take an inch of our territory. Our soil is a sacred soil and we will shed every drop of our blood to defend it ..

"There are still some people who want to disrupt our unity. In any other country opposition in such circumstances would lend whole-hearted support to the Government but, here, unfortunately, some people have different mentality I must say they will not succeed in their evil designs because poor masses, who really constitute, the backbone of the country, have the sense to distinguish friends from foes....

"I have confidence in our ultimate victory. We should know no rest, no sleep but do our best to build up Pakistan not for ourselves but for the future generations and for the revival of the greater glory of Islam in the world.

SPEECH AT RAWALPINDI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing a large public meeting in Rawalpindi on February 5, 1950, said:

"No matter what the cost, we shall not let India annex Kashmir by force of arms. There are only two solutions of the problem, the first is the peaceful method, through the agency of the Security Council, the other is by the force of arms. While Pakistan prefers the former it is prepared for the latter, should that become unavoidable.

"I am fully aware of the strong feeling which exists among the

people of Pakistan on this point. It gets stronger and stronger every moment and we find it no easy task to control it Still, we have been consellıng our people to be patient But India, on the other hand, complains that the Pakistan Government encourages expression of unfriendly feelings for them in this country I cannot imagine what the shape of things would have been had we not controlled our people and had the Pakistan Government not been so patient I cannot understand how a country like India—where huge ordinance factories are rattling night and day and recruitment to the forces is in full swing—could accuse two-year-old Pakistan of preparing for a war Every country in this world tries to be strong enough to defend itself and what we are doing is nothing more "

Liaquat 'Ali Khan also administered a word of advice and warning to "our Afghan brethren" Those who rule the brave Afghan people, he observed, were playing into the hands of the enemies of their country "Pakistan's strength is the greatest guarantee of Afghanistan's security prosperity and happiness It is our hope that Heaven's light will at last show our Afghan brethren the right path Misguided though they are we consider them our brothers and shall continue to consider them as such

"Notwithstanding the three major difficulties—India's aggression in Kashmir economic war on Pakistan and the activities of some malignant people--the Pakistan Government have withstood the economic storm which brought down many established currencies On the constitution-making front, the Objectives Resolution has been passed The Government have strengthened its forces which are one of the best in the world and above all that the country's internal economic development is progressing at a reasonably quick pace.

"No one is more keenly conscious of what still remains to be done than I am We have not done all that we intended or wished to do It is understandable why we could not do more

"The Government is spending Rs 800 million this year to ensure the safety of the country's independence. This obviously resulted in the slowing down of other nation-building programmes. It is justified expenditure and I wish it could be increased For what use are all the nation building programmes when the priceless gift of national independence is in danger

I am aware of the hardships some of the people faced and are still facing and I will rather give them a little of more hardships than offer their ease at the cost of independence Are you prepared for it?

"I do not consider myself or my Government infallible I

welcome criticism, provided it is well-meaning and constructive. I am, however, strongly critical of those who have become professional critics of my Government but have no constructive programme of their own I warn the people against the harm which is likely to be caused by this pattern of opposition for opposition's sake

"So long as you choose to see me in the office I want you to give me your solid and unflinching support. I would not mind if you choose to entrust reins of Government to any one else I want to serve the country and I shall continue to serve whether in or out of office . .

"Never forget that unity, faith and discipline was the motto that won us Pakistan and we still need those qualities"

ADDRESS TO THE BALUCHISTAN SHAHI DARBAR

Addressing the annual Baluchistan Shahi Darbar at Sibi on February 11, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"I am very happy to be with you today and to take this opportunity of not only thanking you for your expression of loyalty for Pakistan but also of telling you what steps the Government of Pakistan have taken and intend to take to improve the conditions of the people of Baluchistan.

"It is true that all parts of Pakistan are not equally developed, but that is a legacy from the past and we are anxious that in as short a time as possible, the undeveloped parts of Pakistan should come up to the same level as those which have had the benefit of greater education and greater economic well-being.

"Pakistan is a democratic State whose constitution is going to be framed on Islamic principles It is imperative, therefore that all parts of Pakistan should have a representative form of Government The formation of Baluchistan Council and the appointment of two of its members as Advisers to the AGG, represents the first step towards the achievement of a completely democratic form of Government in Baluchistan. The nomination of the members of this Council was inevitable but steps have been taken to hold elections to form a fully representative Government.

"A special Election Officer has been appointed for the task and

his proposals are under active consideration Moreover, orders have been issued for local bodies to be set up throughout Baluchistan on the basis of adult franchise This would train the people of this province in the art of local self-government which is the real basis of democracy.

"Our aim is to bring Baluchistan and the four States to the same level of administration as the rest of Pakistan To represent the four States at the Centre, Jam Mir Ghulam Qadir Khan, Ruler of Las Bela, has been elected as the joint nominee of the four Baluch States' Rulers to the Constituent Assembly. I welcome this as a progressive move.

"The most important need of Baluchistan is the expansion of educational facilities During the last year, no fewer than 42 new primary schools have been opened and 18,500 students are on the rolls as compared with 12,400 at the time of partition The number of primary schools in September, 1947, was 94, it now is 175

"Our efforts to improve the agricultural conditions in Baluchistan have unfortunately been hampered by natural causes Last year the rainfall was again below average with the result that agriculture suffered considerably In many areas the *Khushkaba* crop almost totally failed for the fifth year running with the result that the Government had to take steps to alleviate the prevailing distress in the affected area Early last year additional *taccavi* loans, amounting to Rs 5 lakhs, were specially sanctioned by the Government of Pakistan both for the purchase of cheap foodgrains and to subsidise the issue of foodgrains The Government of Pakistan have recently sanctioned Rs 1,34,440 for the construction of certain roads in the Quetta-Pishin Agency which is the Agency worst affected by the lack of trains

"The local administration have under consideration various plans and schemes for the future development of this province particularly in the agricultural fields The most important problem which we all have to face is that of lack of water and while certain schemes, such as the Anambar Scheme, are nearing completion The Anambar Scheme in the Loralai district is expected to be completed in about four months' time and, when finalised, will bring under permanent irrigation considerable areas for cultivation.

"For the marketing of fruit on a co-operative basis, the Association known as *Shirkat-i-Zamindaran* was formed last year It handled fruit to the value of Rs 2 lakhs belonging to the members of the Association It is proposed to increase the number of projects which can be undertaken on a co-operative basis.

"The Government of Pakistan have recently sanctioned a sum of Rs 12 lakhs to set up a woollen spinnery at Harnai. It is hoped that when this spinnery is completed it will be of considerable assistance locally to the people in finding employment and profitable utilisation of their wool.

"It is a matter of considerable gratification that you have withstood the onslaught of the most condemnable intrigue and propaganda supported by the rulers of our neighbouring Muslim country, Afghanistan

"As you all know we in Pakistan have nothing but the friendliest feeling for Afghanistan. We consider that the strength and prosperity of Afghanistan is the strength and prosperity of Pakistan. Unfortunately for incomprehensible reasons the Rulers of Afghanistan have chosen a different path and are playing into the hands of the enemies of Pakistan and Islam. On behalf of my Government, I have made a very clear statement in the last session of the Constituent Assembly regarding this painful state of affairs. I still hope and pray that sanity will prevail with the rulers of Afghanistan, but I must repeat what I said in the Constituent Assembly that we are not going to surrender an inch of our territory to anybody We have no territorial ambition We desire peace but not at the sacrifice of our honour or territorial integrity

"Our relations with another neighbouring country, namely Iran, are very friendly. From the day Pakistan came into existence, the people of Iran have shown a tremendous amount of goodwill and friendliness to the people of Pakistan, which the latter reciprocates sincerely. When I visited Iran, on the invitation of the Iranian Government, I saw with my own eyes the affection and enthusiasm which the people of Iran have for Pakistan.

"I am aware of the feelings which the people of Baluchistan have for their Muslim brothers in Kashmir. From the very start we have taken the line that the people of Kashmir should have the right to decide their own fate and be able to declare, without any pressure from anybody, whether they want to join Pakistan or India. We still maintain that attitude. We are fully aware of the acute misery in which the people of Kashmir are living and I want to assure them that Pakistan will never allow India to subjugate Kashmir by force.

"I should also like to thank you most sincerely for the generous donation of Rs. 2,64,116 which you have made today to the Quaid-i A'zam Memorial Fund. The only way in which we can show

our gratitude to the memory of the Quaid-i-A'zam is to work unitedly and spare ourselves no efforts or sacrifice in making Pakistan one of the strongest and most prosperous countries in the world

"We must all remember that we have a very great deal to do Though we can justifiably be proud of what we have achieved in the last two years, we have still a very long distance to cover. We must work ceaselessly and without thinking of any reward for ourselves. I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that with God's Grace, we shall make Pakistan a State of which every Pakistani will be legitimately proud *Pakistan-Zindabad*".

STATEMENT ON CALCUTTA RIOTS

In a Press statement issued on February 13, 1950 on the outbreaks of riots in Calcutta and other parts of West Bengal leading to 'inevitable repercussions' in Dacca, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Calcutta is again in the grip of most sanguinary riots Murder, arson and loot are taking place over a large area of the city Thousands have been driven from their homes Large-scale exodus to East Bengal has started We are again witnessing the repetition of what happened in Delhi, Godhra and elsewhere We can only hope that the Government machinery will not collapse on this occassion and the Government of West Bengal will be successful in quelling the riots and in punishing the evil-doers

"Nor is the outburst confined to Calcutta, there have been outbreaks in other places of West Bengal though information that is allowed to reach the outside world is necessarily meagre These outbreaks have led to inevitable repercussions in Dacca but the Government of East Bengal, with commendable energy, have taken stringent measures to curb the activities of mischief makers. The situation in Dacca is fully under control and it is hoped that law and order will soon be restored Let me assure the Government of East Bengal that they have full and complete support of the Government of Pakistan in all the measures that they may take to restore law and order, to punish the offenders and to provide full protection to the minorities.

"The representatives of the Governments of East Bengal and West Bengal have met and formulated certain measures to meet the

situation, both in the East and West Bengal They have also appealed to the Press to refrain from publishing anything which would excite people and make the already ugly situation uglier. I endorse this appeal fully and therefore, refrain from commenting the genesis of the Calcutta outbreak.

'I would, however, be failing in my duty to my people if I did not, most emphatically, repudiate the insinuations made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and Sardar Patel and deplore the language which they have used in their statements They have tried to suggest that the Calcutta outbreak is the result of certain happenings in East Bengal

"The Khulna incident which has been given a great deal of publicity in the Indian Press was utterly non-communal in character and basically an attempt by the Communists to create trouble. As stated in the East Pakistan Government's Press Note of February 5, a police party consisting of one Sub-Inspector and some constables had been to a village in Bagerhat to search the house of an accused The police party was suddenly surrounded and attacked by a Communist-inspired armed mob One of the constables was killed on the spot while other members of the police party were seriously injured.

"Subsequently, fearing action by the police, the residents of the affected villages who had taken part in the riot left their homes. The bad characters and miscreants of the neighbourhood, under the same apprehension, also left for Calcutta The stories spread by them were given a communal colour by the Calcutta Press. The East Pakistan Government's Press Note was completely ignored The testimony of prominent Hindu leaders of East Pakistan was also ignored and the Hindu Press continued playing up the rumours, which they must have known to be false and fanning the communal passions of Hindus.

"The whole affair was so petty and palpably exaggerated that the *Statesman* of Calcutta did not give it any importance and when called upon to do so, stated editorially on Feburary 6 that 'facts and re-assurances put before the public during the last few days indicate as we have throughout thought likely that the rumours contained a substantial element of exaggeration'.

"Nevertheless with characteristic avidity the communal Press in Calcutta made a mountain out of a molehill in order to provide a cover for the nefarious plans of the Mahasabhaites, the RSS and the Council for the Protection of Minorities The last mentioned has gone to the extent of raising a private army, collecting arms and even setting up a provisional Government in Calcutta.

"If the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister of India did not know of these plans and activities, they must be singularly ill-informed The East Pakistan Government made repeated protests to the West Bengal Government about these activities, but nothing seems to have been done

"I do not wish to say anything further at this stage. Let peace be restored, refugees given succour and then there would be time to expose the machinations of the sworn enemies of Pakistan We extend our deepest sympathy to the unfortunate victims of Hindu fanaticism and communal fury in their great sufferings and miserable plight We shall do everything possible to ensure that the necessary conditions are created to enable them to return to their homes with a full sense of security and confidence"

PRESS CONFERENCE AT KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a Press conference at Karachi on February 27, 1950, said,

"The Indian Prime Minister, in his statement to the Indian Parliament the other day, gave a version of the trouble in West and East Bengal which, I am afraid, is not the correct version May be that Pandit Nehru has not been served well by the Provincial Government and his official machinery"

He discussed briefly the genesis of the trouble that had taken place and the chronology of events, which showed "as to where the fault for the unfortunate happenings lies As in other cases, so in this, Indian propaganda has deliberately and skilfully engaged itself in mutilating facts, confusing issues and maligning Pakistan

"It is, therefore, essential that the facts should be clearly stated. The first fact is that the inter-communal rioting first started in West Bengal. The second fact is that this rioting was the direct result of the open incitement of the Mahasabha with its storm-troopers, the RSS, with its murderous gangs, and the so-called Council for the Protection of Rights of Minorities which, we know, is training its own irregular army without any interference from the Government of India.

"On December 24 last year, Dr Khare, President of the All-India

Hindu Mahasabha, openly preached the doctrine of hate against Pakistan. He said 'We can never reconcile ourselves to the partition of the country, therefore, we must be united' Other Mahasabhaite leaders similarly carried on organised propaganda to work up the feelings of the Hindus of West Bengal against the Muslims

"The third fact is that on January 15, 1950, the Deputy Prime Minister of India made statements at a public meeting which could not but incite the Hindus of Bengal to violence He referred to those days of 'direct action' and 'the situation in Calcutta which followed in its wake Then came the tragedy of Noakali,' he said, 'How can India or you forget those dark days?"

"Referring to the partition of the subcontinent, he said 'What an irony of fate. We resisted the partition of Bengal when it was planned by the British 40 years ago You sacrificed your all to avoid the catastrophe of partition and India was with you Subsequently, we had to accept partition of another conception Those friends who were with us yesterday have become foreigners today But how can that be in practice, they are for us still what they were before Artificial boundaries cannot separate them from us Our relationship and economic ties cannot be broken Difficulties and obsta[illegible] there but they must be removed'

"Whatever I have quoted from Mr. Patel's speech is from the newspapers that have been published in India As a matter of fact, our information is that what he actually said was even more poisonous than the quotations that I have given you and they were kept out of the Press.

"The echoes of this speech had hardly died in the streets of Calcutta when pamphlets and posters appeared in thousands, demanding action against imaginary atrocities against Hindus in East Bengal The inevitable happened On January 19, 1950, the Muslims were attacked in Bengaon and their mosques were desecrated On January 24, the Hindu Mahasabha sponsored a meeting at Berhampur in West Bengal. Immediately after this meeting Hindu mobs attacked the Muslim areas at Gorabazar and many other places in the district of Murshidabad. On January 24, a Muslim quarter at Dum Dum Cantonment was attacked and a mosque desecrated Similar incidents took place in Ultadanga, Maniktolla and Beliaghata. On February 3 a meeting was organised by the Council for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities at Batanagar.

"On February 5, a communal riot broke out in Batanagar By

February 8, large-scale rioting was taking place in Calcutta. It could hardly be a mere coincidence that these meetings were repeatedly followed by rioting, arson and loot

"Over 15,000 refugees have already poured into East Bengal and at least 20,000 more lie huddled in and around Calcutta in open spaces facing the winter in ankle deep mud and filth.

"The fourth fact is that in this anti-Pakistan, Anti-Muslim crusade, the Hindu leaders used a minor incident which had taken place several weeks earlier, on December 20, to be precise, in the district of Khulna in East Bengal, to fan the flames of communal passion against Muslims

"What had happened then was that an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and three constables, of whom only one was armed, wanted to search the house of a Communist They were attacked and overpowered, the only armed policeman was killed and others were wounded After this attack on the police party, the Communist elements spread rumours regarding the likelihood of police reprisals and a number of people, not all of whom were Communists, left the area

"Some bad characters in the neighbourhood took advantage of this situation and helped themselves to the property that had been left behind in some of the houses The District Magistrate, Khulna, accompanied by Hindu and Muslim non-officials, succeeded within a few days in recovering and restoring some of the stolen property. A number of arrests were made and police investigation had since been proceeding. This was the incident which was and is being brazenly exploited by the enemies of Pakistan to incite anti-Muslim feeling throughout West Bengal. For weeks the West Bengal Press said not a word about this episode The reason was obvious. No communal importance was attached to this incident, there was nothing to say. But, almost a month later, this incident was suddenly dug out and written up as a skeleton in our cupboard. It was unscrupulously used by the leaders of the Mahasabha and kindred organisations to arouse passions against Muslims.

"An irrebuttable proof of the fact that the incident in Khulna was given a fantastic communal colouring purely as an after-thought on the part of the leaders of the Hindu Mahasabha and the so-called Council for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities lies in the fact that it was not until after January, 15, the day on which the Deputy Prime Minister of India made his speech in Calcutta, that the Mahasabha and other communal organisations and the West Bengal Press made their

first references to it. The *Ananda Bazar Patrika* and the *Jugantar*, to the best of my knowledge, referred to these incidents for the first time on January 18 and the *Hindustan Standard* did so only this month and most of these references were written in a style significantly reminiscent of the speech of the Deputy Prime Minister of India.

"The chronology of these events should be carefully noted. The much talked of Khulna incident which, except for the murder of a Pakistani Police officer, had no significance whatsoever, took place on December 20 last year. No reference whatsoever to this incident was made either in the Press or on the platform throughout the month of December or the first half of January. The Hindu Mahasabha meeting took place in Calcutta from December 24 to 26, but no mention of the incident was made at that meeting. On January 15, the Deputy Prime Minister of India made his famous speech at Calcutta. On January 18, the Calcutta Press for the first time mentioned this incident and almost overnight the cry of oppression in East Bengal assumed gigantic proportions. On January 19, trouble broke out in Bengaon in West Bengal and by February 5, it assumed an alarming character in several areas particularly in and around Calcutta.

"Now I should like you to note this point particularly. It was on February 10, after widespread trouble had occurred in West Bengal, that communal rioting broke out in East Bengal for the first time and I should also like you to note this further point. The rioting on February 10 was the first occasion on which communal disturbances had occurred anywhere in East Bengal since partition. The rioting in that province was the direct result of what had happened in West Bengal during January and early February. To suggest that murder and loot of Hindus in East Bengal led to the trouble in West Bengal is, indeed, a wicked lie.

"The fifth important fact, therefore, is that rioting broke out in East Bengal as an inevitable corollary of the riots that had been going on in West Bengal since January 19. In Dacca, the rioting broke out about midday and took the form of looting of shops, arson and stabbing. Prompt police and military pickets and patrols were immediately organised with orders to shoot at sight. Curfew was imposed and all bad characters and possible trouble-makers were rounded up and the situation in the city was brought under control the same day. In the suburbs stray assaults continued for another two days. These were also promptly brought under control and the Dacca district has been absolutely quiet since February 13. The total number of casualties in Dacca and the surrounding areas, including

Narayangang, were 198 killed and 223 injured. The East Bengal Police opened fire to quell these disturbances on 22 occasions Altogether 1,216 persons were arrested and a substantial part of the looted property was recovered as a result of wholesale searches

"The East Bengal Government has announced that financial help will be given to those whose houses or shops have been damaged in order that they may be rehabilitated promptly It is noteworthy that members of the All-Pakistan Women's Association and the Pakistan Women's National Guard, as well as other public spirited ladies, worked indefatigably in hospitals and relief centres to help the victims of the rioting The East Bengal Government deputed 35 officers on special duty to look after relief arrangements and requisitioned educational institutions to house the Hindu refugees All the displaced persons have now returned to their homes with the exception of 2,500, who still remain to be rehabilitated

"The rapidity with which the Dacca riots were put down was most commendable and the measures taken by the authorities in handling the situation received public appreciation from all sections, including the leaders of the minority community Besides Dacca, there were local disturbances on a much smaller scale in Chittagong, Feny and the districts of Barisal and Sylhet In almost every case the trouble was brought under control within 24 hours The total casualties in these places were 23 killed and 53 wounded The trouble in Sylhet was a direct repercussion of the serious situation in Karimganj in Assam, as a result of which over 20,000 refugees crossed into East Bengal This caused grave tension in the Sylhet district resulting in trouble on February 16, which was promptly and effectively put down The situation has been normal throughout the province for several days

"Whatever the provocation the attacks on the minority community in East Bengal were most deplorable The protection of all nationals of Pakistan, irrespective of their caste and creed is the first duty of the Government and I should like to make it clear once again that we shall continue to discharge this duty unflinchingly and with the utmost vigour In pursuance of this policy three Ministers of Pakistan Government have toured the affected areas in East Bengal since the outbreak of trouble

"In view of the fact that exaggerated and highly coloured reports of the unfortunate happenings were in circulation on both sides of the border, the Prime Minister of India and I authorised our respective High Commissioners and their Deputies to visit the affected areas

We agreed to give them full facilities to travel freely and to see things for themselves I am amazed to find that the Prime Minister of India has complained that the East Bengal Government refused to allow Deputy High Commissioner in Dacca to proceed to Barisal This is entirely contrary to facts

"When the Deputy High Commissioner expressed his intention to visit Barisal, the East Bengal Government told him that he could do so as soon as they had ascertained whether the District Magistrate was present at his headquarters to make proper arrangements for his reception The Deputy High Commissioner's request was made on the night of February 21 and he was informed on the morning of February 23 that the District Magistrate was at headquarters and ready to receive him An aircraft was placed at his disposal by the East Bengal Government the same day. Another aircraft was also placed at his disposal for his visit to the Chittagong area The High Commissioner for India, during his visit to the affected areas in East Bengal, also travelled by Government aircraft and both he and his Deputy were afforded full facilities to complete their study tour

"The Prime Minister of India recently suggested to me that fact-finding commissions should be appointed to report on the disturbances in East and West Bengal He also suggested that he and I should tour the affected provinces together. Both these suggestions are plausible enough, but they could have achieved little. Experience has repeatedly proved the futility of these fact-finding commissions In this particular case such commissions could only have done harm and they would have made deeper the wounds suffered by both peoples Instead of a fact-finding commission it would have pretty quickly deteriorated into a fault-finding commission, thus further exacerbating feelings in both countries and rendering the task of restoring communal harmony still more difficult The Chief Secretaries of East and West Bengal considered a similar proposal at a meeting held on February 10 and rejected it as unsound and undesirable Reports attributed to official sources have since appeared in the Indian Press saying that the statement that the Chief Secretaries had agreed that the proposal to set up these joint commissions should be dropped is 'a travesty of facts The relevant portion of the agreed minutes, signed by both Chief Secretaries, reads as follow

'The present situation in East and West Bengal was studied with particular reference to the incident which took place in Bagerhat and certain incidents reported from Calcutta The proposal made by West Bengal to the effect that a joint non-official com-

mittee, constituted by agreement between the two Central Governments, consisting of the elected members of the Provincial Minority Boards in East and West Bengal should visit selected disturbed areas in the two provinces, conduct local inquiries and see things for themselves, was fully discussed. It was felt that, in view of the implications of this proposal against the background of recent developments in East and West Bengal, it was not likely to produce the desired result and might conceivably have the opposite result."

From this it will be clear that the decision, which is based on sound administrative grounds, was an agreed one.

"As for the joint tour, I have had experience of it before. The Prime Minister of India and I toured the East and West Punjab during the ill-fated days of August-September, 1947. We achieved nothing. I recall that when passing in front of a Muslim village between Hoshiarpur and Jullundur we were stopped by bare-headed and bare-footed women and children, who beat their breasts and with tears streaming down their cheeks, begged the Prime Minister of India to save them from their impending doom which, they said, had been fixed for that night. He could do nothing to save them except post two Indian soldiers. They met their doom at the appointed hour.

My own proposal was and remains that the two Governments should make public announcements making themselves responsible for the rehabilitations and re-settlement of those members of the minority communities who have suffered during the distrubances. As I have told you earlier the East Bengal Government have already made such a declaration. To my mind, there is one and only one solution of this tragic problem and that is that we should win the confidence of the minority communities on either side and convince them that they should look to their own Governments for the redress of their wrongs and not to the Governments across the border. It must be brought home to the majority communities in both countries that by reducing the minority community to destitution it makes that minority community a burden on its own Government. So long as the Hindus in India feel that by rendering the Muslims destitute they can force them to migrate to Pakistan, or the Muslims in Pakistan feel that by rendering the Hindus destitute they can force them to migrate to India, the temptation to do so will persist.

We for our part, are anxious to do all that lies in our power to create such a feeling in our country but obviously our efforts cannot fructify unless India makes similar efforts. The Prime Minister of

India has now proposed that the representatives of the International Red Cross should visit the affected areas I presume the object is to assist the Governments in devising ways and means of alleviating the suffering of the victims of disturbances. I have not the slightest objection to this course being followed but I maintain that this does not bring us any nearer the solution of the problem than his other proposals The remedy lies with us not with the International Red Cross What is required is a change of heart, shedding of mental reservations and an honest acceptance of the partition of India into Bharat and Pakistan The truth of the matter is that the leaders of Hinduism have not accepted Pakistan and keep on devising methods of undoing it But Pakistan is an unalterable reality The sooner this is realised by the leaders of Hinduism the better it will be for the stability and progress of this subcontinent.

"Finally a few weeks ago Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru talked loudly and long of a 'no war declaration' by India and Pakistan I pointed out then that a condition precedent to the making of such a declaration was the elimination of all causes of conflict between the two countries How right it was has been proved once again by what the Prime Minister of India has himself said As recently as February 23, addressing the Indian Parliament he said at the end of a long peroration, which was full of inaccuracies and misrepresentations, that if the proposals that had been made to us by India were not agreed to by Pakistan India shall have to adopt other methods. I invite all peace-loving peoples of the world to note this threat. As for ourselves, I repeat we want nothing but peace. I have said this before and I say it again that we have no aggressive intentions towards India. Our policy is to live and let live On the other hand, if India wants war she will find us fully prepared We value our freedom more than we value anything else in the world"

Replying to questions, Liaquat 'Ali Khan disclosed that the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner in Calcutta had been refused permission to visit the affected areas in Assam. "He wanted to visit Karimganj and so far he has not been given permission. Otherwise, so far as West Bengal is concerned our High Commissioner has been given all facilities to tour the affected areas."

In reply to another question, he said: "It is true that the Indian Government have asked for the appointment of one or two more Deputy High Commissioners in East Pakistan."

Asked what reply Pandit Nehru had given to his concrete proposals for solving the five main inter-Dominion disputes in reply

to the former's no war proposals, he said "I am still waiting for the reply"

Replying to a question whether Pakistan would take the question of minorities to the UNO if the riots continued in West Bengal, he said "It is a hypothetical question I am hoping that that occasion would not arise"

Asked, how many Muslims had been killed in the Calcutta riots according to his information, he said "Our High Commissioner in Calcutta has not been able to give very definite figures. Our experience of these troubles in the past, specially in Calcutta, is that the damage is much more than what is given out But, I would not like to hazard a guess" He added, "The Government of Pakistan were considering the question of appointing more Deputy High Commissioners in West Bengal and Assam"

Asked, whether the police had opened fire on the rioters in Calcutta as the police had done in Dacca, as given out in his statement, he replied, "In Calcutta the police opened fire on the rioters, but I do not know whether the bullets killed the rioters or the Muslims"

While replying to another question, he said, "If India does not agree to rehabilitate the uprooted refugees in their homes, we will do our best for those who have come to us'

Speaking of the attitude of the leaders of the minority community in West Bengal regarding the recent disturbances in Dacca, he said They have in their statements commended the Government action in quelling the disturbances" and had advised Indian leaders not to meddle in the affairs of the minority community in East Bengal. He added "In my recent communications with Pandit Nehru on the Bengal situation, I have drawn his attention to the irregular force being raised by the Council for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities in East Bengal ."

Asked to comment on the "suggestion" recently made by Chaudhry Khaliq-uz-zaman, President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, regarding the question of exchange of population, Liaquat Ali Khan remarked "It will be a very great tragedy if we have to resort to that method It is a very dismal prospect for both countries' His reply to a question whether Pakistan would demand more land from India in case of a wholesale exchange of population was, "After all people cannot just live in the air."

WELCOME TO SHAH OF IRAN

In March, 1950, Shah of Iran visited Pakistan. On 15 March, he was invited to visit the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan Welcoming the Shah in the Assembly, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"It is my proud privilege to welcome your Imperial Majesty on the occasion of your visit to the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. It is a pleasure to recall once again the profound affection and regard in which we hold your great country and its people It is still more pleasant to remind ourselves of the affection that Your Imperial Majesty and the people of Iran have for Pakistan We can never forget the great warmth of feeling shown by Iran when Pakistan came into existence and the continued goodwill that has been exhibited ever since by your Government and the people of Iran. If I might say so, this happy state of affairs is not accidental The people of Iran and the people of Pakistan have known each other for centuries They have a common outlook and a common cultural heritage For over a thousand years, Iran has been the fountain-head of culture in Asia. Indeed, the poets, painters, philosophers and thinkers of Iran have been famous not only in Asia but all over the world A study of our literature and art will show how much we owe to them When the cultural relations were so deep and interchange of thought so constant amongst the people of our two countries, it was but natural that the bonds of mutual affection should grow strong with the passage of time.

"During the last two or three centuries, due to political developments in this subcontinent, our contacts with Iran became less frequent. Happily we are in a position now to strengthen the old ties of affection and to renew and extend our knowledge of each other

"It is only fitting that Your Imperial Majesty should, after seeing Pakistan as it is today, know something of that Pakistan which the people of this country hope to make it in time to come.

"Pakistan came into existence in exceptionally difficult circumstances. Indeed, I think I will be right in saying that never before in the history of the world has a country had to face, at its very inception, the difficulties comparable to those that confronted us in Pakistan. Our difficulties were of three kinds. The first were of the kind inherent in the situation, that is, the kind of difficulties every new State has to face whatever the time or the place We were not fortunate enough to inherit a 'going concern'. We did not have the facilities of occupying the chairs of those who had silently, if sullenly, got up and

given the rein of administration into our hands. We had to lay the foundations of a new government and begin everything from scratch. Anybody having even a moderate knowledge of the complexities of the governmental structure of a modern State and of the current national and international affairs, can well imagine that, in the world of today, when various world-wide forces and movements are working all around with diverse aims and objects, how great and responsible is the task of founding a new State based on wisdom and statesmanship.

"Secondly, we were faced with difficulties which were the result of the world situation. Pakistan came into being not long after the end of the second Great War when the world had had no time to recover from one of the severest shocks it had ever received. Unusual economic factors had restricted production of consumer's goods in some countries and had stopped it completely in others. Prices had soared up to the highest peak and both the people and the Government of Pakistan had the least available facilities for satisfying their main urgent needs.

"Thirdly, we were confronted with difficulties and perils, story of which is a long one and I will not attempt to embark upon its details. It is enough to mention that after partition large-scale bloodshed took place in East Punjab and the adjoining areas which compelled millions of Muslims to migrate to Pakistan History has few parallels to this butchery and to a migration on such a vast scale. In this holocaust, nearly one million Muslims lost their lives and about seven millions had to leave their homes, all their worldly goods and, in many cases, their dear ones, and to find refuge in Pakistan. To add to these difficulties most of the important documents and files which fell to our share were destroyed and we had no alternative but to draw upon a blank sheet of paper the schemes which were needed for the day-to-day administration of the country.

"This is how we began our new life in Pakistan. And we had hardly had time to recover from initial shocks, when God, in His divine wisdom, ordained that our beloved Quaid-i-A'zam, the Father of our Nation, should be taken away from us. That, indeed, was the severest blow of all.

"But, by the grace of God, the spirit of the people of Pakistan remained steadfast. Our people did not waver. Our people were determined to make Pakistan a great country; they considered no sacrifice too great to achieve this ideal. I cannot help paying tribute to the people of Pakistan for the spirit which they have exhibited. I refer to the enormous strength of common feelings and enthusiasm for the ideal of Pakistan which has inspired the people of this

country. It was a great thing for us to feel ourselves free 'and independent It called forth great enthusiasm, great sacrifices and great endeavour.

"It may well be asked what it was that made the people of Pakistan go through all these trials and tribulations without flinching. In order to answer that question it is necessary to look back. The life that the previous generations of the people of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent were leading was the life of a people who were not only still striving for political freedom but were also facing an acute internal strain arising out of the conflict of differing cultures. This conflict not only stood in the way of attainment of freedom but also threatened to poison the very fruit of that freedom if ever it was acquired. For freedom really means freedom to live and think as we desire. Political freedom without religious, cultural and economic freedom would be meaningless and without value It was for the sake of this cultural freedom that the Muslims in the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent made Pakistan the supreme goal of their political efforts. Pakistan was for them a religion, a culture, a way of life. It was to have a homeland which we could call our own and in which we could make our own destiny, develop our own traditions, practise our own way of life, that we strove for the attainment of Pakistan.

"Pakistan came into existence because we wanted to create a society which is based on the Islamic principles of social justice, equality and brotherhood of man. In other words a society which has no inner conflicts; where a man receives the just reward for his toil and where there are no parasites fattening on the labours of others. It was this ideal which gave the people of Pakistan the courage to withstand all the horrors that attended partition.

"It is the sacred duty of this Constituent Assembly to translate that ideal of the people of Pakistan into reality. We are fully aware of the difficulties of our task, but we are confident that with hard work and with the grace of God we shall succeed in our efforts.

"Your Imperial Majesty has no doubt seen the Objectives Resolution passed by this Constituent Assembly. It lays down the lines on which the future constitution of Pakistan is going to be framed. As the Objectives Resolution makes clear, we are convinced that no society can endure for long which is concerned with the material values of life only, because man does not live by bread alone. Unless his spiritual needs are satisfied as well as his material needs, he cannot have true satisfaction and is bound to remain frustrated and unhappy. This frustration and unhappiness are the evils we are

seeking to avoid.

"I would like to point out here that it is in no sense of narrow bigotry or formalism that we wish to approach the task of evolving a constitution for our country We believe that Islam is a religion for all times and our task is to erect a structure suited to modern conditions on the bedrock of unchanging principles

"It might well be asked why we attach so much importance to social justice We do so for a very good reason Since the dawn of history thinking people have realised that no human society can endure which allows the exploitation of man by man or which permits the application of different sets of laws to different classes of people. If these things are allowed to go unchecked, society develops inner strains and stresses A cursory glance at history tells us that internal strife rather than external aggression is the real danger for a people. Our Holy Prophet, Peace be on Him, with a deep wisdom understood this well and he said it again and again that every man must receive the wages that are his due and the full fruit of his labour He also declared that all human beings are equal before God and before law

"I have stressed the importance of social justice for the well-being of a people because I know that Your Majesty is very deeply interested in it and is endeavouring successfully to bring it about in your own country

"It is a truism to say that the world is facing a very grave crisis. The pessimists think that there is no hope for mankind and even the optimists, who believe that humanity will extricate itself from the mess in which it finds itself, do not quite know how this very desirable end is going to be achieved I firmly believe that the only way wherein lies the salvation of humanity is the way of Islam I know of no other system which could truly resolve the diverse conflicts which face humanity today and which threaten it with virtual extinction if it persists in its present course of action Along with other things Islam teaches us the value of common endeavour It is because of this that we want all Muslim countries to work together for the betterment of their own people as well as those of the world I need hardly repeat that Pakistan is always willing to co-operate not only with the Muslim countries but also with all the other countries in order to bring peace to the world and to improve the condition of the common people

"In the end I would like to say that the visit of Your Imperial Majesty to Pakistan has been a most opportune one You have, no doubt, seen with your own eyes the feelings of deep affection and

admiration which the people of this country have for Your Imperial Majesty and Iran. If I may strike a personal note, your visit has given me an opportunity to meet Your Imperial Majesty once again and to renew my feelings of admiration and regard for you I will repeat what I said when I visited Teheran that Iran is fortunate in having a sovereign like Your Imperial Majesty who though young in years is old in wisdom and has the welfare of his people uppermost in his heart I feel certain that during your reign Iran will flourish and prosper In the noble task of serving your people and of improving their lot, which Your Imperial Majesty has undertaken, my prayers for your success will always be with you."

SPEECH AT BARISAL

Addressing a largely attended public meeting at Barisal on March 19, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"You did not expect me to be back here again so soon but the recent events in the district, of which I have heard reports, have brought me here to enable to acquaint myself personally with what happened and to ensure that they do not occur again

"Acts of lawlessness have taken place in Barisal town and in some places in the district which cannot be allowed to go unchallenged These unfortunate events must be condemned in the strongest possible terms No true Muslim and no true Pakistani can approve of such wickedness indulged in by certain irresponsible elements who want to create disorder and confusion in the land The vast bulk of the people, I have no doubt, will condemn such acts and help the Government in bringing the culprits to book For those who indulge in acts of vandalism are acting against the teachings of Islam and are also acting against the interests of the State. Such people are not true Muslims and are the enemies of the State.

"I have been told that there has been widespread repression upon Muslims in India. There are reports of much more serious things happening in India in which Muslims have been the victims. It is true that sufferings of Muslims in India will naturally arouse feelings in Pakistan. It is only human to feel concerned for the Muslims in India but that does not justify any retaliatory measures on their part

in Pakistan.

"However grave the provocation may be of events in India, Muslims in Pakistan must be able to control their sentiments and emotions." He also warned them against falling into the trap of those who by carrying on "mischievous propaganda want to harm the interests of Pakistan It is the aim of such propagandists to undermine the prestige of Pakistan and to harm her in other ways."

PEACEFUL AND HONOURABLE LIVING FOR MINORITIES

Speaking at a largely attended public meeting shortly after his arrival in Jessore on March 21, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan referred to the exodus of Hindus from the District despite the fact that no disturbances had taken place there and said

"It is mainly due to the warmongering being carried on by the Calcutta Press and certain Indian leaders If India wants Hindus to live here it should stop irresponsible and unthinking men from talking of war Pakistan, stands for peace but that in case of an aggression we will defend every inch and ever brick of our sacred homeland to the last man....

"As Muslims it is the duty of every Pakistani to protect the minorities which is as necessary as protecting ourselves. Islam as a religion is opposed to any tyranny by the strong upon the weak. A nation which exercises tyranny on its weaker elements is sure to suffer in the long run God's vengeance is silent but it is sure to come It is in the interests of Pakistan and its inhabitants that the minorities should continue to live in peace in the country. . Pakistan's constitution, as has already been resolved upon, will be based upon Islamic principles There can be no better guarantee for the minorities than the proposed constitution's Islamic basis which vouchsafes the gospels of peace, equality and justice.

"We want members of the minority community to live here but at the same time we do not want to stop those who want to go to India Pakistan does not want to give the impression that it wants to retain the minorities for some ulterior motives. Lakhs of Muslim refugees are pouring into East Bengal from West Bengal and Assam. The Government will do everything to help and provide relief to them

and also will strive towards creating conditions in India that might pave the way for their return to their original homes and live there in peace and honour."

BROADCAST FROM DACCA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a broadcast from Dacca Station of Radio Pakistan on March 22, 1950 said

"I have been deeply distressed at the happenings during the last few weeks in East Bengal, West Bengal and Assam and at the situation arising therefrom during the last four days. I have toured those districts of East Bengal, where the effects of this madness are more prominently visible I have met the *Muhajireen* who have sought sanctuary in Pakistan and also met members of the minority community who have suffered in the disturbances.

"I have profound sympathy with these people. I have been much pained by the incidents of violence, loot and arson. Maltreatment of innocent and helpless persons is a disgraceful affair which is thoroughly repugnant to Islamic principles. Lawlessness not only retards the progress of a country but is also fatal if it exceeds a certain limit. Those Pakistanis who have taken part in disturbances or who even connived at these happenings are in no way friends of Pakistan They have even forfeited the right to be called good citizens

"I want to make it clear that every Pakistani is entitled to the same rights and privileges, irrespective of caste or creed to which he belongs. The Constituent Assembly of Pakistan has amply declared this fact through its Objectives Resolution Some non-Muslims, who are enemies of Pakistan, say that since we in Pakistan want to have an Islamic state, there is no place for non-Muslims here. Nothing could be more misleading and more false than this propaganda I have often emphasised that those who think that in an Islamic state non-Muslims will not be entitled to all the rights and privileges are either ignorant of the teachings of Islam or deliberately distort the truth for the sake of false propaganda.

"In my speeches I have repeatedly said that we want to build Pakistan on the foundations of the Islamic principles of equality, fraternity and social justice... We want to set up a social order in

which every person, Muslim or non-Muslim, will not only enjoy the fruits of his labour but will have the satisfaction that complete justice will be done to him in all circumstances In such a social set-up every person will have the rights of equality

"I want to assure the minorities in Pakistan that they are entitled to the same rights and privileges as any other section of Pakistanis. The protection of the minorities and their social progress is our sacred duty I never want and I am sure this is shared by every Pakistani that no person belonging to the minority community should leave Pakistan My desire is that those who have left Pakistan out of fear should return. In spite of this, those who want to go will be free to exercise their choice to do so

"During my present tour, I have found that the extent and intensity of the disturbances in East Bengal is much less than some people in India think and certain sections of the Indian Press have indulged in unlimited exaggeration But as I have said earlier, I have been very much pained at these happenings and I have nothing but condemnation for these incidents It has given me satisfaction that the Government of East Pakistan promptly controlled the situation and suppressed the trouble wherever it raised its head At the moment there is complete peace in this province and nothing has happened duing the past few weeks to frighten the minorities

'Leaders of the minorities have, therefore, rightly praised the Government of East Pakistan Wherever I have gone, representatives of the minorities have told me that they do not want to leave Pakistan and that they want to live in Pakistan which they regard as their homeland. They have also told me that as far as the Government and a vast majority of Muslims are concerned, they have nothing to complain I am very much distressed that some members of the minority community are leaving their homeland The responsibility for this lies to some extent on editors of newpapers and to a great extent on those mischievous people who circulate unfounded rumours The newspapers of East Pakistan have exercised commendable restraint and forbearance but this cannot be said of newspapers of India and particularly of West Bengal In this respect the greatest responsibility lies on some newspapers of West Bengal which have not only indulged in unbounded exaggeration but have by their false and unfounded stories inflamed passions on the one hand and created fear on the other hand The fear in the mind of the minority community is not due to any real danger It is not due to any absence of complete peace in East Bengal It is not due to any belief that the

Government of East Pakistan have not fully controlled the situation, taken strong measures against miscreants and recovered looted property and restored it to the owners.

"At the moment, there is complete peace in the province. Some thousands have been arrested and it is our firm determination that peace will be maintained in all circumstances. The real reasons for fear among the minority are quite different.

"Leaders of West Bengal and other Indian leaders have been constantly telling the Hindus of East Bengal that war between Pakistan and India is imminent and therefore they should leave Pakistan for the security of their lives Not only have these papers repeatedly stated that war is imminent but also that India should launch war against Pakistan. As far as I know, no action has been taken against these papers. This is completely unfounded as Pakistan wants peace and will always stand for peace Some leaders and newspapers in the neighbouring country have taken a leading part in spreading this unfounded rumour, but I am convinced that there is no dearth of well-meaning and wise persons in India, who are not aware of the horrible effects of such irresponsible talk. It is easy to talk of war but war is not an easy matter.

"We have seen the aftermath of wars in the last 30 or 35 years and yet people do not realise the horrors of war If forced to defend our freedom, we shall consider no sacrifice too great as we value our freedom more than our lives The sense of fear in the minds of Hindus of East Pakistan is also due to the happenings in West Bengal and Assam As soon as news is received of the atrocities on Muslims in West Bengal and Assam, that creates a fear complex in the minds of Hindus in this province

"I appeal to the minorities in East Pakistan not to lend their ears to unfounded rumours They should realise that the Government of Pakistan will protect their lives, property and honour. Stern measures will be taken against those guilty of breaking the law. Those who have suffered in the disturbances are being helped and every effort is being made to rehabilitate them. These efforts will continue until they are completely rehabilitated.

"A measure of the atrocities on Muslims in West Bengal and Assam can be had from the fact that up till now, some hundreds of thousand Muslims have crossed into East Pakistan from those provinces. So far, 3,50,000 *Muhajireen* have been registered. In addition, there are many more who have not registered themselves. It is difficult to say what is the exact number of these *Muhajireen*.

I have deep sympathy with the *Muhajireen*, who have left all they had and come over to East Pakistan

"Government are helping those among them who are destitute. We shall do everything possible so that the Government of India may create such conditions as to enable these *Muhajireen* to go back to their homes in India and live a life of honour and freedom and also free from fear As long as conditions do not improve, they have to stay in Pakistan and we shall give them all help I and my Government are prepared to co-operate fully with India I am in correspondence with Pandit Nehru at present and we are considering proposals which may not only improve the condition but also stop any deterioration in future The protection of minorities is the moral duty of both the Governments

"I want to make it clear that our efforts can succeed only if minorities in India receive just treatment. At present not only in West Bengal but also in some other Indian provinces, Muslims are being subjected to all manner of oppression and they are being forced either to live a life of extreme degradation and penury or to go to Pakistan to save their life and honour If this is not stopped, all the efforts of the Government of Pakistan will be fruitless I hope that the Government of India, like ourselves, will make a firm determination to control the situation as soon as possible. Unless the Government of India suppressed lawless elements, conditions in India will not improve

"No sensible person wants to have bad relations with his neighbour as this is harmful to both It can never be our desire to have quarrels with India or to have strained relations It is our sincere desire that there should be complete friendship and co-operation between the two countries so that both may profit by it. We have always sought a just solution of controversial issues between the two countries and on our part this effort will continue.

"Every Pakistani should remember that the ideals we had before us while struggling for the achievement of Pakistan, can be realised only if there is peace inside Pakistan and all Pakistanis stand united. The sacrifices we made for the attainment of Pakistan can be fruitful only if we are organised and do not allow any chaos in the country.

"The law of nature presents each individual and nation with a decisive moment in its lifetime If at that moment that individual or nation is capable of courage, perseverance, organisation and unity, its future is destined to be bright But if that individual or nation is dominated by selfishness and lack of courage, it will be face to face

with failure and ruin

"It is the duty of every Pakistani to render every possible help to the *Muhajireen* because they have been victims of barbarism Their only fault is that they are Muslims. They had to leave their homes, their wealth and property It is the duty of every Pakistani to help the *Muhajireen* until such time as conditions are created which may enable them to go back to their homes and live a life of honour and freedom from fear

"Every Pakistani should remember that Quaid-i-A'zam had given his pledge to the minorities that as citizens of Pakistan, they will be entitled to the same rights and privileges as Muslims of Pakistan It is our duty to fulfil this pledge Morality and justice demand that we do not swerve from this pledge That nation alone progresses which treads the path of justice History gives eloquent proof of the fact that any nation which adopts ways of injustice and falsehood goes the way of destruction With the future of Pakistan are bound up our glorious and pleasant dreams It is within us to realise those dreams I have every confidence that our dreams will come true. *Pakistan Zindabad.*"

THE DEFENCE SITUATION OF EAST PAKISTAN

During the discussion on the General Budget on March 25, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan discussed the position of defence of East Pakistan and other related matters

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Mr President, Sir, first of all, I must express my regret for not having been present in the House during the last few days when the various Demands were under discussion As Honourable Members are aware, I was engaged on State business of a very serious and important character I hope at the next meeting of the Assembly to be able to make a statement to this House regarding my visit to East Pakistan

"Sir, it is but natural that the Honourable Members of this House should feel concerned and interested in the defence of our country, because of the fact that every Pakistani values his freedom more than his life. I want to inform the Honourable Members that, while it is not possible for me—and I am sure they appreciate it—to give all the details about our defence, I can tell them that we are more than

hundred per cent stronger today than what we were at the time of the establishment of Pakistan (*Applause*).

"Sir, some of my Honourable friends naturally are concerned about the safety of East Pakistan, because of the war hysteria that is going on in the Press of West Bengal. I can tell them that every inch of the Pakistan territory, whether it is in the east or the west, is equally sacred and I have not the slightest doubt in my mind that all Pakistanis will defend every inch of our territory and we shall make every sacrifice that we may be called upon to make for the integrity and the honour of our State (*Applause*)

"Sir, my Honourable friend who just spoke while the House reassembled, talked about recruitment in the armed forces from East Pakistan As I have stated on previous occasions, it has been the policy of the Government to recruit men and officers in our armed forces from every part of our State It might interest the Honourable Members from East Pakistan to know that, when I found that recruitment in our armed forces from East Pakistan was not satisfactory, I have for the purpose of recruitment from East Pakistan, lowered the standard to the lowest limit in keeping with the efficiency of the armed forces I am sure, my Honourable friends would agree with me that there is a certain limit below which we cannot afford to go if we are to have an efficient and strong armed forces to defend our liberty and our country

"Sir, some suggestions had been made by some of the Honourable Members that we should open a Naval Establishment Training School, a Military Academy and have some Ordnance factories in East Pakistan as well as in West Pakistan I am afraid I cannot hold out any promise to have all these things in the near future for the simple reason that we have not yet got any Ordnance factories working in West Pakistan and secondly, where Ordnance factories are concerned, they have to be established in places which are strategically the safest in a country.

"With regard to Naval Establishments of some sort for training people in East Pakistan, I can tell the Honourable Members that a proposal is under consideration and when and as soon as it is possible to have a Training Establishment in East Pakistan we shall not hesitate to do so

"With regard to Military Academy, I must say that it is absolutely necessary that all those who are to officer our armed forces must be trained together, brought up together and not in separate compartments, but I have been considering as to what steps we should take

to give the preliminary education to help in higher training and that matter is also under my consideration.

"There was one point made by one of the Honourable speakers—I think it was Mr Chowdhury—that we should have in East Pakistan forces composed of East Pakistanis alone to defend that part of the country I want to make it quite clear that I am opposed to that It is the duty of every Pakistani, whether he may be belonging to the east or to the west, to shoulder the responsibility for the defence of Pakistan as a whole, but it does not mean that I don't want, or that I am not making every effort to have an adequate number of people from East Pakistan in our armed forces, because, apart from other considerations, I feel that East Pakistan should take as great a part in the defence of our country as today the people in our armed forces from West Pakistan are taking That is the policy which I have followed from the very beginning and which I propose to follow in the future also

"Sir, may I tell my Honourable friends that the greatest defence of a country is the unity amongst its people and the peace prevailing in the land and grim determination, born of confidence, to defend one's freedom Thank God, barring a few howls that one might hear from some corners, Pakistan is a united nation (Applause) Pakistan has confidence and determination to defend its freedom and its integrity, and, except for the last deplorable and unfortunate incidents that took place in East Pakistan, there has been peace and order in our land and so long as we continue to maintain peace, so long as we continue to have united nation determined to defend its freedom, I can tell the Honourable Members that we have nothing to fear (*Applause*) We are a peace-loving nation and I assure the Honourable Members here and the world outside that we want nothing but peace. We have no aggressive designs against any country but at the same time our love for peace will not make us hesitate to make the greatest sacrifices for the defence of our freedom and our honour. I think, I am voicing the feeling of every Pakistani when I say that each one of us would rather die than be under the domination of any country or any nation in this world"

STATEMENT ON THE EAST BENGAL SITUATION

Making a statement in the Assembly about the East Bengal situation after his return from a tour of East Pakistan, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, on March 28, 1950, stated

"I feel I owe it to this House and to the people of Pakistan to make a full statement of the situation in East Pakistan and report the facts as I observed them for myself during my recent visit Let me say at the outset that I deplore and condemn such acts of violence against the minority community as have taken place in certain localities in East Pakistan and I extend my sincere sympathies to the sufferers in their misfortune But I am fully satisfied that the actual facts bear no relation whatsoever in their magnitude to the lurid pictures of ghastliness painted from day to day by the press and many political leaders of India

"For a proper appreciation of the origin and nature of the trouble which has occurred in East Bengal, it will be necessary for me to describe, in its chronological sequence, the course of events that immediately preceded the disturbances For several months past extremist elements in India, led by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha, the R S S and a body of mischievous malcontents called the Council for the Protection of Rights of Minorities, have been carrying on a campaign for the absorption of Pakistan into India and to inflame Hindu opinion in India against the Muslims in that country and in Pakistan The focus of this agitation, which as I have said has been going on over a long period, was shifted to Calcutta when a conference of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha was called there from December 24 to 26 In the course of his presidential address, Dr. N B Khare openly declared that India would never reconcile itself to the partition of the country and that Pakistan must be reabsorbed into India Simultaneously an anti-Pakistan propaganda campaign was launched on a wide scale that the lives, property and honour of Hindus were in grave danger throughout Pakistan and particularly in East Bengal. Three weeks later, on January 15, India's Deputy Prime Minister visited Calcutta and in a public speech, made most unfortunate references to the communal disturbance of 1946 in Bengal in terms which could not but encourage the irresponsible elements among the Hindus in its antagonism to Pakistan He spoke also of the tragedy of what he described as the 'catastrophe of partition' and the artificial nature of the boundary dividing East and West Bengal Four days later, on January 19, Muslims were attacked in Bongaon and their mosques were

desecrated. On January 24, the Hindu Mahasabha sponsored a meeting at Berhampur in West Bengal Immediately after this meeting Hindu mobs attacked the Muslim areas at Gorabazar and many other places in the district of Murshidabad. On January 24, a Muslim quarter at Dum Dum Cantonment was attacked and a mosque desecrated. Similar incidents took place in Ultadanga, Maniktolla and Beliaghata. On February 3, Muslim passengers in a train from Lumdig in Assam were attacked and looted. The same day, a meeting was organised by the Council for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities at Batanagar. On February 5, a communal riot broke out in Batanagar. By February 8, large scale rioting took place in Calcutta where killing and looting of Muslims has intermittently and with varying degrees of intensity continues to this day

"It needs pointing out that the Hindu leaders used a minor incident, wholly non communal in character, which had taken place several weeks earlier, on December 20 to be precise, in the district of Khulna in East Bengal, to fan the flames of communal passion against Muslims What had happened then was that an Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and three constables, of whom only one was armed, wanted to search the house of a Communist They were attacked and overpowered; the only armed policeman was killed and the others were wounded After this attack on the police pary, the Communist elements spread rumours regarding the likelihood of police action and, in consequence, a number of people, not all of whom were Communists, left the area. Some bad characters in the neighbourhood took advantage of this situation and helped themselves to the property that had been left behind in some of the houses The District Magistrate, Khulna, accompanied by Hindu and Muslim non-officials, succeeded within a few days in recovering and restoring some of the looted property. A number of arrests was made No communal importance was attached to this incident For weeks the Indian press said nothing about it. It was only after January 15, the day on which the Deputy Prime Minister of India made his speech, that the West Bengal Press made their first references to it. Evidently believing that any stick was good enough to beat Pakistan with, they exploited this incident to excite communal passions against Muslims and made it the pretext for starting a country-wide Hindus-in danger agitation Neutral observers who have since studied the situation in East Bengal are convinced that the Khulna incident involved only the police and Communists, that it had no communal significance whatever and that it was deliberately distorted

and magnified a month later by interested parties for political purposes

"It was on February 10, after rioting had been going on throughout India and particularly in West Bengal for a long period, that repercussions took place in East Bengal for the first time Rioting broke out in Dacca about midday and took the form of looting of shops, arson and stabbing The police took prompt action. Military pickets and patrols were immediately organised Curfew was imposed and trouble-makers, numbering over 1,500, were rounded up The situation was brought under control in Dacca on the same day and the suburbs within the next two days The Police opened fire to quell these disturbances on 22 occasions and recovered a substantial part of the looted property as a result of extensive searches Besides Dacca, there were local disturbances on a much smaller scale in Chittagong, Feni and the districts of Barisal and Sylhet In almost every case, the trouble was brought under control within twenty-four hours The trouble in Sylhet was a direct repercussion of the serious situation in Karimganj in Assam as a result of which over 20,000 Muslim refugees crossed into East Bengal This caused grave tension in the Sylhet district resulting in trouble on 16 February, which was promptly and effectively put down There has been no communal incident major or minor for a whole month anywhere in the Province

"It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the East Bengal Government acted throughout with commendable zeal in putting down lawlessness and I congratulate the administration on its conscientious discharge of duty. During my tour I have met representatives of Muslims Caste Hindus, Scheduled Castes and Europeans All my interviewers, and particularly the members of the minority community, were unanimous in praising the zeal and impartiality with which the district officials worked unremittingly to bring the situation under control Casualties figures covering all areas are now available I regret to say that the completed figures reveal a greater loss of life than was originally estimated The number of persons killed and wounded in Dacca is 225 and 235 and in the rest of East Bengal 203 and 351 respectively Altogether 1,247 criminal cases have been registered about 5,000 houses searched and over 4,000 persons arrested as a result of investigation into cases or by way of preventive detention. As I have already stated complete peace has prevailed in the Province for over a month

"The picture of what has happened in East Bengal will not be complete without a mention of what has happened, and is happening,

in India Since the dark days of 1947 and early 1948 Pakistan has been remarkably free from communal troubles As against this, there were no less than some 3" anti-Muslim riots reported in 1949 from different parts of India The year 1950 brought worse troubles I have already told the Honourable Members a part of this woeful story Calcutta and its environs still remain the scene of sporadic trouble Almost entire Muslim population in Hoogly, Chinsurah, Paikpara, Gondalpara, Telinipara, Chandarnagore and adjacent localities has been uprooted Muslim *bustees* between Belgachia and Tangra have practically ceased to exit Serious distrubances occurred in Jalpaiguri between 24 and 26 February, resulting in loss of life and very heavy loss of property and also in large-scale migration of Muslims to East Bengal Trouble in other parts of West Bengal has continued In Assam, disturbances broke out for a second time in Karimganj on 28 February and within a few days large numbers of Muslims were forced to leave their houses and migrate to East Bengal Looting and killing of Muslims has occurred in Hailakandi and Badarpur The disturbances took a most serious form in the district of Goalpara, Kamrup and Darrang, where mass slaughter and destruction of property has occurred The Government of Assam have admitted in a Press note issued belatedly, that there was widespread outburst of mass violence in the north of the Goalpara district and the local administration found the situation beyond its resources. During and after the *Holi* festival, communal rioting took place in a number of towns in the U.P and Central India. Reports of some recent trouble have also been received in Bombay and Delhi. It is not my desire here to assess the full extent of disturbances in India or of loss of Muslim life and property there. All I wish to do is to indicate that widespread trouble has occurred during February and March in several parts of India and is still continuing.

"In the meantime thousands of refugees keep pouring into Pakistan daily from Assam, West Bengal and other parts of India. Already about 4,00,000 refugees have been registered by Government agencies in East Bengal The total number of those who have entered the Province exceeds that figure The exodus still continues and more refugees keep coming in at the rate of some 15,000 to 20,000 a day Many of the refugees are at present housed in various camps in sixteen districts in East Bengal. Some twelve to fifteen hundred refugees from India are daily entering West Pakistan, though the full number of those who have come is not at present available. The number of Hindus who have left East Bengal is probably of much the

same order as the number of Muslims who have come into East Bengal I understand that a small proportion of those Hindus who left earlier is now beginning to return, reassured by the continued prevalence of peaceful conditions in East Bengal While the Pakistan Government is most anxious that no Pakistani national should leave his home, where full protection for him is available, we have decided not to stop anyone from evacuating to India, if he wishes to do so The reason is obvious Any move to stop the intending evacuees is likely to be misunderstood We do not want to be accused of wanting to keep Hindus in Pakistan as 'hostages' Those who want hindrances are being placed in their way We have adopted this policy in the hope that most of those who are leaving will before long return to their homes The Pakistan Government is also anxious to rehabilitate those members of the minority community who have suffered during the disturbances and the East Bengal Government are providing adequate financial assistance for this purpose All those Hindus who agreed to resettle in their homes have already been rehabilitated A Relief Commissioner with wide financial and executive powers has been appointed to take expeditious measures to provide succour to those who have come and are daily coming over from India Questions such as housing finding of employment and providing other short-term relief are engaging the immediate attention of the Relief authorities in East Bengal

"With us the protection of minorities is a sacred duty This is not mere reiteration of a pious platitude but a fundamental principle of national policy In implementation of this policy we have consistently and ceaselessly done everything that lies in our power and it is our firm intention to continue to do so Whoever is guilty of violating this sacred trust will be sternly dealt with I have made this plain on many occasions in the past and more recently in my public and private talks in East Bengal Wherever I went in East Bengal invariably I was told by the leaders of the Hindu community that they fully appreciated this and wished for nothing better than to continue to stay in their homes in Pakistan They added, however, that there were two main reasons why Hindus were leaving East Bengal even though completely peaceful conditions now prevailed in that Province These reasons were first, that since communal violence was continuing in varying degree in India and Muslim refugees kept coming in large number into East Bengal with their tales of misery, they were apprehensive that they might once again become the victims of reprisals. Secondly, the Indian Press and several Indian leaders have been persistently

urging that India should invade Pakistan and their friends and relations across the border have been telling them that in the circumstances it would be suicidal for them to continue to stay in Pakistan

"I attach great importance to both these points as they constitute the crux of the problem There cannot be the slightest doubt that unless there is cessation of communal violence in India it would be well nigh impossible for the minorities in Pakistan to have a feeling of complete security It is even more true that so long as war hysteria in India continues unchecked, its effects, particularly on the minds of the minority community in Pakistan, cannot but be disastrous For weeks past the Indian Press and several Indian leaders have been demanding that India should declare war on Pakistan A systematic campaign on these lines has been in progress In particular Calcutta Press in recent weeks has been blatant in its demand for a war on Pakistan So far as I am aware, there has been no visible sign of an effort to check the open incitement to war against Pakistan The dangerous possibilities of the continuance of such a campaign are obvious and cannot be overemphasised Apart from the unsettling effect of war propaganda on the minorities on both sides of the border, the inequity of advocating war against a friendly neighbour must be fully apparent to the Government of India Unless vigorous action is taken to put an end to this agitation and I hope that the Government of India will take such steps immediately, dangerous consequences might follow

"Malicious exaggerations and fantastic lies about recent events in East Pakistan continue to appear in the Indian Press At the same time I must condemn certain sections of the Press in Pakistan for mischievous treatment and presentation of news. No improvement of the present dangerous situation can be expected so long as the Press in both the countries does not act in a sane and responsible manner

"The Honourable Members have no doubt read in newspapers that the Prime Minister of India and I have had under consideration the question of the issuing of a joint declaration. This declaration expresses the determination of each Government among other things, to punish wrong-doers and recover looted property, to rehabilitate those who have suffered during the disturbances to provide full protection to the minorities and facilities to those who wish to leave the country but to discourage large-scale migrations and to proceed against those who publish false stories in the Press or otherwise The declaration also provides for the appointment of an enquiry committee

presided over by a Judge of the High Court and including a representative of the minorities to enquire into the origin and extent of the disturbances in each country and to suggest means of preventing their recurrence There is general agreement on the terms of this declaration between the Prime Minister of India and myself and I suggested some ten days ago that it should be issued at once. I hope the Prime Minister of India will agree to issue it soon

"The publication of this joint declaration, which we on our part have every intention of implementing to the full, cannot however be enough by itself We are determined to maintain conditions in Pakistan under which the minorities should live in complete security I hope that the Government of India would also devise effective ways and means, and that at no distant date, to ensure that peaceful conditions are fully restored in their country and that those Muslims who have come over to Pakistan in extreme misery, having lost their relations and all they possessed in the world, are enabled very early to return to their homes in safety and honour I still maintain, as I have maintained in the past, that the one and the only effective method of solving our minority problem is by unreservedly accepting the principle that it is the first duty of the two Governments to assume complete responsibility not only for the security of life and property of the minority communities, but also for safeguarding their way of life and culture And above all a halt must be called to war propaganda and those leaders and organisations must be firmly dealt with who have been and are raising private armies with the intention not only of creating further communal disturbance in India but also of carrying out raids into the territories of Pakistan If Indian war propaganda continues unabated or the storm troops of the Hindu Mahasabha or the R S S get out of hand, a situation of extreme gravity will arise. A heavy responsibility rests on the shoulders of the Government of India For our part, we are determined to act firmly and with cool heads and to see that our present difficulties with India are resolved, so far as lies in our power, in a peaceful and honourable manner

"I should add that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru and I have been in correspondence with each other to find ways and means of improving the situation We are agreed that a personal meeting between us is essential for finding a speedy solution. I had invited Pandit Nehru to come to Karachi and he had invited me to come to Delhi I have decided to go to Delhi since Pandit Nehru desires the association in

these talks of some of his colleagues who for reasons of health find it difficult to travel by air."

BROADCAST SPEECH BEFORE DEPARTURE TO DELHI

On the eve of his departure to Delhi to hold discussions with Pandit Nehru and his colleagues, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan, Karachi on April 1, 1950, said

"We shall try to devise proposals, the implementation of which would result in the removal of these difficulties so that the minorities in both countries may not only be relieved of their present troubles but may live for the rest of their lives in peace and with honour. We shall also strive to settle these issues which are responsible for the existing tension between the two countries

"On learning of my proposed visit to Delhi the people of Pakistan have sent me innumerable letters, telegrams and messages. In several places they have held meetings and have expressed not only feelings of affection and regard for me but have also shown anxiety for my personal safety These sentiments of affection and devotion which have been expressed alike by young and old, men and women, have greatly touched me.

"I repeat what I have often said before that I have dedicated my life to the cause of Pakistan and Islam Everything which is dedicated to a cause is in the special protection of Almighty God He is the master of life and death and we should leave the results of our efforts in the hands of God.

"I assure you that it is after careful deliberation that I have taken this step in the hope of resolving our present difficulties. I am convinced that it is the right step.

"I am going to Delhi because for quite a considerable time now humanity has been suffering greatly in this subcontinent. Human values which emerged from ceaseless striving continued over centuries are being destroyed by inhuman barbarities. The edifice of civilisation which was built on the principles of justice and peace is being demolished by hatred and malice Crores of men, women and children are spending a life of misery and woe For large numbers of them the future holds nothing but perpetual fear and misery.

When the day dawns they do not know what their fate would be at its end and when the sun sets they do not know whether they will live to see another day In this state of terror they have lost their self-respect and sense of honour In their daily lives they hardly see any ray of hope

"It is the duty of every human being to strive to improve this sad state of affairs I have said many a time before that a clash between Pakistan and India will not only ruin both countries, but would also endanger world peace In the circumstances, if I fail to do my very best to ease the situation, I feel I would be guilty of dereliction of duty

"I am aware that the plight in which the Muslims of India find themselves greatly grieves the Muslims of Pakistan. Nevertheless, we should not do anything which would tend to make the situation worse. Instead we should remain calm and patient and do our best so that light may replace the existing darkness By the grace of God, there is complete peace prevailing in Pakistan Eastern Pakistan, where conditions were disturbed for some time, has now been enjoying perfect peace for over a month

"The speed with which peace was restored in Eastern Pakistan deserves special mention and I congratulate the Government and the people of Eastern Pakistan on their sense of discipline We would always follow the path of trust and justice, for the path of injustice and falsehood leads to destruction Our progress, success and salvation can only be ensured when we stick fast to the principles of truth and righteousness Under no circumstances should we allow injustice to take root in our hearts

"I am proceeding to New Delhi, in the hope that we shall, with our united efforts, create peaceful conditions in India and Pakistan and remove all misunderstandings which have created tension between the two countries I appeal to every Pakistani to pray for the success of this conference, so that minorities of both countries may live a peaceful and honourable life and relations between Pakistan and India so improve that they become real friends by understanding each other, thus making it possible for all the inhabitants of this subcontinent to live that life *Pakistan Zindabad*"

STATEMENT ON DELHI AGREEMENT REGARDING MINORITIES

Making a statement in the Constituent Assembly on April 10, 1950 on the agreement arrived at between the Governments of Pakistan and India regarding minorities, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

'Honourable Members are aware that the Prime Minister of India and I met in Delhi on 2 April to discuss measures to deal with the minority problems in India and Pakistan with special reference to the situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal The conversations between us, which were conducted in an atmosphere of frankness and cordiality, concluded on 8 April, when, I am happy to say, we reached an Agreement which I am presenting to the House.

"The Agreement,[1] it will be seen, has two aspects it deals with fundamental rights of the minorities and with measures for preventing communal disorder and for dealing with it effectively, should such disorder occur at any time in any part of India or Pakistan. In its special aspect, the Agreement deals with the present situation in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal with particular reference to the question of suppression of disorder wherever it is still occuring the stoppage of present exodus of minorities by creating conditions necessary for the restoration of confidence, the return of the refugees to their homes and the machinery for the implementation of these purposes.

"The fundamental rights reiterated in the Agreement are in accordance with the principles of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in March, 1949 These rights include complete equality of citizenship, irrespective of religion, protection of life, property, personal honour and culture and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and public morality. Both Governments have reaffirmed that the enjoyment of these rights is guaranteed to all minorities and have also stated that members of the minority communities have equal opportunity with members of the majority community to participate in public life, hold political and other offices and to serve in the country's civil and armed forces. At the same time, a most important principle has been re-emphasised that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens and it is to the Government of their own State that they should look for the redress of their grievances. The

1. See Appendix I

reiteration of this concept has been found to be necessary because much political and communal mischief in both countries is the result of a failure to recognise this basic principle

"Among measures of general application approved by the two Governments to prevent or deal with communal disturbances are the punishment of those found guilty of offences against persons and property and other criminal offences, the imposition of collective fines where necessary, the prevention of dissemination of news and mischievous opinion calculated to rouse communal passion by Press or radio or by any individual or organisation and the punishment of those responsible for such dissemination, the prevention of propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or purporting to incite war between them, and prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such propaganda. Other important features of the general aspect of the Agreement are non-recognition of forced conversions and the setting up of an agency to assist in the recovery of abducted women

"In the part of the Agreement relating to conditions in West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal, a number of special provisions have been made which apply in addition to the general provisions referred to above These special provisions are necessary in view of the unsettled conditions which are responsible for the present exodus. The most important of these measures is the decision of the Governments of Pakistan and India to depute two Ministers, one from each Government, to remain in the affected areas for such period as may be necessary in order to help restore confidence, to facilitate the return of the refugees to their homes and generally to assist in implementation of the provisions of the Agreement These two Ministers will work together in close co-operation and I earnestly hope that with the authority of the two Governments behind them, they will soon succeed in the accomplishment of their noble mission. Another important measure that has been accepted by both Governments is that a Minister of the minority community will be included in the governments of West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal The existing Provincial Minority Boards in West Bengal and East Bengal will be abolished and Minority Commissions will be established in West Bengal, Assam and East Bengal Each Commission will consist of a Minister of the Provincial or State Government concerned and a representative, each of the majority communities, chosen by and from among their respective representatives in the Provincial or State Legislature. These Commissions will observe and report on the implementation of the

Agreement and advise on action to be taken on their recommendations The two Central Ministers will remain in touch with the Commissions and may attend and participate in their meetings The agreed recommendations of the Central Ministers will normally be given effect to by the Governments of India and Pakistan. In the event of disagreement between the Central Ministers, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan shall consider and decide upon ways and means to resolve the disagreement

"The services of the Central Ministers will no longer be required when the present emergeney has passed. While the two Governments are opposed to large scale migrations, they do not want to place any impediments in the way of those who wish to go Provision has, therefore, been made for freedom of movement and protection in transit for the migrants and for increased custom facilities of a specified nature The rights of migrant to ownership of his immovable property and occupancy in land will not be disturbed His immovable property will be restored to him provided he returns to his home not late than 31st December, 1950, where restoration is not possible the Government concerned will take steps to rehabilitate the migrant The right to dispose of immovable property by sale, by exchange or otherwise has been recognised. Separate committees consisting of three representatives of the minority and presided over by a representative of the Government concerned will be established, under fresh legislation, by the Government of West Bengal, Assam, Tripura and East Bengal to act as trustees on behalf of the migrant owner and to recover rent for his immovable property according to law This arrangement will apply to the immovable property of all migrants from the four areas, who left their homes prior to the recent disturbances but after the 15th August, 1947. It will also apply to migrants who left Bihar for East Bengal owing to communal disorder or fear of such disorder. Provision has also been made for each Government setting up separate Enquiry Commissions to report on the cause and extent of the recent disturbances and to make recommendations with a view to preventing recurrence of communal disorder

"These are the main features of the Agreement. I shall now proceed to make some general observations.

"The restatement of fundamental rights, the reaffirmation of their applicability to the minorities in both countries and the solemn guarantee given by both Governments for the reinforcement of these rights should provide cause for particular satisfaction to all concerned. Some

fears have been expressed from time to time by those who have an imperfect understanding of the concept of an Islamic State that such a State will be theocratic State and that it may not be guided in its policy by principles of equal status, rights and citizenship in respect of the minorities who reside in it Such fears are entirely baseless Their frequent repetition cannot but do immeasurable harm to the peace of mind of the minority community To anybody who has made a study of the Objectives Resolution passed by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan, it must be clear that concept of an Islamic State rests essentially on the acceptance of the principles of freedom, equality and social justice applying to all citizens without distinction of religion, at the same time safeguarding the culture and way of life of the majority and minority communities. I hope that all talk of Pakistan being a theocratic State, where discrimination is made, will now cease.

"Honourable Members will recollect that when I spoke in this House on the situation in East Bengal on March 28, I stated that there were two major reasons why Hindu exodus from East Bengal was still continuing even though completely peaceful conditions prevailed in that Province These reasons were the continuance of communal violence in India and a persistent propaganda in the Indian Press and by several Indian leaders that India should invade Pakistan The present Agreement recognises the importance of both these factors The restoration of normal conditions and the adoption of suitable measures to prevent recurrence of disorder have been accepted as the foremost responsibility of each Government In regard to propaganda directed against the territorial integrity of either country or constituting incitement to war, the two Governments have agreed, as I have stated before, to prevent such propaganda and to take immediate and effective action against individuals or organisations responsible for such a propaganda Strict observance of this provision is, I consider, of the utmost importance

"In the end, I should like to say that the present Agreement has been arrived at between me and the Prime Minister of India after a great deal of careful thought and in a spirit of helpful understanding of each other's approach to the problem that confronts us. I believe, and so does the Prime Minister of India, that this Agreement, if properly implemented, will lead to the eradication of fear and suspicion which stalk this subcontinent today As a result of my conversations with him I am satisfied that he will do everything possible to see that the life property, culture, citizenship and other rights of the minority

in all parts of India are fully safeguarded. I hope that he too was satisfied that I will do everything possible in this direction in Pakistan. It is my firm intention to implement this Agreement to the full. In this task I ask for the co-operation of leaders of public opinion and men of goodwill and also in particular the co-operation of the Press on both sides of the border. Let none of us do anything that may jeopardise the completion of the delicate and difficult work that lies ahead of us. A false word of action today may upset the balance which may be impossible to redress for generations to come. I look upon this agreement as the precursor of a new understanding between India and Pakistan The Prime Minister of India and I will be meeting from time to time to review the implementation of this agreement as well as to consider other problems of common concern. In the interests of both India and Pakistan, as indeed in the interests of the world peace, it is essential that we should settle all outstanding issues by peaceful means and promote the growth of friendship and good neighbourliness between our two countries "

PRESS STATEMENT

A short while before his departure for the United States via London on April 29, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said at the Karachi Airport that he would "discuss all problems of common interest with President Truman '

A correspondent asked him whether during the recently concluded Karachi talks between the Indian and Pakistani Prime Ministers an effort was made to evolve a joint foreign policy Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied, "I am not going to tell you all that we discussed.'

Further questioned whether his talks with Pandit Nehru were confined to Indo-Pakistan problems or also broached world affairs, he said: "Problems that concern the world concern India and Pakistan also and *vice versa*."

Asked if he would inform Prime Minister Attlee of the results of the Karachi talks, he said "I am not going on a reporting mission."

Somebody asked him to state what he would discuss with Mr. Clement Attlee, Liaquat 'Ali Khan answered that he would discuss "what Prime Ministers of two countries discuss when they meet."

Question: "Will you take up your proposal of Commonwealth

declaration on the territorial integrity of Pakistan and India with Mr. Attlee?

Answer "To me it seems that the proposal is so sensible that the people should be thinking about it without my taking it up again and again."

Question "Suppose such a declaration is made, would Pakistan enter into a non-aggression pact with India?"

Answer "There have been negotiations with India about a non-aggression pact."

In reply to another question, he clarified that his remark referred to the negotiations regarding the joint no-war declaration. When asked whether he would discuss with President Truman aid to Pakistan under the Point Four Programme, he replied, "I am not going with a hat in my hand"

He asked the Pressman "I have to ask you one question Will you continue with the good work that you have been doing since April 8? The way our Press has behaved since April 8 has won the admiration o everybody and I do hope that the Press will assist in the implementation of the Delhi Pact"

PAKISTAN, THE AIMS OF A NEW NATION

Liaquat 'Ali Khan and the Begum visited the United States of America in May, 1950 on President Harry S Truman's invitation On May 4, 1950, addressing the Senate of the United States, Liaquat 'Ali said

"In welcoming me within these walls and giving me an opportunity of addressing this august assembly, you have bestowed upon me high prerogative and honour for which I am deeply grateful to you.

"This is my first visit to your great land, but I have long been an admirer of the vigour of your enterprise, your indefatigable spirit of enquiry, your optimism, your high respect for individual effort, your belief in equal opportunities for all, your reverence for the sanctity of the home the frankness of your speech and manner and the liveliness of your language Above all, I have admired your zealous and uncompromising regard for the supremacy of the people's will, your firm belief that civil liberty gives man the greatest scope for his faculties and your faith that 'morality is the best security of law and

the surest pledge of freedom. In seeing America, I hope to see more than America. I hope to see the men and women whose enterprise and vitality have made your country great and the faith that sustains them in their efforts.

"I thank you for your welcome and value it the more, because the people whom I have the honour and privilege to represent, although the inheritors of ancient faiths and cultures, are, as a nation among sovereign nations, young and on the threshold of new experiences, both exciting and grave.

"In the geography of the world, Pakistan's name is not yet three years old. What led to the emergence of this new State on the map of Asia is perhaps not universally known. Nor do I expect it yet to be common knowledge what urges stir and inspire us in the task that we know lies ahead of us.

"Pakistan was founded by the indomitable will of a hundred million Muslims who felt that they were a nation too numerous and too distinct to be relegated forever to the unalterable position of a political minority, specially when, in the vast subcontinent which was their homeland, there was enough room for two great nations—the Hindus and the Muslims—to enjoy peace and full sovereignty in their respective dominions. They believed that thus alone would the vast multitude of the followers of Islam be uninhibited in the development of their culture and free to follow their own way of life. Pakistan was founded so that millions of Muslims should be enabled to live according to their opinions and to worship God in freedom. That self-same freedom which they sought for themselves they conceded to others, with the determination to live as peaceful neighbours when to live as more than neighbours seemed to be more than hazardous. Like some of the earlier founders of your great country, these Muslims though not Pilgrims, nevertheless embarked upon an undertaking, which, in aim and achievement, represented the triumph of an idea. That idea was the idea of liberty which has had its ardent followers in all climates and all countries. When our time came, its call summoned us too and we could not hold back. The partition of our subcontinent into two independent sovereign States did not, nor was it expected to, eliminate or efface minorities. But it brought magnitudes within focusable limits and saved the political architecture of the new Asia from a strain which might well have proved excessive and dangerous.

"But this, we realise, is only the beginning of a new life. The achievement of freedom is not an instantaneous event; it is a process.

The seed is planted, but before the tree can take root and grow and spread it has to be nurtured untiringly by innumerable hands. Our Constitution is yet on the anvil and elected representatives of the people are engaged in making it a true mirror of our live beliefs and our sincere aspirations. To frame a genuine constitution, a people need to scrutinise their own mind and soul very closely. Time-honoured maxims and hallowed principles embodied in a constitution are of little validity, unless a nation feels that it possesses the spiritual strength to live up to them, unless they echo the voice that is heard unfalteringly in the innermost recesses of its soul. We have earnestly searched our hearts and though much yet remains to be done, the main features of our Constitution to which we can put our seal with a conscience free of all restraints, doubts or qualms, are to us unequivocally clear

"We have pledged ourselves a Federation with autonomous units, wherein shall be guaranteed fundamental human rights, equality of status and opportunity and before law, social, economic and political justice, freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship and association.

"We have pledged that the Muslims in our State shall be enabled to order their lives in accordance with their faith, but, not forgetful of that perpetual fear of the majority from which Pakistan has delivered millions of Muslims and in humble thanksgiving to God for this deliverance, we have solemnly pledged that our minorities shall enjoy full rights of citizenship and shall freely profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures and that their legitimate interests and the interests of the backward and depressed classes shall be adequately safeguarded

"We have pledged that the State shall exercise its powers and authority through the chosen representatives of the people. In this we have kept steadily before us the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam. There is no room here for theocracy for Islam stands for freedom of conscience, condemns coercion, has no priesthood and abhors the caste system It believes in the equality of all men and in the right of each individual to enjoy the fruit of his or her effort, enterprise, capacity and skill—provided these be honestly employed. It firmly believes in the right of private ownership, although it frowns on large accumulations of unearned wealth and is greatly concerned over menacing inequalities.

"These are articles of faith with us and by them we are irrevocably

bound. They are our way of life and no threat or persuasion, no material peril or indeological allurement can deflect us from the path we have chosen. In proclaiming the objectives of our constitution, we have called on Almighty God, to Whom alone sovereignty over the entire universe belongs, to bear witness to our resolve and to guide our footsteps so that the people of Pakistan may prosper and attain their full contribution towards international peace and progress and happiness of mankind

"In our short life as a free nation, we have learned not a little about the world and the times we live in and about ourselves We have learned that freedom, whether of the individual or of countries, is not everywhere and at all times safe and that the integrity of our own homeland which is dearer to us than our lives will demand of us unceasing vigilance. Our people are deeply distressed at the thought that world-wide destruction might overtake not only the fuller life to which they aspire but the entire human civilisation with all its magnificent achievements and illimitable opportunities for good For youthful countries like ours, which are experiencing but the first pulsations of a free existence, this prospect is profoundly disturbing and not without a touch of irony. We sincerely hope that leaders of world opinion will pursue the path of understanding and will use their wisdom and power to dispel and not to enhance the fears of an apprehensive world. Though freedom has had many births, greed, aggression and intolerance contiaue, alas, to rear their ugly heads. This is the century of great awakenings in all parts of the globe and it depends entirely on the leaders of the world whether mankind will awaken to the horrors of darkness or to a glorious dawn.

"We have learned much about ourselves too. Our State began under a number of handicaps, both natural and man-made, and almost before we had time to unfurl the flag to which we now bear allegiance, millions of refugees—the largest number in world history—crossed our borders and sought shelter within our territories. This put us to a test which might have proved disastrous ; instead of which our calamities strenghened the determination of our nation, and the hard work demanded of us fortified our faith. If the test was to come, we are glad that it came early and when we least expected it. For it gave us the measure of our moral and spiritual resources and even in our immature years filled us with courage for the future that has yet to unfold itself. The task that lies before us is truly immense and we are fully aware of it. We are aware that 'liberty does not descend upon a people, a people must raise themselves to it.' We are aware that

recent centuries of progress and advancement in the world have by-passed us, leaving our resources untapped, our capacities unused and our genius inactive. In all humility but with great faith in our destiny, we the people of Pakistan are resolved to make up for lost centuries within the shortest possible time so that we should never be a source of disquiet to our friends or a temptation to the avaricious. Peace is essential for progress but progress is no less essential for peace. As peace and war today are indivisible, so is progress, and in its name we offer our goodwill to all nations great and small and earnestly ask for theirs."

FOREIGN RELATIONS. THE INTERESTS OF PAKISTAN IN THE WORLD OUTSIDE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on May 4, 1950, addressing a luncheon meeting of the National Press Club in Washington, said

"A statesman, well-known in history, speaking of his own country, once said that it had no eternal friends and no eternal enemies but that it had eternal interests

"Personally I believe that this is too cynical a view to take of the foreign relations of any country, unless the word 'interests' is interpreted very widely. But perhaps for some people it is a good starting point for the study of foreign relations. If I do not adopt it whole-heartedly myself someone else is bound to do so. It might, therefore, be helpful to begin by stating as clearly as I can what the interests of Pakistan are.

"To appreciate Pakistan's interests in their true perspective, permit me to recapitulate a page from the recent history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. As you no doubt know, former (that is, British) India was on the 15th of August, 1947; partitioned into two independent sovereign States namely the present-day India and Pakistan It is important to remember why this partition came about It came about because a hundred million Muslims found themselves in a minority in British India and were convinced that under the majority rule of the Hindus, their culture was in danger of effacement and their economic position which was low—compared to that of the Hindus, very low—was not only unlikely to rise as rapidly as

they desired, but more likely to sink still further. They put forward their irresistible national demand that in those parts of British India where they were in a majority they should be allowed to set up their own State, leaving the rest of British India to the Hindus who were in a majority there. This was agreed to by the British and by the Hindu leaders; and thus Pakistan, like present-day India, was established as a sovereign State on the 15th of August, 1947.

"The aspirations that were at the back of the demand for the creation of Pakistan were, and remain, the strongest urge of the Pakistanis. I cannot stress this point too much because without a full realisation of what the Muslims were pursuing when they demanded the separation of Pakistan from the rest of India it would be difficult to understand what Pakistan stands for in the world of today.

"Our strongest interests, therefore are firstly, the integrity of Pakistan. Having established an independent State after many years of struggle against forces that either would not or could not see any sense in what we regarded as a life and death struggle for us, the last thing that the Pakistanis are likely to acquiese in is that the slightest dent should be made in the territorial integrity of their country.

"Secondly, our culture. The majority of the eighty million people of Pakistan are Muslims. Having achieved independence they are determined to pursue the aims for which they sought independence. The most inspiring of these aims is that they should be free to hold their opinions, worship God in freedom and follow the Islamic way of life. The phrase 'Islamic way of life' has on many occasions been misrepresented by some people. It has been misconstrued variously as religious intolerance, theocratic rule, return to medievalism and so on. I wish to make it clear, therefore, that we have no theocratic State in mind. We have in mind no special privileges of citizenship for the Muslims in our country and we abhor the idea of applying any religious or cultural coercion to our non-Muslim nationals. But we firmly believe that our religion has taught us certain principles of social and economic justice and of human values, whose application in statecraft is bound to promote human welfare. Furthermore Islamic belief in the right of private ownership, with Islamic laws and institutions which tend to level down inequalities of wealth, is the best way of tackling economic disequilibrium not only in our own country but everywhere in the world. These are not new beliefs. The Muslims have held them for over thirteen hundred years. We are determined in our country to apply them afresh to the domain of human affairs. Such principles held and practised in the name of religion do not mean

intolerance or medievalism, certainly not to our way of thinking. There are certain States in the modern world, which though avowedly secular, are proud to proclaim that they believe in the Christian way of life and in the pursuit of Christian virtues. They pursue some of the fundamental human values in the name of Christianity. We pursue them in the name of Islam As followers of Islam, we could not do otherwise

"Thirdly our desire and our dire need for economic development I have told you of the basic principles on which we have founded our economic system. Having based it thus, we are resolved to use every means in our power and the entire fund of goodwill and co-operation which the rest of the world may choose to offer us, to make up, not for lost years but for lost centuries in trade, in advanced agriculture and advanced industry.

"These are our fundamental interests. Given these, any student of international affairs can appreciate our foreign relations and their trends.

"Culturally we feel a natural affiliation with other Muslim countries and our relations with them are of the friendliest. We are keenly interested in the progress and development of the Middle East countries and in the maintenance of their independence, as they are in ours. When I talk of our friendship with the Middle East countries, I do not wish you to infer that I am talking in terms of any power bloc I am merely talking of the natural and religious links, the common culture and the identity of economic outlook that exist between the people of these countries and our people—links that will stand the strain of many a test and will I am sure prove a stabilising factor in Asia.

"Here I wish to remind you that Pakistan consists of two parts—East Pakistan and West Pakistan—which are about a thousand miles apart draw attention to this fact because people are inclined to think of Asia in terms of South East and Middle East and mentally to allot most Asiatic countries to one zone or another. West Pakistan borders on Afghanistan and Iran and has great strategic importance in relation to the oil-bearing areas of the Middle East. But East Pakistan borders on Burma, just about where the Japanese advance was halted during the last war We have, therefore, vital interests in South East Asia also. Our attitude towards the problems of South East Asia can be explained very simply. As an Asiatic country and moreover one that has achieved independence from colonial rule, we have the greatest sympathy for and understanding of resurgent

nationalism in that part of the world This, as well as the fact that there is a large concentration of Muslims in the United States of Indonesia has, for example, guided our attitude towards the Indonesian Republic throughout Apart from this we stand for stability in Asia Above all we want peace in the world not merely as an ultimate aim but equally urgently as an immediate aim This is an inevitable desire, if you keep in mind the fact that we wish to shed as quickly as possible the inadequacy and the under-development which for centuries have kept our people in poverty, ignorance and ill health How can we achieve this without stability and peace within and without our borders? The belief is growing in our minds that peace and stability in Asia are essential for peace and stability in the world We regard with great anxiety any disruptive movement anywhere in Asia which might endanger this stability. It is with these objectives in mind that we have established friendly relations with the Government of the Indonesian Republic and with Premier Thakin Nu's Government in Burma; and we regard the stability of Burma's financial position to be of great importance. We have, as you know, recognised the Central People's Government of China as accepting an established fact and in order to ease the flow of trade. We would welcome a treaty of peace with Japan at an early date and the restoration of Japan's economy

"Europe is farther afield but not without interest to us. We have established diplomatic relations with most European countries and have trade agreements with a number of them. On the colonial questions our stand was made quite clear when the future of ex-Italian Colonies came up for discussion in the United Nations.

"Now I turn to our great neighbour, India. Frankly, our relations with India have not been as free from anxiety as we earnestly desire. We have reason to believe that this anxiety is shared by the Indian Government also. I would, however, like to annotate this situation by mentioning two major facts. First that India is a larger country than Pakistan. Second that, whereas some sections in India resented the partition of British India into present-day India—or as they would prefer to be known, Bharat—and Pakistan, and therefore regarded the emergence of Pakistan as a separate State with some mental reservation, at no time either before or after partition has any voice been raised anywhere in Pakistan against present-day India's achievement of sovereignty and of its exercise within its own territory. There are some major matters still in dispute between our two countries. Foremost amongst them is the problem of Kashmir. There is luckily

the international agreement between Pakistan and India that the question of Kashmir's accession to India or Pakistan shall be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite of the people of Kashmir. By this we stand; but we have never wished to conceal our anxiety over the inordinate delay that has taken place in holding such a plebiscite and in ensuring, according to the barest requirements of commonsense, that the plebiscite when it takes place should be free and truly impartial. Even a cursory study of some of the other disputes will be enough to clarify and justify Pakistan's stand. Take for example the question known as the canals dispute. Nineteen million acres of land in Pakistan are irrigated by canals from five rivers, three of which have their origin in India and the other two in that part of Kashmir which is under Indian military occupation It is not Pakistan that is in a position to disregard international obligations and neighbourliness in such matters. On the other hand, Pakistan cannot but insist that its international rights should not be disregarded It is only because our integrity as a State and our international rights seemed to be in jeopardy that, as a self-preservative measure, we had to deflect a great deal of our expenditure to the consolidation of our defence.

"There is a minority of thirty-five million Muslims in India and similarly a minority of thirteen million non-Muslims in Pakistan It is a matter of great relief to all concerned that in an agreement very recently concluded between the two Governments, both the Government of Pakistan and India have solemnly agreed that each shall ensure to the minorities throughout its territory complete equality of citizenship irrespective of religion, a full sense of security in respect of life, culture, property and personal honour, freedom of movement within each country and freedom of occupation, speech and worship subject to law and morality; that members of the minorities shall have equal opportunities with members of the majority community to participate in the public life of their country, to hold political or other offices and to serve in their country's civil and armed forces. Both Governments have also emphasised that the allegiance and loyalty of the minorities are to the State of which they are citizens and that it is to the Government of their own State that they must look for the redress of their grievances. In putting their signature to this agreement, the Government of Pakistan have but underlined a pledge given to the minorities as a basis of the Constitution of Pakistan. We are determined to implement this agreement in letter and spirit; and I believe that the Government of India have the same desire. We realise that a relationship of mutual confidence between our two

countries is essential for the peace of Asia and of the world.

"Last but not least I turn to the United States of America. I am happy to say that yours was one of the first countries with whom we established friendly and diplomatic relations, it was the first country overseas with which we established trade relations—within a few months of our independence We look forward to a long period of mutual goodwill and co-operation. If during my visit here we come to a better uuderstanding of each other's point of view, as I am confident we shall, my visit will stand as an event of great importance in the history of Pakistan's foreign relations

"I have only one last remark to make and I will preface it by requesting you to turn your minds once more to what I said earlier questing about the Islamic way of life which we wish to pursue as an article of irrevocable faith In a world of conflicting ideologies, nations, that have recently achieved full sovereignty are likely to be the victims of mental confusion and consequent instability Is it not, therefore, a matter of supreme satisfaction that at least one nation amongst such nations should not suffer from such confusion and should as a matter of tradition and belief be pledged to clear-cut and easily intelligible principles of democracy and social and economic justice? That, in our peculiar circumstances, this is the surest ideological safeguard against disruption is amply proved by the fact that Pakistan is one of the few countries in the new Asia whose people are unified and surprisingly free from disintegrating doubts and clashes In an anxious world, this is a good beginning for any State to make What remains, however, is that we should industrially and economically develop fast enough to implement our own pledges to ourselves within a reasonable time Unencumbered with ideological confusions, this is the task to which we can address and with the help of God are addressing and will continue to address ourselves. I leave it to you to decide whether this is not the best way in which Pakistan can build itself up as a stabilising force in Asia. I think your answer will not be very different from ours"

PRESS CONFERENCE IN NEW YORK

Addressing his first Press conference on the 21st Floor of the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on May 7 1950 Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"I am hopeful that, as a result of the recent Indo-Pakistan Agreement, relations between the two countries would be very cordial, very friendly and very co-operative"

Asked whether Pakistan would reconsider its decision not to devalue its rupee, he said, "I am as certain as of the fact that I am in New York that Pakistan's decision not to devalue was based purely on economic consideration and was not a political decision."

Asked about *Pakhtoonistan*, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said, "The Pathans had joined Pakistan of their own free will through referendum. *Pakhtoonistan* exists only in imagination of a few individuals who have their homes outside Pakistan"

Asked whether Pakistan would like to buy arms, either through American commercial channels or from United States Government surplus material, he replied "If there are arms that meet my requirements, I would certainly like to buy them. As a matter of fact, this is not a new desire or new wish We have been desiring to buy arms for some time."

Questioned about his proposed visit to Moscow, he said, "No date for my visit has yet been fixed As soon as it is, I shall certainly not forget to inform the United States Press"

Asked whether Pakistan would recognise Bao Dai's Government of Veit-Nam, he said "All these matters are receiving the constant attention of the Government of Pakistan"

He gave a similar answer to a question whether Pakistan would attend a proposed Philippines Conference on anti-Communism in South-East Asia.

In answer to a question whether Pakistan wanted loans from the World Monetary Bank or direct American business investments, he said, "We would certainly consider any assistance which would help us in building our country and raising the standards of the masses"

Asked to explain "Islamic Socialism," he said: "I can do it in one sentence A man goes out to distribute charity in streets and he does not find any one to receive charity" Amplifying this, he said, "Islam believes in the right of private ownership and individual enterprise but it does not encourage concentration of unearned wealth in a few hands"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan paid tribute to American hospitality and said 'Within 24 hours of our arrival in Washington, my wife and I feel at home We do not feel that we are in a foreign country."

PROGRESS AND PEACE, PAKISTAN'S NECESSITIES

On May 8, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan was awarded the honourary degree of Doctor of Laws by Columbia University Liaquat 'Ali after receiving the degree delivered a brief speech at Columbia University in which he defined the necessities of the new-born state of Pakistan He said

"Since my arrival in this country it has been my privilege to be the recipient of great honours The esteem and indeed affection which have been showered on me have been overwhelming, and my heart has been filled with gratitude to the people of your country who have been so spontaneous in their kindness and so generous in their welcome to a visitor from a far-off land

"But there is no honour which I value more or will cherish more in my heart than the honour you have conferred upon me today For there is no greater honour than this, that those who seek knowledge and truth and place them above all mundane and transient considerations should admit a man to their distinguished company In honouring me you have done nothing less than this No human institution can do more.

"I am deeply conscious that my merits are not of a measure which should make me deserving of such high esteem If I could have convinced myself that I, in my own person, had been singled out for the high distinction which you have bestowed upon me, I should have had considerable hesitation in offering myself as the beneficiary of your recognition But I take courage in the thought that it is not me but my dear country which has prompted your goodwill, and that it is as the servant of my people that you have thought it fit to extend to me the hand of friendship With this thought in mind, I dare not but bow to your will and for a brief but great moment become a symbol, however unworthy, of my masters—the people of Pakistan As Liaquat 'Ali Khan, within the hallowed walls of this house of learning, I feel humble. As the servant of my people whose destiny has brought me reflected eminence today, I feel proud . .

"You have accepted me in your midst as the representative of a people who are resolved to uphold democracy and liberty. These words have stirred me deeply. They have reminded me of our way of life, our concepts of social justice and equality, our belief that God is as close to the lowliest amongst us as to the highest—a way of life which we are trying to pursue within the context of our recently achieved independence. They have reminded me of our hard-won liberty and of

the vigilance that it will demand of us, in the uneasy and apprehensive world of today.

"We are a poor and backward people who but a short three years ago emerged from a long period of suppression to the exhilaration of freedom. In the world around us, however, we find dark forces at work threatening to extinguish the torch of civilisation which liberal institutions such as yours are trying to keep alive. We ask ourselves how a country such as mine, whose experience of liberty is so new, so fresh, can take its due share in the advancement of civilisation, when civilisation itself (not in any particular part of the world but over the entire planet which God assigned to the noblest of His creatures) seems to be in dire peril

"The task before a youthful country like Pakistan is how to raise its millions of people from the depths of poverty, ill health and ignorance This in itself is a gigantic task and a single generation, let alone a single man, can hardly accomplish it Yet such is the world situation today that in addition to this, we must strive to maintain peace in the rest of the world also, and to persuade those whose power for good or for evil is great and who can influence the future of the world, to use their wisdom to rid mankind of the fear of war

"Progress and peace—this is the double task that seems to have been placed upon our shoulders in this moment of history and although we do not feel perplexed or confused, we are not a little daunted by the immensity of the assignment. Whether the world will be at peace or at war, is in the hands of great nations such as yours. You earnestly desire peace to enjoy the fruits of the great civilisation that you have built up with your energy, your enterprise and your moral qualities. We desire it even more in order to extend the benefits of civilisation to those parts of the world where freedom till a few years ago was only a wish and a longing

'What can we do to help in the maintenance of international peace beyond keeping our own house in order? The answer is not easy to find but when the answer is found, we shall not hesitate to follow wherever it may lead us, and we shall not waver

'The conferment, in the name of democracy and liberty, of the great honour which you have bestowed upon me as the representative of my people I regard on my part as only the reiteration of a pledge, that these nations which strive for peace and progress and the happiness of mankind will find us their friends and that we shall find our friends amongst them .

THE RECENT HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF PAKISTAN

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was invited on May 8, 1950 at a large dinner by the Foreign Policy Association and the Town Hall of New York Addressing the gathering, he said

"History has been moving very fast in our century and the political geography of the world has undergone many changes No new continent has been discovered but familiar continents have had unfamiliar frontiers drawn on them This has sometimes happened so fast that maps and map-makers have not been able to catch up with the changes.

' I should not be surprised, therefore, if some of my listeners, not necessarily in this room, do not quite know where my country, Pakistan, is, although of course I have met an astonishingly large number of people in this country who have a wide international outlook and know as much about events abroad as if they happened next door

"Even at the risk of boring the well-informed people, may I say that Pakistan is a sovereign State of nearly three years of age situated in Asia, that its area is equal to the total area of France, Italy, Belgium and Holland and that eighty million people live in it Most of them are Muslims

"Three years ago there was in Asia a British India. British India is now no more. What I mean is that it is no longer British It is in a sense no longer the old India either. For the territory that was known as British India was on the 15th of August 1947 split up into two separate independent countries Only three-fourths of that territory is now known as India. The rest is Pakistan, the country which I have the honour to represent

"Old British India was partitioned into two countries because there were two major nations living in it—the Hindus who were in a majority and the Muslims who were in a minority although there were about a hundred million of them

"A minority, as you know, always fears the domination of the majority, especially, as was the case with the Hindus and the Muslims, when they have different religions, different cultures, different traditions and different ideologies When a minority is as big as a hundred million people which is a larger number than most nations in the world, it feels it has the right to have a country of its own. Luckily, in the vast subcontinent in which we lived, there was room enough for two nations. Furthermore, though the Muslims were in a minority in the

subcontinent taken as a whole, in certain large parts of it they were in a majority These are the parts that now constitute Pakistan

"To us the 15th August, 1947, was a great day On that day we, the Muslims, had a double sense of freedom—foreign rule had come to an end and we had a country of our own where, without fear of a dominating majority, we could hold our own opinions, worship God in our own way, speak our own language, follow our own customs and pursue our own ideology towards a fuller and richer life.

"We began from scratch. In our offices there were few chairs and tables and fewer typewriters During foreign rule we had remained a backward people except perhaps in the Army where the Muslims had a long soldierly tradition behind them and had won honour for themselves in the two world wars. In other ways, however, we were not up to the mark Not many of us were traders—fewer still were bankers or technicians or engineers or doctors

"On top of this, as soon as we hoisted our new flag in our new capital, Karachi, two-way mass migration between India and Pakistan started, accompanied by great suffering and heart-rending misery Within a few months, seven million people crossed over from India into our country to seek shelter Most of them were poor farmers who when they came over had no work, no land, no tools, no cattle. They were frightened and dazed Some had not eaten for many days Many families had lost parents or children on the way, with little hope of recovering them

"For a moment we asked ourselves Shall we, a new, undeveloped and ill-equipped country, be able to stand this shock? It was a tremendous test of our belief in ourselves Even our friends were sceptical and shook their heads We ourselves, I frankly confess, were not a little nervous but our national cohesion and the fortitude and the spirit of self-sacrifice of the common man and the common woman surpassed everyone's expectations We got together, men and women—yes, women too by the hundred, by the thousand, some of whom had never done a public job before—we got together, we found land, tools and work for the refugees, tended the sick and the wounded, we looked to our harvests, we sent out our students to work amongst the people, we worked without holidays, set up shops, learnt about imports and exports, did everything that we knew, and learnt what we did not know, as far as was possible within the short time—with the single thought in our mind not to go under and not to dishonour the freedom we had so recently won If I speak of this with some feeling and a certain amount of pride I know that you who love freedom so much

will understand and forgive me.

"But I will show you the other side of the picture also, for we have a tremendous task ahead of us yet. Pakistan is in the main an agricultural country. Eighty per cent of our people live and work on the land and our methods of agriculture, as in most Asiatic countries, are primitive. We lack education and both our standards of living and our standards of health are low With industrial advancement and with scientific training we can and must increase the productivity of our land, give our farmer better tools and teach him how to use them, raise his standard of health and education and bring him up to a level of existence which at least does not make him unhappy to compare himself with the more advanced peoples of the world.

"Our agriculture is our great asset and our farmers are our great workers. You perhaps know that we are one of the countries that have a favourable trade balance with the dollar area We have a sound economy. Our budget in each of the three last years has been a balanced budget. We have been careful in our purchase—strictly preferring urgent national necessities to other goods We produce 75 per cent of the world supply of that little known but much sought after plant called jute. Some of it comes to the dollar area for making burlap and packing material. Further, we export not only cotton but also wheat, for we are lucky in having surplus food

"Some in this country may ask themselves: How does all this concern us? How does Pakistan matter to the world? Why should we take interest in Pakistan except out of sheer curiosity?

"Well, in the first place, in the world of today every country matters or should matter to every other country The nervous system of the modern world is very sensitive Nothing seems to happen in one part of the world which has not far-reaching repercussions.

"Secondly, Pakistan is in Asia—it is the third most populous country in Asia—and I firmly believe that peace and stability in the world today depend very largely on peace and stability in Asia

"Thirdly, Pakistan like many other countries in Asia is under-developed. Whilst you, for example, were developing your science and industry which have given your country the great position it occupies today, we were being ruled by other people Science and industry passed us by Our people are poor and backward. Large-scale poverty and backwardness in any part of the world are a menace to peace and civilisation We cannot make up for the backwardness of one or two hundred years sufficiently quickly without the co-operation of the more advanced countries who possess advanced technical knowledge.

"When worrying about the development of our country, it did not take us long to come to two conclusions First, that we must exploit all our resources of land and water to the fullest by putting all our own money and energy into the undertaking and by making the investment of foreign capital easy and mutually profitable Second, that we shall not be able to get on without taking advantage of the technical knowledge and technical skill of the more advanced countries of the world

"In three brief years, we have pursued these aims sincerely and earnestly and to the greatest extent that the circumstances permitted We are surveying all our resources as quickly as we can. Our foremost problem is the production of power without which we cannot promote either our agriculture or our industry. We are expanding the capacity of our posts and our communications. We are sending our students abroad for scientific education and technological training and we are utilising the services of competent foreign experts and consultants.

"Of our industrial policy, I hope to have an opportunity, later, in this city, to speak in greater detail But I would like to say that except for a few specified industries, we have thrown open the entire field of investment to private enterprise, and we assure the great pioneers of this and other advanced countries of the warmest welcome and of the greatest goodwill on our part, and we hope we shall have their goodwill and co-operation in return I am glad to be able to say that right at this moment, the Government of Pakistan is in consultation with the Government of the United States for negotiating a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce which will bring us into greater and mutually profitable contact with the industrialists, manufacturers and businessmen of America, and we have every hope that the outcome will be satisfying We are also looking forward to the implementation of President Truman's Point IV Programme, provided it is suitably followed by and supplemented by private investment from your country, as envisaged by President Truman himself For we believe that this would be the most courageous, the wisest and the most far-reaching method by which your great country can assure the world of its goodwill and its international outlook and make a memorable contribution to the progress of civilisation in parts of the world where progress is most needed

"Our relations with our neighbour, India, since partition, have not been free from anxiety—for us, for India, or for our friends all over the world. They have, as you know, been particularly a source of uneasiness to those who realise the great importance of a peaceful and progressive Asia They have added to the weight of our defence ex-

penditure and deflected our resources from more productive and profitable channels I am glad to say that as the result of free and frank discussions between me and the Prime Minister of India, we have mutually taken steps to restore confidence in both countries We have entered into an agreement about our respective minorities and have made at least a beginning in the direction of the resumption of trade between our two countries I sincerely hope that this will lead to better understanding in the future, and desirous as we are of each other's progress, we shall be able to help and promote it in concrete ways Pakistan has been and will always be ready to settle all differences by negotiation, mediation, arbitration—in fact by all methods of peaceful settlement that can be devised to meet outstanding disputes, but it will never yield to force or coercion in any form The biggest dispute between us is over Kashmir—the princely state of four million people, 80 per cent of whom are Muslims, which has strong geographical, economic and racial links with Pakistan Happily there is an international agreement whereby both India and Pakistan are pledged to let the people of Kashmir themselves decide whether they want to join India or Pakistan We trust that the recent appointment of Sir Owen Dixon by the Security Council of the United Nations, to prepare the ground for the plebiscite, will expedite,this plebiscite We wish him the greatest success in his task and he will certainly have our most willing co operation

"A question I am sometimes asked is what is the ideology of Pakistan as a State? I will try and tell you this in a few very simple but very clear words We Muslims believe in God and His supreme sovereignty In one of the large towns of Pakistan is an educational institution built by some God fearing people from your country In the entrance hall is a marble tablet and on it the words 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it ' That is exactly what we believe whether we build a house or a State We believe in democracy, that is, in fundamental human rights including the right of private ownership and the right of the people to be governed by their own freely chosen representatives We believe in equal citizenship for all, whether Muslims or non-Muslims, equality of opportunity, equality before law. We believe that each individual, man or woman, has the right to the fruit of his own labours Lastly we believe that the fortunate amongst us whether in wealth or knowledge or physical fitness, have a moral responsibility towards those who have been unfortunate. These principles we call the Islamic way of life You can call them by any name you like.

"At present there is no democracy in Asia which is more free and more unified than Pakistan, none so free from moral doubts and from strains between the various sections of the people But the standards of living of our people must be raised and we must soon equip ourselves to play our rightful part in the modern world, to throw our fullest weight against aggression and towards the maintenance of international peace That is why we are anxious to develop our resources at the greatest possible speed For this we need your goodwill and co-operation and the goodwill and co-operation of all the peace-loving nations of the world

"I have spoken to you in English but English, as you know, is not my own language I wish I could have spoken to you in my own language which is Urdu Before sitting down allow me to say just two things in Urdu *Pakistan Zindabad!* *Amrika Zindabad!* (Long live Pakistan and Long Live America)"

THE INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT OF PAKISTAN

On May 9 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan and the Begum were guests at a joint meeting of the Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry and the National Foreign Trade Council held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Addressing the meeting, he laid out in detail the economic objectives of Pakistan

'I am conscious of the fact that the audience whom I address this evening are not unfamiliar with Pakistan and its problems. Some of them have even visited my country and have exchanged views with our people My excuse, however, for speaking to you is the hope that in some matters you will find the point of view of Pakistan to be of interest—and the certainty that the contact for which you have provided an opportunity this evening will lead to better understanding and co operation

'Our country began its career as an independent sovereign nation under a series of handicaps Before the partition of British India into present-day Bharat and Pakistan, the Muslims, who now constitute the majority in Pakistan, were economically and educationally very backward On the establishment of Pakistan there was two way mass migration between Bharat and Pakistan As a result of this, very great

gaps appeared all of a sudden in our economic structure. The trading community which consisted mostly of Hindus was considerably reduced. Most industries and sources of power of British India had been located on the other side of the border But our trade revived remarkably quickly, due primarily to the energy and patriotic zeal of our people and their determination not to let their newly acquired freedom suffer economic catastrophe, and secondly, to the immigration into Pakistan of the Muslim trading community who were driven out of their ancestral homes in India. The quick revival of our import and export trade gave a strong fillip to the internal economy and foreign exchange position of the country An outstanding feature of the financial position of Pakistan is that for each of the first three years of the country's existence the national budget has been balanced The State Bank of Pakistan was established within less than a year with a share capital of approximately ten million dollars of which 51 per cent was subscribed by Government The State Bank manages the currency of the country and forms the backbone of our banking structure We have also established an Industrial Finance Corporation and a National Bank of Pakistan The latter is a commercial bank (in which Government has a small share) which will fill the gaps in the banking structure and undertake trading work in the districts on behalf of Government A Refugees' Finance Corporation with a capital of ten million dollars has also been set up mainly to assist in the economic rehabilitation of refugees in business and cottage industries The confidence which the balanced budgets and the strong financial position of the Central Government have created within the country is illustrated by the success of the loan floated by Government. A total sum of three hundred million dollars has already been subscribed

"While it is recognised the underdeveloped countries like ours have to march forward on many fronts simultaneously, three items have with us a high priority. They are irrigation, electrification and communications.

"Pakistan is predominantly an agricultural country, but our methods of agriculture, as in other Asiatic countries, are primitive. The yield per *acre* is very low and varies from one-sixth to one-sixteenth of the yield of various crops in the United States At present the area under cultivation is about two-fifths of the total We have, however five major irrigation projects in progress which are planned to increase the area under cultivation by six and one-half million acres. But it is obvious that we could not get the best out of the large expenditure which we have incurred and are incurring on irrigation projects unless

we also modernised our methods of agriculture For this purpose we have modernised our methods of agriculture For this purpose we have under consideration schemes for the purchase of tractors and modern implements, for the manufacture and import of fertilizers, and for co-operative farming to bring modern improvement within the farmer's means More than half the money allotted to development schemes is earmarked for projects which will help the expansion and modernisation of agriculture

"In the field of electric power, Pakistan inherited a total generating capacity which can only be described as meagre The greater part of this power was generated by old and inefficient diesel and steam stations which had suffered from lack of spare parts during the war and were badly in need of overhaul The vast possibilities of developing waterpower had been practically untouched. The situation was made worse by the fact that on the partition of British India, the Hindu-controlled managements of electric supply concerns abandoned their undertakings in Pakistan and together with their trained technical personnel crossed the border to the other side However, within a few months of independence we surveyed our requirements and laid down a target of five hundred thousand kilowatts to be reached in five years In 1948 we set up a Central Engineering Authority for initiating and pushing forward multipurpose schemes for the control, regulation and utilisation of the water and power resources of the country We employed foreign consulting engineers of repute to assist the Central Engineering Authority As a result not only has the deterioration of existing power stations been arrested but there has been positive increase of output The consulting engineers have now been asked to prepare an all-Pakistan plan for electrical development and to carry out an intensive load survey for that purpose

"The over-all plan will take another six months or so, but in the meantime we are taking measures to relieve power shortage by improving all existing, and constructing new, hydro-electric and thermal stations Cheap electrical power is the basic need of our country. We are, therefore, doing our utmost to make it available universally, and there is a considerable amount of work already in progress We expect our hydro-electric power to be doubled by the end of this year and to be quadrupled by the beginning of 1952. Another hydro-electric project is expected to be completed by the end of 1952 and two other projects which are still in the investigation stage, by 1956-57. To supplement these supplies we also propose to construct central generating stations at appropriate load centres in East and West Pakistan,

and are at present surveying for the location of these stations These projects are aimed at giving us sufficient energy for our industrial requirements, for modernising our agriculture and for setting up a country-wide network of cottage and small-scale industries which are necessary to supplement the income of our rural population

"We are gradually transforming our system of transport by converting steam-engine railways to diesel, in order to be independent of coal as far as possible At the end of the war, the railway system in East Pakistan had almost broken down because of the heavy strain that it had borne during the war A good deal of overhaul and repair work has been done and arrangements for the purchase of new broad-guage and metre-guage carriages and of diesel-electric locomotives are in hand Work is also in progress on the port of Chittagong which is the natural port of East Pakistan and whose development is vital to the economic development of that area In 1947, it could handle only a half-million tons of cargo in a year Its capacity has already increased to a million and three-quarter tons and will go up to two million by the end of the year The long term plan which we hope to implement by 1953 provides for additional jetties and wharves and a capacity of three million tons per year A secondary port is also being developed in East Pakistan at Khulna

"Industrially Pakistan is backward In the pre-partition days our potentialities, which are not inconsiderable, were badly neglected We produce 75 per cent of the world's best quality raw jute but have hardly any jute mills There is an annual production of a million bales of good quality cotton but very few textile mills There is abundance of hides and skin, wool, sugar-cane and tobacco but the industries connected with these were, in the days of the British rule, not located in our part of the subcontinent In spite of initial handicaps, however, we hope by the end of this year to manufacture one-third of our requirements of cloth and yarn and all our requirements in cigarettes except high-grade cigarettes, to improve our tanning industry considerably and to be almost self-sufficient in jute-pressing.

"Our industrial policy was announced in 1947 and slightly revised in 1948. We have in these statements detailed the measures which we have taken and propose to take in order to create the necessary climate for the investment of private capital in industry in our country. We have thrown open to private enterprise all types of industries with a few exceptions such as Railways, Posts and Telegraphs, armament manufacture and hydel concerns. These few industries, it will be noted, were already nationalised before the partition of British India We have

reserved to Government responsibility only for the fixing of targets, the location of industries from the economic and security viewpoints, and the allocation of materials in short supply Raw materials are now more freely available and the question of allocation of materials generally does not arise In the matter of location, our aim is to guide industrialists rather than to dictate to them The Industrial Finance Corporation that I have already mentioned has a capital of ten million dollars and is to help the development of medium and small industries A Tariff Board has been set up to give protection to new and growing industries. We have not only halved the import duty on equipment brought into the country from 10 to 5 per cent, but have also given substantial concessions in the matter of depreciation of machinery and buildings, to assist new industries and to enable them to avoid any adverse effects of over-capitalisation due to the high price of capital goods So far as import duty is concerned, several raw materials are on the free list and we are now examining the extent to which we can further liberalise our policy In the industrial field left open to private enterprise, we have adopted various measures for encouraging investment Relief in taxation has been provided for new industries so that profits are taxed after deduction of 5 per cent for the first five years

"The response in our own country has been satisfactory In the cotton textile industry as well as the jute baling industry our nationals have invested substantially Some units of textile machinery and some baling presses were imported from the United States We welcome foreign capital subject to the participation of indigenous capital up to 51 per cent in certain industries and 30 per cent in others but only if indigenous capital is forthcoming within a reasonable time We have also decided to place no restrictions on the transfer of earnings, profits, *etc*, except those of general application under the exchange control regulations

"We have recently set up an Industrial Development Corporation, charged with the function of promoting certain key industries. As indigenous capital was inadequate and shy and it has taken some time for foreign capital to come forward, we felt that we could not wait and must make a beginning The main industries within the purview of this Corporation are jute mills, paper mills, fertilizers and ship-building. The Corporation is charged with a five-year target for which it will raise capital in the country and abroad, but Government has made provision to under-write the capital to the extent that it is not privately forthcoming These industries will be managed as private industries

by Directors who will have, within the limits of national policies, complete freedom from Government interference in manufacture, control and direction. The whole conception and structure of this Corporation is based on private enterprise with such Government help as may be required, the management being left entirely to the administration of the Corporation in association with private enterprise The maximum extent that Government is prepared to take liability for this purpose is limited to about sixty million dollars, to be spent within the next five years The first achievement of this Corporation has been the placing of orders for machinery for a number of jute mills, the orders having been financed by the Corporation and private enterprise Foreign capital would be welcome to associate with the Corporation

"We are most anxious to promote trade between America and Pakistan All tenders for large Government orders are published in the newspapers in this country and quotations from American firms are treated on the basis of equality with the others On the question of double taxation as also for negotiating a Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, we are already in touch with the State Department The export duty on short-staple Pakistan cottons for which a special market exists in the United Sates was reduced last year Pakistan's ability to purchase more American goods depends naturally upon the United States purchasing more of Pakistan's products

"I think I have made it sufficiently clear that we firmly believe in private enterprise over a very large field, welcome the co operation of foreign Investors and I have under active consideration further measures to encourage investment Considering the great handicaps under which our State started, you will forgive me if I speak of the soundness of our economy with some satisfaction The fundamental reasons why our economy has withstood all shocks are our inherent economic stability and the unity of our people We had to divert a substantial portion of our revenue and capital resources to expenditure on defence But this was mainly because Pakistan did not receive more than a small part of the share of military equipment and stores allotted to it on the partition of the British India assets, and we had to equip our defence forces almost from zero. This became all the more vital when our relations with India became a source of anxiety We sincerely hope that increased understanding with our neighbours, of which some happy signs have already appeared will enable both of us to employ a greater part of our resources for productive purposes. Pakistan has no aggressive designs, no territorial ambitions. But in the uneasy world

of today, we feel we must be prepared to resist aggression in all its forms

"I do not need to remind you that there is no democracy in Asia more determined to lead its people along the path of development and progress We attach the greatest importance to economic and industrial development—mainly through individual initiative, private enterprise and the goodwill and co-operation of free and peaceful nations who have the technical skill and technical knowledge to help in the progress of mankind

"I sincerely believe that prominent among such nations is the American nation We welcome the authoritative assurance given on behalf of your country not long ago that American capital pursued abroad 'its goal of production and recognised its social responsibility to the foreign community in which it operated' and that it did 'not desire to dominate but on the contrary proposed to operate within the framework of the social objectives and laws of the foreign country' These are heartening words They indicate true internationalism"

PAKISTAN! POLICY, DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN

On May 11 1950 Liaquat 'Ali Khan arrived in Chicago and was the guest of the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations. Addressing the Council, he said

"I have recently been trying to educate myself in the history of your fascinating city A town which began only about a century ago as a frontier outpost of less than a dozen cabins and today the fourth largest city in the world is nothing short of a miracle, and cannot but fill us with admiration I have read much of the phenomenal development of your commerce and industry which indicated even more than that high degree of initiative, vigour and enterprise which the world has come to associate with your great nation. But when I read that it was in Chicago that Cyrus McCormick's reaper started the entire history of mechanised farming, I could not help wishing that Chicago had been situated in Pakistan. For we are an agricultural country and we want very badly to modernise our agriculture Only we need to do it at even a faster rate than Chicago. But who can be faster than Chicago except Chicago itself? . . .

"The low economic position which the Muslims occupied in British India was vividly demonstrated when Pakistan started its independent existence. Many of the Hindus of Pakistan abandoned our territories The vacuum that their departure created in our commercial and industrial life gaped very wide indeed. They were the traders, the exporters and importers, they managed mills and factories and installations, and they engineered them too

"These gaps appeared within a few weeks of the beginning of Pakistan On top of that, seven million refugees poured over from Bharat into our country. They were mostly poor farmers who had, of course, left their lands behind them and, when they came over to us, were weary, harassed, landless and jobless. It was this double crisis that provided us with the first test of our national resilience. Those days when we had just hoisted our new flag and when we worked on the floors in our offices because we had no desks, will long live in our memory and be an inspiration to us in our coming days Because, in those days, the common man and woman gritted their teeth and stepped into the breach. Within a short time we settled our refugees, found jobs for the jobless, revived our trade, built up our banks, stored up foodgrains, and belied the worst fears of the sceptics, both friendly and unfriendly, who had serious doubts about the viability of the new State of Pakistan The point I wish to make is that what tided us over was neither experience nor skill—for we possessed little of either—but the sheer determination of the people and their intense patriotism. This continues to be our greatest asset and as I hope to be able to show a little later is a very steadying factor in an uncertain part of the world

"The world is becoming growingly conscious of Asia. I have been more than gratified to find the searching interest that American men and women have in the problems of Asia and in the future of Asia. We on our part believe that peace and stability in Asia are essential for peace and stability in the world Two facts stand out in the Asia of today First, the fact of resurgent nationalism everywhere, impatience with colonialism, and, as a legacy from the unhappy past, suspicion of political advances of the western powers. Second, the extreme poverty and backwardness of the Asiatic peoples and their dissatisfaction with their plight. The two taken together form a very disturbing and unsettling mixture To many they cause mental confusion People filled with intense national zeal but otherwise beset with moral uncertainty rush hither and thither looking for panaceas, for new ideologies and millenniums overnight.

"We give thanks to God that amongst these alarums and excursions, Pakistan stands firm It stands firm because the Muslims who form the majority of its eighty million people have an ideology of their own which we call the Islamic way of life This is not a new ideology It is a body of faith, tradition and belief, which has been a part of man's heritage for over thirteen hundred years. We believe that this ideology when applied to statecraft and the conduct of human affairs is bound to promote human welfare Let me tell you in a few simple and clear words what it is

"There is first the belief in God and His supreme sovereignty This does not mean either theocracy or medievalism We do not believe in priesthood or in the caste system We consider the first to be unnecessary, for God is as close to one human being as to another We consider the second to be an abomination, for all men are equal Individual effort and enterprise is the law of life with us as well as the belief that each man or woman is entitled to the fruits of his or her honest endeavour The pivot of our economic doctrine is the right of private ownership but our laws and institutions have behind them the aim of reducing inequalities of wealth We believe in democracy, that is to say in the right of people to be governed by their own chosen representatives, in social and economic justice and in equal opportunities for all citizens of whatever race or creed they may be We do not have to present this ideology to our people as a new manifesto The principles I have stated are part and parcel of Islam and when we say that we want to follow the Islamic way of life what we mean is that we could not possibly do otherwise These are the principles that were embodied in the concept of Pakistan when we fought for it

"They are the principles which have helped Pakistan to emerge as the freest of the democracies in Asia and the most unified As I said earlier, we stand for stability in Asia We are opposed to aggression in all its forms and we cannot contemplate with equanimity disruptive forces that might jeopardise the peaceful progress and development of the peoples of Asia

"What I have said so far would be enough to show what we stand for in the world and what the trends of our domestic and foreign policies are likely to be To complete the picture, however, I think I should mention our relations with our neighbouring country Bharat, and also our attitude to the western world Since the partition, our relations with India have not been free from anxiety This is a situation that we truly lament But I would like to remind you of two facts Firstly, as you would have gathered from my previous remarks,

the beginning of Pakistan has not been too easy. Although we have overcome the initial difficulties, we have a long way to go yet, in order to catch up with modern standards of living For this purpose we have to work hard, to survey all the potentialities of land and water in our country and to make the best use of the power and sustenance that lie hidden there Peace is therefore essential to us. Secondly, there have always been certain sections of opinion in India which resented the birth of Pakistan If they accepted it they did so with strong mental reservations. We on our part were glad that Bharat achieved its independence and no one in Pakistan has ever said or thought otherwise Thus it should be clear that Pakistan is, first and last, interested in the maintenance of its own territorial integrity and of its own international rights It is not interested nor has it been interested at any time in the past in threatening the sovereign rights of others. Add to this fact that when the assets of British India were divided, we were allotted a share of the defence stores which has not yet been fully delivered to us,—and you will see that our expenditure on the consolidation of our defences is not difficult to understand We sincerely hope that with growing mutual confidence between Bharat and Pakistan, we shall be able to utilise our resources for more productive and progressive purposes The Governments of Bharat and Pakistan have recently entered into an agreement about the minorities in each country This agreement has been welcomed by millions of people and if implemented will dispel fear and anxiety on both sides to a considerable extent Some major disputes will, however, remain the foremost amongst them being the problem of Kashmir Although we are confident which way the people of Kashmir, 80 per cent of whom are Muslims, will vote, we will abide by whatever the democratic verdict may be But more than two years have passed and the date of the plebiscite cannot yet be foreseen. This had surely tried our patience and as long as things remain in a fluid state it is difficult to check the rising tide of unhappiness and bitterness amongst the people of Pakistan. We have every hope, however, that as the world's understanding of this question increases and Pakistan's point of view is increasingly appreciated, the democratic resolution of this dispute will not be long delayed. Pakistan is prepared at all times to submit all disputes to negotiation, mediation and arbitration in short, to the most peaceful and most reasonable methods that can be devised.

"To the western world we look for two things, that it will maintain world peace and that it will help the underdeveloped countries by throwing open to them the fullest advantages of its experience, its

technical knowledge and technical skill Indeed the two aims are the same For it is difficult to see how peace can be maintained when there is such glaring economic disequilibrium in the world. And it is difficult to see how this disequilibrium can be removed in time to save the world from the catastrophe of the war, unless the more advanced countries in the world take an elevated and enlightened view of their moral responsibility We realise that the underdeveloped countries must themselves organise their own initiative and utilise their own resources, material and spiritual, to the fullest If there are any countries that subscribe to this view but half-heartedly, Pakistan is certainly not among them. Its economy is sound, its successive budgets have been balanced and it has a favourable trade balance with the dollar area It is fast educating itself, sending its men and women abroad for training and utilising the help of technical experts from abroad It is going ahead with practical realistic plans for developing electrical power, for increasing the productivity of its soil and for improving its communications Its people are full of confidence and possess a degree of unity which is rare among the new nations of the world But to make up for lost centuries of industrial development is not an easy task, without the goodwill and co-operation of the more advanced and peace loving countries Of our industrial policy and of the practical lines on which we invite the co-operation of foreign investors, I spoke not long ago in New York in some detail. We place no restrictions on foreign investments beyond the restrictions of our laws and of our social objectives The latter comprise the abolition of poverty, ignorance, ill health and technical and economic backwardness If this were an earlier era, such objectives would put us on one side of the fence and foreign investors on the other. But we live in 1950 and I am speaking in one of the most progressive towns of the United States of America, the country where President Truman's Point IV Programme has been conceived and formulated. Speaking here and now therefore I have no fear, when I ask for your goodwill, that 'goodwill' will be merely regarded as a mildly courteous word that no longer means anything I am confident that men and women of this country who have demonstrated to the world what enterprise and respect for individual effort can achieve for the good of human beings will apply the same principles of freedom and of equal opportunity for all towards solving the problems of those parts of the world which, though distant, are not remote."

PAKISTAN AND THE MODERN WORLD

In Kansas City on May 13, 1950 Liaquat 'Ali Khan was awarded the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws by the University fo Kansas City After receiving the degree Liaquat 'Ali, delivering a speech, said

"In conferring a degree upon me you and the University of Kansas City have bestowed upon me and my country an honour for which I cannot adequately thank you

"For my address today I have advisedly chosen the subject of 'Pakistan and the Modern World' I have done this for two reasons In the first place, I am conscious of the fact that you have been kind enough to select me as the recipient of your recognition, in order to do honour to my country rather than to reward me for my inadequate merits It is fitting, therefore, that in expressing gratitude for your generosity, my country more than myself should speak to you on this occasion.

"In the second place, we live today in an era of widening horizons. It is in a sense an era in which new countries are being discovered More than four centuries ago great explorers from Europe voyaging out to discover the continent from which I hail, discovered your great land You, with your growing interest in the affairs of the world, are poised in a moment of history when you cannot but carry that voyage forward. If I may be permitted to say so that discovering of Asia has not yet been accomplished. In fact it has only just begun In speaking to you today I trust I shall be of some assistance to you in discovering a part of Asia which I know well and which is very dear to me, and in pointing out some of the links that destiny is forging between your people and ours.

"Pakistan is a new state, or to be more exact, a new democracy As a democracy it is not yet three years old There was a time when your country where the traditions of civil liberty, freedom and democracy have now taken such firm root, was a new and young democracy and the memory of your struggle for independence was yet fresh in the minds of men. If you can, in your imagination, reconstruct those times for a little while you will in many ways be reading the history of Pakistan and of the first three years of its new life.

"Till three years ago, Pakistan was only an ideal and a longing. In the vast subcontinent where present-day Bharat and Pakistan were situated and where the British held sway, there lived a hundred million Muslims who for centuries had made this part of the world

their homeland They lived, side by side, with three hundred million others—mostly Hindus who had come to this continent in an earlier era As the day of freedom for these four hundred million people drew near, it became increasingly obvious that at the end of the British rule the one hundred million Muslims would have to live their new life as a perpetual political minority Long experience and the history of several centuries had taught them that under a dominating majority of three to one, freedom from British rule would mean to the Muslims not freedom but merely a change of masters.

"It was not merely a question of religious differences, as that phrase is generally understood It was not merely that, whereas the Muslims were monotheists, the Hindus were polytheists, or that the Muslims believed in the prophet of Arabia and in Christ and the prophets of the Old Testament, whereas the Hindus did not. The differences were even more pervasive than this and created a maladjustment between the two peoples in almost every situation of their daily lives The Hindus believed in a caste system, which made it a sin for those at the top of the hierarchy to eat with the so-called lower human beings or in some cases even to touch them, the Muslims believed in the equality of all men, regarding even priesthood as unnecessary and a negation of the bond which exists between God and each of his creatures Their economic outlooks were also very different. The Muslims believed in the right of private ownership for every one, whether man or woman, and had laws of inheritance and economic institutions, which unlike those of the Hindus were designed to promote the distribution of wealth and discourage vast unearned accumulations.

"But since the Hindus were much larger in number, the Muslims feared that under their domination, the culture of the Muslims would suffer a great set back and would perhaps be totally eclipsed. Furthermore in a country which was on the whole backward, the Muslims, economically and industrially, were even more backward. It seemed certain to them that, as an unalterable and perpetual minority, their economic position would grow even worse Thus to the Muslims in that part of the world freedom from British rule meant practically nothing unless it meant freedom from the domination of the Hindu majority also.

"It was for these reasons that they asked for a country of their own The demand was not so unreasonable as it was made out to be by some people at the time The subcontinent was vast enough for two large countries, the Muslims were numerous enough to constitute

a nation bigger than most nations in the world, and in the subcontinent there were large enough areas where they were in a majority It is these areas that were separated and today form the independent sovereign state of Pakistan We believed then and we believe now that the demand of the Muslims in British India to have a separate state of their own was, both on human and geopolitical grounds, a very reasonable demand To millions of Muslims it meant the only opportunity for 'genuine freedom and genuine self-government To millions of Hindus it gave the same opportunity for developing their own culture, untrammelled by the constant discontent of a large and unmanageable minority From the point of view of world peace the creation of two independent and comparatively homogeneous states instead of a single uneasy and unwieldy state with great strains and stresses within the body-politic was the greatest contribution that could be made towards the creation of a stable new Asia. Peace-loving men and women who today lament the strained relations between Pakistan and Bharat—and none laments them more than we do—should at least have this consolation that had Pakistan not been separated from the rest of British India, far more serious and dangerous cracks would have appeared in that subcontinent resulting in untold upheavals Potentially, therefore, the creation of Pakistan has by itself dissolved what would have been a perpetual danger zone in Asia.

"But it has done more than that Cast your mind on all the countries of Asia one after another Almost everywhere you will see intense nationalism, great backwardness, impatience with colonial rule and, in some, a greater or lesser degree of democratic rule. But in many of them you will also see internal strains, moral doubts, ideological conflicts, waverings, hesitations and confusions. Halting democracies and ideological confusions create great anxieties for the governments in Asia, for the peoples of Asia and for peace-loving and world minded people anywhere In the midst of these Pakistan stands unified. It stands unified because its people are free from mental confusions which elsewhere create disruption and cast menacing shadows on the future. They have chosen for themselves the part chalked out for them by their simple, practical, clear-cut beliefs and decisions. Foremost amongst those beliefs are the belief in the supreme sovereignty of God, belief in the equality of men, belief in democracy and the right of the people to be governed by their own freely chosen representatives, belief in individual destiny, in the fundamental freedoms of every single man and woman, in the right of every individual

to the fruits of his own honest effort, belief in the sanctity of human life and human liberty, belief in the sanctity of the home, belief in universal peace but an equally strong belief in resisting aggression, tyranny and exploitation We did not have to acquire or inculcate these beliefs after the foundation of our new state. On the contrary, we founded a new state because we wanted to practise these beliefs without being inhibited by the contiguity, and without being thwarted by the domination of other conflicting ways of life For us to be undemocratic, or to ignore individual rights whether of property, belief or expression, or to bend our knee to aggression, is to destroy completely the very ideals which inspired us in our demand for Pakistan.

"This intensity of purpose and this firm faith have, during the last three years, been demonstrated in ways which surprised our critics and our friends, and in some ways went beyond our own expectations When British India was partitioned we, the Pakistanis, were asked to set up a new state of eighty million people within a period of two months We had no capital and no flag. Our administrative machinery had to be built up from scratch We were allotted an army, but its personnel was dispersed far and wide and could not come together for months We had no military equipment. Our share of the military equipment of British India which was allotted to us on paper remains largely undelivered even today when three years have elapsed Being a backward people we had no industry, no engineers and practically no traders Within a few months of independence seven million homeless refugees driven out of India came over to us in a miserable plight to seek shelter Had it not been for the unity of our people, we might have floundered But today after three years we are stronger than before And in spite of some very anxious moments when our international rights and our freedom seemed to be in jeopardy, we are still free

"What are the demands that our freedom makes on us? Our first duty is to ourselves I do not say this in any spirit of selfishness or chauvinism A free people must maintain their own freedom first. Otherwise they disgrace the fair name of free men and women all over the world But the maintenance of freedom requires constant vigilance 'Liberty does not descend upon a people, a people must raise themselves to it It is a fruit that must be earned before it can be enjoyed' That freedom means freedom only from foreign domination is an outworn idea It is not merely governments that should be free but the people themselves who should be free, and no freedom has any real value for the common man or woman unless it also means

freedom from want, freedom from disease, freedom from ignorance This is the main task which confronts us if we are to take our rightful place in the modern world We cannot hold the clock back and therefore it is we who must go forward at a double pace, bending all our resources and all our energies to this great purpose Students of history are aware that during the last two or three centuries of foreign domination our people have not kept pace with the march of civilisation It was during these centuries that western civilisation, of which you are the proud torch-bearers, discovered a use for science which, though not new, was so fast in tempo and so vast in its magnitude that it gave civilisation a new orientation altogether This is the phase that for various reasons our people missed The result is that today we find multitudes emerging as large, free nations in Asia with their material and mental resources utterly undeveloped and with their standards of living so low that the world conscience should not be content to leave them stagnant Our ancient steadfast faith which is such a source of strength to us on the ideological front in these modern uneasy times must be wedded to the pioneering virility of modern technology This is the synthesis we must achieve and achieve quickly, not merely for the sake of progress but for the sake of world peace itself

"For I sincerely believe that war and peace and progress and prosperity are all indivisible today The innumerable millions of Asia, heirs to ancient cultures and ancient civilisations, have, after centuries of suppression, entered upon a new and dynamic phase of nationalism Most of them were accustomed to looking at the West from the position of subject peoples and could see little beyond the less attractive side of what to them was Western civilisation Their newly won freedom has, however, corrected their vision and they are better able to see both the Western world and their own surroundings in their true perspective While on the one hand they are filled with admiration at the sight of the progress and the advancement of civilisation in such great countries as the United States of America, they are more impatient than ever before with their own misery and backwardness and are keenly searching the horizon for the signs of a bright day They are acutely aware of the great contrast between their own standard of living and the standards of living in the Western world This disequilibrium is in many ways most disquieting and has in it the seeds of unpredictable upheavals For the sake of world peace, for the sake of world civilisation, Asia must be made stable but it cannot be made stable unless discontent is removed and the germs of disruption are killed by better and cleaner living which means no

more and no less than enabling the peoples of Asia to enjoy the fullest advantages of freedom and democracy In this situation, we consider the role of Pakistan to be that of a stabilising factor in a backward and discontented part of the world We hope to be able to play this role successfully by our strong faith in God, in democracy and in our own unity, by the resources of our lands and waters and by our will to work On these points Pakistan stands firm

"What, however, is the role of the Western world in this situation? It is to demonstrate that true democracy is international in its very conception and does not shirk its responsibility for the maintenance of world peace, that it discharges this responsibility for the maintenance of world peace that it discharges this responsibility by defying not only this or that particular aggressor, but aggression everywhere, and that it has a constructive and not merely a defiant outlook We conceive the role of the Western world to be the enlightened one of sharing its great fund of knowledge, skill and experience with those who were denied their opportunities but who constitute a major part of the world's population and without whose progress, the world will limp along only on one leg if at all I have met many liberal-minded and thoughtful men in your country to whom these are the only aims worth pursuing in the domain of international affairs today. I am certain therefore that the vast majority of your people regard the emergence of the democracy of Pakistan, its progress and future development, as of great importance in Asia for they are convinced that Pakistan's strength will be a happy augury for peace"

ECONOMIC AIMS OF PAKISTAN

Addressing a joint dinner meeting of the Chamber of Commerce of Kansas City and the Kansas Council of World Affairs on the evening of May 13 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Earlier today in this town I had occasion to speak of the origin and birth of Pakistan and to describe the conditions which made it necessary for the Muslims of British India to demand the partition of what is now known as the Indo Pakistan subcontinent into the two independent sovereign states of present-day Bharat and Pakistan. My object in doing so was not merely to reiterate a page of recent

history, which by now is sufficiently known to well-informed people all over the world My object was to try and convey to my audience the determination of the people who achieved what is almost a unique event in history, namely to bring into existence on the map of the world a country which has been significantly described as the largest Muslim, and the fifth most populous state in the world If you will permit me, I will carry the story a little further from that point, to reveal certain hard facts which I hope will be of interest to my audience this evening

"When the frontiers were drawn between Pakistan and present-day India we were faced with a situation fraught with difficulties which at the time looked almost insurmountable We were asked within a short period of two months to set up administrative machinery (where no such machinery existed before) for the government of eighty million people over an area equal to the area of France, Italy, Belgium and Holland put together We found that practically none of the major industries or main sources of electrical and other power were located on our side of the border In our new country, as in the entire subcontinent before the birth of Pakistan, banking, trade and economic life in general, were controlled by the Hindus, who also had amongst them what little technical personnel was available in our part of the world Soon after partition, these people abandoned our country and instead, we received from across the border the largest body of refugees known to history—a multitude of seven million people, mostly farmers and mostly poor, who had been driven out of their ancestral homes in the neighbouring dominion

"Thus Pakistan began its economic life under the worst possible conditions I believe it was some such situation which was envisaged by certain people who had opposed the idea of partition on the ground that the new state of Pakistan would not be a viable state

"Well, only three years have elapsed Three years are a very short period in the life of a country, and when they happen to be the first three years, they are taken up in preliminaries and are almost negligible Yet what is the position today? Within these three years our import and export trade revived so quickly that our internal economy and foreign exchange position were rehabilitated with surprising ease Within less than a year, we had established the State Bank of Pakistan which is the backbone of our banking structure and manages the currency of our country We set up a Refugees Finance Corporation with a capital of ten million dollars in order to assist our refugees in business and cottage industries. Year after year our budget

has been balanced and when government floated loans, their success was phenomenal

"This is a matter of no small pride for us, for by and large our people had very little knowledge and experience of such matters Once more it was sheer determination and the sheer will of our people to work and to learn which made success possible

"If I had time, I could tell you more of this I could tell you how with a very few trained men we had to train others as far as we could and try to tackle problems that we had never tackled before It did not take us long to realise in which direction lay the path to progress We are an agricultural country Eighty per cent of our people live on the land Speaking in Kansas City, for whose leading industries agriculture has for many years provided the raw material, I know that I am speaking to people who will give us both their sympathy and understanding Our methods of agriculture as in most Asiatic countries are considerably out of date Only two fifths of the land is under cultivation Our productivity compared to the more advanced countries is very low and the income of our farmers who are the mainstay of our economy is meagre We are therefore going ahead on a number of irrigation projects, by which we hope before long to bring another six and a half million acres under the plough But the large expenditure incurred on these will not give us full returns, unless our farmer is equipped with modern tools and modern methods of cultivation and, what is more, is helped by co-operative farming to find such methods and such implements within his means. In the forefront of our industrial development we, therefore, place the development of cheap electrical power For that purpose, we have created a central engineering authority for promoting multi-purpose hydro-electrical schemes and have engaged foreign consultants of repute to assist us in preparing an all-Pakistan plan for power development

"Besides this, there are other industries also which are engaging our earnest attention Under the British rule, our industrial potentialities which are by no means inconsiderable, had hardly been tapped We produce 75 per cent of the world's best quality of raw jute, but have hardly any jute mills We produce about a million bales of good quality cotton per year, but have very few textile mills. We have plenty of hides and skins tobacco, sugar-cane and wool but the industries connected with these were, under the British, not located in our part of the subcontinent We hope, by the end of this year, to improve this situation considerably As indigenous capital was inadequate and foreign capital has taken some time to come forward

we have recently set up an industrial development corporation to which has been assigned the function of promoting certain key industries such as jute mills, paper mills, fertilisers and ship-building These industries will be managed as private industries by directors, who, within the limits of national policies, will be completely free from government interference in manufacture, control and direction The Corporation is based on private enterprise with such help as government may be required to give Such a corporation gives both to national and foreign investors a very high degree of security Our industrial policy is to throw open to private enterprise all types of industries with a few exceptions, which were already under state control even before the partition of British India Government has reserved to itself the responsibility only for the fixing of targets the location of industries and the allocation of materials in short supply Relief in taxation has been provided for new industries We welcome foreign capital, subject to the participation of indigenous capital, and we place no restrictions on the transfer of earnings, profits, *etc*, except those of general application under the exchange control regulations

"I put these facts frankly and clearly before you for we are earnest and sincere in the development of our country and it would not pay us to delude ourselves or others Our people suffer from poverty, ill health and ignorance We are most anxious to take ourselves out of these depths within the shortest possible time. It would not pay us to be lazy It would not pay us to mince matters It would not pay us to be unco-operative. We invite your co-operation and the co-operation of all peace-loving and advanced countries of the world provided they love freedom as we do and are aware, as we are, of their moral responsibility in the world of today We cannot without such international co-operation—not on a one-way but on a two-way basis, on a basis not only of mutual goodwill but of mutual benefit—we cannot, I say, without international co-operation shed the backwardness and the inadequacy of centuries sufficiently quickly to make our fullest contribution to the cause of world peace in these difficult times I will never be tired repeating that without peace there can be no progress and without progress there can be no peace The backwardness of Asiatic peoples is a menace to the peace of the world and it is the moral responsibility of all of us to remove it and thus rid the world of the atmosphere in which discontent and disruption flourish. Peace in the world is difficult to maintain without stability in Asia To maintain stability in Asia, Pakistan with

the best goodwill in the world can only go a certain distance and no further—that is to say no further without international co-operation

"What is Pakistan's contribution, you might ask, to stability in Asia? How does it regard its own moral position? Morally and ideologically our position can be very simply stated The majority of our people are Muslims who believe in God, and in the domain of human affairs follow the Islamic way of life Some people are alarmed at the mention of God's name in human affairs They suspect some narrow sectarianism, intolerance, fanaticism, perhaps even theocratic rule These things are far removed from our conception of the Islamic way of life On the subject of God I do not think people in the United States of America will misunderstand me . Only today, in the University of Kansas City, a speaker was kind enough to refer to our purpose as "The purpose to give an ethical content, befitting plain people everywhere, to the pressing political and economic conditions of our day" Man cannot sustain himself by material considerations alone That is why the basis of our constitution is the recognition of God's supreme sovereignty over the universe and the belief that we humans, however high the position in which we are placed, are but the instruments of His will and can only flourish and prosper if we humbly carry out His divine purpose We firmly believe in democracy and if we did not, it would be utterly in vain for us to have fought for Pakistan We believe in social justice and what is social justice? It is to create such economic conditions that should you go out into the street to distribute alms, there should be no one so wretched, so needy and so poor, as to look at you expectantly We do not believe in levelling down people so as to kill all initiative. We believe in levelling up people so that the humblest amongst us should be happy and contented This is our ideology and these are the fundamental principles of our economic life They are articles of faith not only with me and my colleagues in the government but with millions and millions of our people This is our way of life This is our religion No threat and no persuasion can shake these beliefs of ours In our minds there is no doubt or confusion We are proud to say that amongst the new nations of the world there is no democracy more free than the democracy of Pakistan and none which is more unified Poor though we may be, backward though we may be, young and inexperienced though we may be, we are neither poor nor backward nor immature in our love for democracy and for freedom. This is not calculated thought but something that pulsates in our very hearts That is why I am speaking to you here tonight with the same

warmth and same affection with which you have received me amongst you. If you are the 'Heart of America' I speak to you from the heart of Pakistan Bless you all."

QUESTIONS FOR THE WORLD AND AMERICA

On May 16, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressing the University of California, Berkeley said

"Since my arrival in this country nearly a fortnight ago, I have received nothing but hospitality and kindness and affection. I have supped and dined at many a sumptuous table and I have broken bread with many friends in their homes On most of these occasions your people with their great modesty and with an almost embarrassing willingness to listen to the other man's point of view, have me speak to them and have put to me many questions Whether I have been able to enlighten them is more than I can tell for I have nothing very profound to say. I am not a wise man of the East I am a simple man who as the servant of my people has a clear-cut job to perform. Most of almost any day of mine at home is spent silently listening to others.

"But in speaking to you today I have a peculiar sense of relaxation, even exhilaration Long after people of my generation have passed from this world, you of the younger generation will be assessing their work, lamenting their mistakes and, I hope, profiting by them. You will be passing verdicts on us which history will be more likely to endorse than our opinions of ourselves You have yet a vision which fatigue has not dimmed and decay has not touched Within the walls of this great house of learning, you pursue truth and knowledge unceasingly and unflinchingly I come to you today therefore not with ready-made answers but with questions to ask questions that keep stirring in my mind.

"I will put these questions before you not on my behalf but on behalf of my country for it is as the servant of my people that you have honoured me today with your company and it is as one of the humble workers of my country that you have sought me out as worthy of your attention.

"In the emergence of Pakistan as a sovereign independent nation,

you have seen a strange and almost unique phenomenon of this or of any other age. You have seen new frontiers drawn on the map of Asia with such rapidity that maps and map makers have not yet been able to catch up with them In the subcontinent which till the 15th of August, 1947, was known to the world as British India lived the Muslims, a hundred million of us, side by side with another great nation, the Hindus, 300 millions of them—both the inheritors of ancient cultures And yet so great was the difference in their outlooks that maladjustments appeared between them not merely in political life but in almost every situation of their daily lives As the day of freedom from foreign domination approached, uneasiness increased and the Muslims began to wonder whether as a perpetual, unalterable, political minority in a country of four hundred million people, freedom from the British rule would really mean freedom from all suppression, whether in the land to which their forefathers had come as proud conquerors several centuries ago and to whose civilisation in the domain of civics and aesthetics they had made such valuable contributions the future of the Muslims in the face of a dominating and aggressive majority held any promise of economic development or of cultural progress In their anxiety and perplexity they groped for solutions but found none that could fill them with optimism

At this moment, arose a man amongst us who saw farther and more clearly than any of us, a man who for years had fought the British side by side with the Hindu patriots but who, more than any of his companions, sought freedom not for the Hindus alone but for the Hindus and for the Muslims His name was Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah. All his life he had been a great constitutionalist and a passionate student of democratic institutions What he said was in its simplicity and truth so startling that for a long time people could not take it in He said that, in a democracy, a political minority should have the opportunity of converting itself into a majority but if it is so situated that it can never hope to change its minority status, no constitutional safeguards can adequately protect its rights The three hundred million Hindus of British India are a perpetual majority The one hundred million Muslims are a perpetual minority And since vast and unbridgeable differences separate them and in the political life of the country there is no possiblity of their ever changing places, democracy in these circumstances would have no real content He uttered the simple truth that a hundred million Muslims are not a minority, they are a nation, large than most nations in the world The vast areas of British India where they were in a majority was

their country. Its name was Pakistan—a name which our greatest modern poet had given to it in one of his inspired visions Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah's simple and clear truths cleared the atmosphere of cant and doubt and electrified the Muslims from one end of the subcontinent to the other. We called him Quaid i-A'zam, the great leader He filled the Muslims with his own indomitable dertermination He lived to see his dream come true, to see the jubilation of millions of Muslims at the birth of Pakistan—the largest Muslim country in the world and the fifth most populous—to see the green and white flag of Pakistan hoisted over the capital, Karachi And when he passed away eighty million people of the new nation of which he was the father bowed their heads in sorrow and reverence

"I am often asked the question true that by dividing British India into Pakistan and present-day India you have saved the majority of the hundred million Muslims from being relegated to the position of an unalterable political minority, but has this division eliminated or effaced minorities from that subcontinent altogether? It is obvious that this has not happened nor was it expected to happen There is still a minority of thirty-five million Muslims in India and a minority of thirteen million non-Muslims in Pakistan But between these numbers and a hundred million there is a difference not of quantity but of quality A minority of a hundred million depressed and discontented Muslims in the vast Indo-Pakistan subcontinent would have been the greatest single unstable element in the world It is our firm belief that the emergence of Pakistan, where the majority of these Muslims can now lead a life of their own, has saved the architecture of New Asia from a strain which would have been excessive and extremely hazardous for the peace of the world

"None of us in Pakistan since our independence has for a single moment regretted the decision that was taken by our great leader and our people On the contrary every day that has passed has convinced us that if we had done otherwise, history would not have forgiven us

"From the beginning, we were faced with enormous difficulties ... Certain elements in the neighbouring country which had resented the emergence of Pakistan tried to break Pakistan by throwing upon it within the space of a few weeks the economic burden of seven million refugees, who, driven out of their ancestral homes, sought shelter with us. This was attended by retaliation and caused great suffering and misery in both countries But none of our people even in their greatest moment of pain and anger ever resented or questioned the right of their neighbours' enjoying their own freedom and

independence The two governments, as you know, have recently come to a happy understanding about the humane and just treatment of the minorities in their respective territories This understanding has been enthusiastically welcomed by every man, woman and child in Pakistan and it shall always be our earnest and proud endeavour to see that democracy and the equality of citizenship irrespective of race, creed or religion which are the fundamental principles of our way of life and to which we have solemnly and before God pledged ourselves in our constitution, are strictly observed If we fail to observe them, we should have disgraced Pakistan and made a mockery of the very principles for which we fought

"Thus came into existence a new democracy in the world. But if democracy is not merely a word and not just a form, let me ask you what its demands are Democracy undoubtedly means freedom but does it mean freedom for governments and for the ruling classes, or does it mean the freedom of the common man and common woman? Surely freedom does not mean freedom to govern as you choose, but the freedom to be governed as you choose. And how do you think the people of our country would like to be governed? They would, I can tell you, abhor to be members of a society which is atheistic or whose civic life has no ethical content or in which the system of caste prevails and all men and women are not born equal, are not free to exercise individual initiative or to enjoy the fruit of individual effort. But do you not think that they would ask of democracy something more than these? . Today we find multitudes in Asia emerging as large free nations but still living in the depths of poverty, ill health and ignorance Our ancient steadfast faith is a great source of strength to us on the ideological front in these uneasy times, but unless democracy redeems its fundamental pledge to be government for the people it may not be able to stand the strain of the inevitable test that resurgent nationalism in Asia is bound to put it to

"In this situation we consider the role of Pakistan to be that of a stabilising factor in a backward and discontented part of the world We hope to be able to play this role successfully by our strong faith in God, in democracy and in our own unity, by the resources of our lands and waters and by our will to work.

"Already in the short period of three years we have shown to the world our determination not to go under In spite of the great shocks that we have received, we have a sound economy We are enlarging our ports and improving our railways, we are expanding our educational system, we are sending our students abroad for training, we have

employed foreign technical consultants, we are planning large-scale electrification, we are bringing more and more land under the plough, we are mechanising our agriculture and we are improving the lot of the farmer. And here is the first question that I want to ask you what is it that we could have done in these three years that we have left undone? That is not a rhetorical question This is a question which we are constantly asking ourselves and whoever gives us a helpful answer will earn the gratitude of a nation

"But I assure you that to make up for lost centuries of technological development is not an easy task without the goodwill und co-operation of the more advanced peace-loving countries Our people are full of confidence and possess a degree of unity which is rare among the new nations of the world We realise—not half-heartedly but fully and clearly that under-developed countries must themselves organise their own initiative and utilise their own resources, material and spiritual, to the fullest Can we, however, remove the menacing disequilibrium and the disquieting contrast in the standards of living in the various parts of the world sufficiently quickly to ward off the catastrophe of war unless the whole world and especially the advanced countries of the world treat our backwardness not as a local or a national but as a world problem? I ask you to ponder whether war and peace and progress and prosperity are not all indivisible today or whether peace can be maintained without progress any more than progress can be maintained without peace

"I believe that your people earnestly desire peace We, who have just begun to live, can hardly wish for annihilation to overtake us when we have not yet taken our first few breaths What can we do to maintain peace in the world beyond keeping our own house in order? It seems to us in the East that only those who can make war can primarily maintain peace. If they are in earnest about it, is their way not clear?

"When we find strong and powerful nations boldly defying aggression, we are heartened by their stand but we ask ourselves two questions: firstly, is aggression to be defied only where we dislike the aggressor or is aggression to be defied in all its forms, big and small, and wherever it may appear? If the first, we will be doing no honour to democracy or justice or freedom but to the principle of biological survival. If the second, we will be serving the cause of freedom everywhere and giving hope to new nations Secondly is defiance, however stimulating it may be, enough? Are there not vast fields for constructive effort by which alone can enduring peace be built up?

"Yours is a great country with enormous resources of wealth, experience and technical skill We, who believe in individual initiative, effort and enterprise do not believe that the era of private ownership is over But we do believe that we have entered upon an era when capital should come out of its shell and move in the spheres of international social objectives and move on from exploitation to production. Your country fought for its own independence once You have been the great exponents and the jealous guardians of freedom. Words from your declaration of independence and your constitution have inspired men in far-off lands. You have shown to the world what human effort can do for human welfare You have no colonies and I believe no territorial ambitions Has not your history therefore equipped you more than most nations to be among the leading architects of the enlightened internationalism of the future? We Asiatics in general and Pakistan in particular are waiting to see what your answer will be. We do not know what you will say but should you decide that construction is the best way to defy destruction, you will find the people of Pakistan amongst your staunchest friends I have spoken to you with great candor and from the depth of my heart for we are a simple and frank people as you are, we hold our freedom dear as you do and we love peace, if possible, even more than you do "

PAKISTAN, THE NEW ASIA, AND WORLD PEACE

Replying to an address of welcome by Dr. Arthur G Coons on behalf of Town Hall of Los Angles on May 18, 19?0, Liaquat Ali Khan remarked

"My wife and I have travelled twelve thousand miles to come to your country, drawn here by the gracious invitation of your President And we have travelled another three or four thousand miles to come to your great city On my way across your vast country I have met many of your countrymen Many people doing many kinds of jobs but all sharing the common characteristics of kindness, frankness, simplicity and hospitality I have spoken to many of them and they have spoken to me. What is it that we have been saying to each other?

"Well, on my part, I confess I have been anxious to talk to them

of my country. For although many of the esteemed compatriots of yours who have come to our country have shown an extraordinary understanding of our urges and our problems, we in the centre of Asia have sometimes a feeling that you in the United States of America regard the distance between your country and ours to be much greater than it appears to us from our end

"I have therefore spoken on many occasions of the birth of our nation and of the origin of our State I have tried in my way to explain what it was that prompted a hundred million Muslims of British India to demand that a country of their own should be carved out for them, out of that vast subcontinent. I have tried to explain that our demand for the partition of British India into two independent sovereign states, namely present-day India and Pakistan, arose out of the conviction that without such partition democracy could not work in our part of the world .

"Your people, for their part, have embarrassed me by their more than courteous and more than modest interrogations, and have heartened me by their willingness to listen to our point of view and to understand our approach to our national and international problems Today you have shown the same courtesy by asking me to speak to you on 'Pakistan, the New Asia, and World Peace' I will try to interpret the facts of the situation in which our country is placed and will try to show their bearing on the questions which are implicitly contained in the title of my talk.

"First of all, it is our belief that the birth of Pakistan itself—that is to say the partition of British India into two independent States—has by the very act made a great, though silent, contribution to the stability of Asia. The two nations that lived together in British India were in their outlook on life so divergent, that to force them into one single unit would have been to expose the new architecture of Asia to excessive strain; for, the divergence between the Hindus and the Muslims has very deep roots. It was not merely a question of a difference in religion. The religion in each case meant a different way of life altogether and affected not merely doctrines and beliefs but the daily lives of millions of people. Although at the time there were many sceptics who regarded the partition of British India to be unnecessary and even fool-hardy, experience has shown that the separation of Pakistan from present-day India has eliminated an epicentre of dangerous upheavals in Asia . .

"From the positive point of view, the emergence of Pakistan has at one stroke brought into existence, in the very heart of Asia, a

political unit of eighty million people most of whom are Muslims and therefore democratic not as a matter of calculated thought, but as a matter of religious faith, belief and tradition Democracy is one of the cardinal principles of Islam and is woven into the very fabric of our social life The enthusiasm and, indeed, passion, with which the Muslims worked for the triumph of this idea, has created a momentum towards the democratic goal which will take a long time to spend itself out although, of course on our part, we are determined that it shall never be exhausted. For if we stray from the democratic way of life in political or in social matters and become apathetic to the principles of the equality of men, the dignity of individual effort and enterprise, equal citizenship and social justice for all, irrespective of race or creed, we shall cease to be the nation that we are, the nation we dreamt to be

"The fact that the majority of our people are Muslims has other important implications.

"In the first place, it makes for homogeneity, for Islam is a very simple, clear cut religion and does not admit of any major variations. This homogeneity has been demonstrated on more than one occasion during the history of the past few years. For example, when the late Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah of revered memory, the father of our nation whom we called Qaaid i-A'zam or the Great Leader, articulated for us our obscure but deep longing for freedom and called it 'Pakistan', his clarion call had a lightning effect and within a very short time stirred the heart of a hundred million Muslims from one end of the subcontinent to the other Again, when the influx into Pakistan of seven million destitute refugees bent us almost double with the enormous economic weight that was placed on the back of our new nation, it was the unity of our people that saved us from collapse. It is the same unity that enables us to take quick and almost unanimous decisions in our national affairs . . .

In the midst, therefore, of alarums and excursions, Pakistan stands firm, with its steadfast faith in its own ideology, earnestly endeavouring to apply it to the practical world of human affairs, in order to promote the welfare of mankind. This way of life is not a new manifesto that we have presented to ourselves We have not adopted it because we have emerged as a new nation in the world. We emerged as a new nation because we believed in it. This way of life is not a political creed with us It is our religion. It is not something that only I or my colleagues in government subscribe to, as a matter of expediency. It is a view of life which is shared by

millions and millions of people in our country. And when I say that they believe in it, what I mean is that they could not possibly do otherwise, however strongly the winds of conflicting doctrines may blow around them

"Whilst on the subject of Pakistan in the new Asia, I would also like to draw attention to the geographic and strategic position of our country I do so because our frontiers were drawn less than three years ago and not all the maps which people carry in their minds have been able no catch up with the change. Pakistan comprises two parts, East and West Whereas one borders on Burma, not far from where the Japanese advance was halted in the last war, the other borders on Iran and Afghanistan and has an important situation in relation to the communications to and from the oil-bearing areas of the Middle East. This part also controls the mountain passes through which the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent has been invaded ninety times in the past centuries Most people are inclined mentally to divide the greater part of Asia into South-East Asia and the Middle East and to allot each country to one or the other zone Because of its peculiar situation, Pakistan is vitally interested in the development of events in both these zones and has, thus, a doubly delicate position.

"Pakistan therefore, politically, ideologically and strategically holds a position of great responsibility. I have already spoken of our firm unshakeable belief in democracy. To that I wish to add that we are also determined to defend our freedom, whatever the quarter from which the threat may come. In addition to this, Pakistan is resolved to throw all its weight to help the maintenance of stability in Asia Stability in Asia is most important to us not only for our own freedom and progress but for the maintenance of world peace As things appear to us in our part of the world, we cannot imagine how world peace can be maintained unless Asia is stabilised.

"What can we do, what can the world do, to ensure stability in Asia? To answer this question it is necessary to have a full realisation of the living conditions of millions of people in that continent which contains, as you know, more than half the population of the world—a population moreover which is not apathetic to, or isolated from, the main currents of the world. The great fact of Asia is the poverty, ignorance and ill health of its people. The low standards of living which obtain there are a menace to world peace and cannot be viewed with equanimity or ignored with impunity.

"It is the moral responsibility of every democratic government in the East to organise all its resources and all its energies to the great

purpose of uplifting its people from the depths in which they live, if such an existence as they lead can be called living I have told you of the extremely favourable circumstances which already exist in Pakistan for the development of the democratic idea but we are fully aware of the fact that the freedom we value so much is of little use to the common man and the common woman unless their living conditions can be improved at least to such an extent that when comparing themselves to people of the more advanced countries of the world, they do not feel bitter and unhappy

"To this end we are doing the utmost that we can Even in the midst of all our troubles and our handicaps, we are earnestly and sincerely going ahead with plans for expansion and modernisation of our agriculture (which is the mainstay of our economy), with the development of electrical power to help both agriculture and industry, and with creating the necessary climate for the investment of indigenous and foreign capital in industrial concerns with the social objective of production and development The basis of discontent in Asia as well as of the various theories for a speedy removal of the misery of the people, is economic. It is by its efforts in this field that a government which claims to be democratic, or in other words, claims to be government for the people, should be judged. I am glad, therefore, to be able to say that the economy of Pakistan is sound. Our economic policies have created such confidence amongst the people that when government floated loans even in the days of the greatest difficulties with which our country was beset, the success of such loans was phenomenal

"But in the task of the economic rehabilitation of the people. Pakistan, like most Asiatic countries, can only go a certain distance and no further—that is to say, no further without international co-operation The question that we should all ask ourselves is: can Pakistan make up for the lost centuries of technological advance and industrial development sufficiently quickly to give weight and substance to its contribution to world peace? The clear answer is that without international co-operation few countries by themselves can today discharge their responsibility as effectively and as quickly as they may desire So far as the prospects of an immediate world war are concerned it will be nothing new or profound if I were to say that it is not the people in Asia who can pronounce upon it with authority Our responsibility is to keep our own house in order, to go ahead with the enormous task in front of us, of developing our resources, of educating our people and of demonstrating to them in actual practice the benefits

of democracy Whoever helps us in promoting these aims will help us to help peace

"Since we strongly believe in the importance of stability in Asia I would like, if you will permit me, to say a few words about our relations with our neighbour, India

"It is a well known fact that since independence, our relations have not been easy. We have had to incur a considerable amount of expenditure on the consolidation of our defence We wish we did not have to do this and could have deflected all our resources to more productive channels but in order to see this expenditure in its true light, I would like to remind you of the fact that the bulk of the share of military equipment that was allotted to us on the partition of British India has been refused to us We therefore had to equip our army almost from zero We have no aggressive designs, no territorial ambitions In fact, whereas in India there have been and probably still are, certain elements who resented the emergence of Pakistan as an independent nation, never has a single voice ever been raised in Pakistan against India's full right to enjoy its sovereignty and independence within its own territories Recently, an agreement has been entered into between the governments of Pakistan and India on the subject of the treatment of minorities in each country This has removed anxiety from the hearts of millions of people and, if fully implemented, will go a long way towards easing tension Some major disputes between ourselves and India, however, remain—the chief amongst them being the problem of Kashmir. Culturally, economically, geographically and strategically, Kashmir—80 per cent of whose people like the majority of people in Pakistan are Muslims—is, in fact, an integral part of Pakistan. The bulk of the population of Kashmir are at present under Indian military occupation. There is an international agreement between India and Pakistan that a free and impartial plebiscite shall be held in Kashmir to let the people of Kashmir decide for themselves whether they would like to join one or the other of the two countries. But—and this is our main grievance—two years have elapsed and the date of the plebiscite is not yet within sight. On all disputed matters, on which no agreement may have been arrived at, Pakistan has been willing to arrive at a peaceful and just settlement through negotiation or mediation or, failing both, through arbitration. The conduct of the Government of Pakistan over the many differences of opinion that arose in the passage of the Kashmir dispute through the Security Council of the United Nations, is ample proof of what I have said But to force or coercion, we shall

never submit.

"If I have been able to convey to you the strong urge for self-government, self-development, democracy, freedom and liberty among the people of Pakistan which achieved the unique phenomenon of creating on the map of Asia a new State of eighty million people, it will not be difficult for you to infer that we passionately desire peace in order to accomplish that for which we founded our country You, I sincerely believe, desire peace too But whereas you desire it in order to continue to enjoy the fruits of the great civilisation which you have built up with your vigour, your enterprise, your initiative, your love of liberty and your great moral qualities, we desire it in order to have the barest chance to translate some of our dreams into reality For you it would be a great pity, if, God forbid, you should fail in your laudable aim For us it would be a situation full both of pity and irony if annihilation overtook us along with the rest of the world when we were experiencing but the first pulsations of a free life We know that you are determined to defy aggression and we hope that you will make no distinction between one aggressor and another But we also hope that you will not regard defiance as enough, but will build up world peace more firmly and more securely in the vast constructive fields that are open to you with your experience and your technical knowledge In such a task, you will find Pakistan amongst your friends "

MINE IS A MISSION OF PEACE

Addressing a joint dinner meeting of the New Orleans Citizens Committee and the New Orleans Branch of the Foreign Policy Association on May 23, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan stated

"Since my arrival here I have already visited eight cities in your vast land and have exchanged views with hundreds of friends What I have appreciated most of all in your vigorous and alert country, second only to your hospitality, is your spirit of enquiry The United States of America has been known as the Land of Promise, the Land of Opportunity But I shall remember it most as the Land of Hospitality and the Land of Interrogation. One of the many questions that I have been asked is 'What is the purpose of your visit to the United States of America?

"Well, in the first place, I am here because of the kind invitation of your President But for the magnetism of his welcome, I might have found it difficult to be tempted to leave my country when there is a great deal of work to be done there

"If, however, I were asked to assign a purpose to my visit, I should like to say that my visit is a mission of peace

"Please do not misunderstand me I do not mean that there are any differences between our two countries that need to be ironed out On the contrary, since the birth of Pakistan our relations have been more than friendly as that word is understood in diplomatic jargon and we are looking forward to a long period of cordial relations But what I do mean is that I have come here to try and understand the world situation, to find our own true bearing in it and to understand more clearly, if possible, what we in Pakistan can do and suggest, to maintain peace in the world

"I have therefore taken it upon myself to tell such listeners, as may care to hear me, in the first place what we regard our own duty to be in this matter and, in the second place, what hopes we, in the East, entertain so far as the other countries of the world and specially the more advanced countries of the world are concerned for lessening the chances of conflict and for helping forward the cause of peace and progress

"Permit me, first, therefore, to speak about my own country Pakistan, as you know, came into existence as a sovereign state on 15th August, 1947 The territories that we now know as Pakistan were, before that date, part of British India The four hundred million people of British India consisted, mostly, of one hundred million Muslims and three hundred million non-Muslims, mostly Hindus Since these two nations differed from each other in ways that affected their daily lives throughout, it was not possible for them to achieve that cohesion which alone constitutes a nation Their religions were, of course, different but so were their cultures, their traditions, their social and legal codes and their economic outlooks The Hindus, for example, believe in the caste system according to which some human beings are born superior to others and cannot have any social relations with those in the lower castes or with those who are not Hindus. They cannot marry them or eat with them or even touch them without being polluted. The Muslims abhor the caste system, as they are a democratic people and believe in the equality of men and equal opportunities for all, do not consider a priesthood necessary, and have economic laws and institutions which recognise the right of private ownership and yet

are designed to promote the distribution of wealth and to put healthy checks on vast unearned accumulations A perpetual minority as large as one hundred million would have been the negation of democracy And so the Hindus and the Muslims decided to part and divide British India into two independent sovereign states, instead of trying to keep it as one large unwieldy state constantly exposed to strains and stresses within it One of these two states is Pakistan and the other is present-day India, or, to call it by its new name, Bharat

"Our demand for a country of our own had, as you see, a strong democratic urge behind it The emergence of Pakistan itself was therefore the triumph of a democratic idea It enabled at one stroke a democratic nation of eighty million people to find a place of its own in Asia, where now they can worship God in freedom and pursue their own way of life uninhibited by the domination or the influence of ways and beliefs that are alien or antagonistic to their genius

"The majority of the eighty million Pakistanis are Muslims They asked for, and achieved, an independent country of their own because they passionately believed in a certain way of life Our ideals are, therefore quite clear to us

"They do not spell out a sectarian medieval, intolerant, theocratic society We believe in God and His supreme sovereignty because we believe that civic life must have an ethical content and a higher purpose which we cannot but conceive of as the fulfillment of the Divine will But democracy, social justice, equality of opportunity, equality before the law of all citizens, irrespective of race or creed, are also articles of faith with us as are the inalienable right of the people to be governed by their own chosen representatives, the right of the individual to the fruits of his honest endeavours and economic justice which according to our conception does not mean levelling down people so much as levelling up people, not in killing incentive or initiative but forever widening the range of opportunity for all .

"In speaking before the Far East America Council of Commerce and Industry and the National Foreign Trade Council in New York I made a full statement about our industrial policy and I will therefore not reiterate the details here Suffice it to say on this occasion that we have thrown open to private enterprise all industries except a very few which were state-controlled even before the partition of British India that we welcome foreign capital on a mutually profitable basis and that to encourage industry we have adopted several measures such as the reduction of import duty on equipment, placing several raw

materials on the free import list, relief in taxation for new industries, *etc*, *etc*, and that we place restriction on the transfer of earnings, profits, *etc*, except those of general application under Exchange Control Regulations

"Let me now revert to my mission of peace The greatest threat to the peace of the world would be instability in Asia It is our firm conviction that unless Asia is stabilised, world peace is not possible And the greatest fact of Asia is the backwardness and poverty of the people and the mental confusion and doubts which arise in the mind of multitudes who have become politically free but are poor and ignorant

"In the midst of these disquieting circumstances, Pakistan with its religious belief in democracy and with the unity of its people—so rare amongst the new nations of Asia—stands firm as the most stabilising factor in an uneasy continent The basis of discontent in Asia as well as the various remedies suggested for its removal is economic It is by the efforts in this field that democratic governments of Asia will in the last analysis be judged I have told you of the efforts that we have been able to make during these three years, in spite of our handicaps and difficulties But in the task of the economic rehabilitation of the people we can only go a certain distance and no further—that is to say no further without international co-operation Our responsibility for peace lies in keeping our own house in order, in going ahead with the enormous task in front of us, of developing our resources, of educating our people and of demonstrating to them in actual practice the benefits of democracy But can we make up for the loss of centuries of technological advance and industrialisation sufficiently quickly to give weight and substance to our contribution to world peace ? The answer is that we cannot by ourselves—few countries can by themselves—discharge this great responsibility as effectively and as vigorously as is necessary, without international co-operation and without enlightened internationalism The resources of the world must be more broadly distributed by stimulating the entire economies of the underdeveloped countries, by equipping such countries to develop their natural resources and by sharing with them the technical knowledge and the experience of the more advanced countries—and not by exploitation, for this century is a century of great awakenings and I sincerely hope and believe that exploitation is now twice accursed—blighting him that gives and him that takes . .

"International co-operation without exploitation, to our mind, is the most efficacious and far-reaching programme that the world can

follow today in order to save itself from the horrors of war and perhaps of total destruction In the pursuit of this aim we ask you to bless our efforts as we shall bless yours "

PAKISTAN, THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE FUTURE

On May 31, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressed the Canadian Houses of Parliament in Joint Session in the House of Commons Chamber in Ottawa In his speech, he summarised the high points in Pakistan's recent history and stressed the immanent values in the Commonwealth

"In permitting me to address you here today within these walls, you have conferred upon me great honour and privilege which I value very highly and for which in the name of my country and my nation I thank you

"As the recipient of this signal token of your esteem my thoughts at this moment turn to the struggle which made it possible for our people to emerge as a free democratic nation to take their rightful place amongst the free nations of the world For in honouring me today you honour them, their freedom and the memory of that courageous man who guided their footsteps towards the goal of liberty You will pardon me, therefore, if on this memorable occasion I am reminded of the father of our nation and the founder of our freedom, our Great Leader, our Quaid-i-A'zam, Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, of revered memory, without whose vision, determination and burning honesty, Pakistan might have remained a vague longing and a distant dream and the reality, of which my humble presence in your august company today is but a symbol, might never have been born A sincere patriot, a passionate follower of the democratic idea and a man who saw farther and more clearly than his fellows, he led the Muslims of British India out of their perplexities and frustrations into the open air of freedom and gave shape, significance and direction to their quest for liberty All his life he fought for freedom but since he fought for the substance and not for the shadow, for the thing and not for the word, he let no illusions or catch-phrases obscure his penetrating insight or confound his grasp of the essentials He struggled long and hard to forge the diverse peoples of his subcontinent into a mighty nation But foremost as he was in the ranks of those who fought for

independence, he was also the first to perceive the inexorable logic of facts, and when the time came, to proclaim fearlessly that the people of British India, bound together though they were in their common subjection, were not one, but two nations, and that to relegate one hundred million Muslims to the position of a perpetual political minority and to force the Hindu nation and the Muslim nation into a single unwieldy state would be the negation of democracy and would create the greatest single unstable area in the world The great truth that he uttered was so startling in its simplicity that for a long time even some of his close friends and companions found it stimulating, but strange But the hundred million suppressed Muslims knew instinctively that what he said merely gave coherence and dynamism to their own hesitant inarticulate feelings. When on the 15th of August, 1957, our flag was unfurled in Karachi, a nation of eighty million people thanked God that the Quaid-i-A'zam had lived to see his dream come true And when he left us to rest in God to whose greater glory he had dedicated himself, we knew that he had dequeathed to us a great destiny to fulfil Wherever the flag of Pakistan may fly, its capital shall always be that hallowed piece of earth where he lies buried

"The three years that have elapsed brought with them many a trial that we expected and many others that we did not The mass migration that took place between our country and our neighbour and a great shock to our economy and a great strain on our administrative machinery, which, it will be recalled, had to be set up within a period of two months for a population of eighty million and for a territory that was spread far and wide But our experiences, whether grave or stimulating, only convinced us that the historic decision that the Muslims of British India had taken, to work for a state of their own, was eminently justified What is more, the events of these early years and the manner in which the people of Pakistan faced them, have filled us with hope and confidence for the future It was not the maturity of our administration or any previous experience or preparation that helped us to tide over the almost insurmountable difficulties that appeared in our way Experience or preparedness we had none; for there had been no time for these. It was for fortitude and the determination and the self-sacrifice of the common man and woman which came to our rescue and gave our young state a momentum which will not be easily exhausted and which we believe will grow in strength. No new state could have been launched on its career under greater handicaps But these three years of

struggle have made us a wiser and more unified nation than we could have otherwise hoped to become within such a short time Although they demanded great courage, patience and vigilance, they have endeared our freedom to us even more and have shown to us very clearly the path to a bright future

"To what use do the Muslims who form the majority of the people of Pakistan propose to put their freedom ? This is a question which we as a nation have pointedly asked ourselves and to which we have a clear and unhesitating answer

"First, we are determined that the Muslims in our State shall be enabled to order their lives in accordance with their faith, that at the same time our minorities shall enjoy full rights of citizenship and shall freely profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures, and that their legitimate interest and the interests of the backward and depressed classes shall be adequately safeguarded

"Second, we are pledged to the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam This does not mean theocracy, for Islam does not believe either in priesthood or in the caste system On the contrary our conception of democracy is possibly even more comprehensive than that which is contained in the institutions of universal franchise and majority rule. For it embraces social and economic justice, the right of private ownership, of each individual to enjoy the fruit of his honest labour—and yet with laws and institutions designed to eliminate destitution and to place healthy checks on vast accumulations of unearned wealth

"All this we call the Islamic way of life and pursue it because as Muslims we could not follow any other ideology or seek guidance from any other source but God, whose injunctions we believe these to be. To abandon these principles would be for us to destroy, instead of create, what we hope to build up and for which we demanded independence and reedom and a separate state.

"Third, we are resolved to safeguard our freedom at all costs, whatever the threat and whatever the quarter from which aggression may face us For our own part we have no aggressive designs and consider it our moral responsibility to pursue the path of peace and to help in the maintenance of peace and stability everywhere, particularly in the uneasy continent of Asia, on whose future, according to our way of thinking, world peace very largely depends. Nowhere in Asia are the circumstances for the development of the democratic idea more naturally favourable than they are in Pakistan, for nowhere are people more unified and more determined to apply their moral

concepts of equality and social and economic justice to promote human welfare and to resist any attempt to tamper with their beliefs. But democracy, in Pakistan or elsewhere, is of little use to the common man unless its advantages are made available to him in his daily life and his standard of living is raised at least to a level which gives him a substantial stake in the way of life which he had chosen for himself.

"We are fully conscious of this and consider it our foremost duty to develop the resources of our country at the greatest possible speed Even in the days of our greatest anxieties we were able to go ahead with this task, and though much remains to be done we are glad that we have been able to revive our trade, to plan for the development of our irrigation, the expansion and modernisation of our agriculture and the utilisation of our power resources, to keep our budgets balanced and to throw the gates wide open to private enterprise in our industrial development. For this task there is nothing more essential to us and nothing that we could or do desire more passionately than peace

"I know that in Canada I am among friends and speaking to people who are in the same family circle as Pakistan. I feel, therefore, that I can speak somewhat more intimately than is perhaps usual on formal occasions Your great country and our young state both belong to the Commonwealth of Nations. I am not one of those who would demand that the bond which exists between the various members of the Commonwealth be minutely defined. It is enough for me to know that they all basically have the same constitution, even though one of them may be monarchy and other a republic, and all subscribe to the common principles of democracy, freedom and peace. In the uneasy, apprehensive world of today, such a large group of nations with so much identity in their declared aims should be a heartening spectacle to mankind. No practical person would therefore wish wantonly for its distintegration.

"Two facts, however, I would humbly and respectfully commend to your attention. First, that with the growth of three Asiatic members of the Commonwealth to the status of dominions, the notion that the Commonwealth ties are mainly religious, historical or racial must be regarded as having outlived its use. If the Commonwealth does nothing more than give the world a lead in establishing the brotherhood of man, irrespective of race, creed or colour, it will still have made a notable contribution to the cause of human welfare. Second, that since the greatest fear of the world is the fear of war,

under whose shadow progress alters its aims and millions of humble men and women wait helplessly and apprehensively for an undeserved doom, the Commonwealth has great opportunities for raising the hopes of mankind by outlawing war and aggression and the use of coercion or force as a method of settling disputes amongst its own members. We sincerely believe that in this way this free association of free nations can set the world an inspiring example and can give greater reality and efficacy not only to itself but also to the charter of the United Nations, to whose aims we are all pledged and whose success we all pray for.

"The ideals of a freedom-loving, democratic, but young and underdeveloped country such as ours could be epitomised in three words—peace, progress and co-operation. These three are but aspects of the same fundamental urge, for there can be no progress without peace, no peace without progress and the removal of the economic disequilibrium so apparent in Asia, which keeps more than half the world in proverty and the ferment of discontent, or without international co-operation, which we believe to be the greatest need of all countries, great and small. In the pursuit of democratic ideals few countries have shown greater sincerity of purpose and a higher quality of quiet determination than yours. Blessed with the wealth of natural resources, you have shown the world how a nation, by dint of hard work, by its unity, its sturdy moral qualities, its progressive yet modest outlook, its wide international sympathies and its neighbourliness, can raise itself to great heights, bringing happiness to many and fear to none among those who love peace and honour the freedom of others as they do their own I am sure that we can look forward to a long period of friendship between our two countries, and that in any joint moral undertaking to promote the welfare of mankind and goodwill and peace among nations, Pakistan and Canada will be more than friends God bless your country and its people."

BROADCAST FROM LONDON

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a recorded broadcast to the British nation from London on July 11, 1950, said

' In Korea, we are witnessing an armed conflict which is the result of undoubted aggression by North Koreans against South Koreans.

The gravity of this cannot be minimised. The world needs peace and the people of Asia need it desperately. It is tragic indeed that peace in Asia should stand imperilled today No one can predict with certainty what and where the repercussions of this situation will be. But it is certain that the world cannot afford a third world war.

"Pakistan as a loyal member of the United Nations has supported the resoluton of the Security Council on the Korean situation Pakistan wants to live in peace with her neighbours and with all other countries and would always continue to regard it a sacred mission to give every assistance in the cause of peace and freedom

"The alarming tension that existed between these two countries (India and Pakistan) was eased considerably when Pandit Nehru, Indian Prime Minister, and I came to an agreement last April about the status of minorities and the protection of their rights and properties in both the countries

"We have been implementing faithfully the commitments we entered into. But Pakistan and India have still many unresolved difficulties and in fact many serious problems . We have no other desire except to live on the friendliest terms with India, which is not only our neighbour but is at the same time a member of the same family of Commonwealth of Nations to which Pakistan belongs

"I am happy to have this opportunity of speaking to the people of Great Britain. My wife and I are on our way back after visiting the great democracies across the Atlantic, the United States of America and Canada, the oldest Dominion of the Commonwealth Our visit to these two countries was most interesting and instructive Everywhere we were received with great cordiality, hospitality and warmth of real friendship We found all around a keen desire to know more about Pakistan, to understand the problems that confront its people and to learn something about its future We talked to the peoples of these democracies, which have survived the test of time, what Pakistan stands for and what we conceive to be its destiny It was very heartening to see the eagerness of the people everywhere to understand and appreciate the difficulties which the people of Pakistan had been facing since the birth of their country

"You in this country are better acquainted with the odds against which we had to struggle We had to begin from scratch During British rule, we had remained a backward people except perhaps in the army where the Muslims had a long soldierly tradition behind them, and had won honour for themselves in the two world wars. Not many of us were traders, fewer still were bankers or technicians or engineers or

doctors On the day of our freedom we found ourselves with a depleted civil service, a scattered and an unorganised army, a communication system completely disrupted by civil strife and mass migrations, and trade and commerce completely disorganised and brought to a standstill.

"All this was but natural because we were asked to set up in a short period of two months, the machinery of a Government for 80 million people and a country as large as France, Italy, Holland and Belgium put together As if all this was not enough, almost the day Pakistan came into existence, a flood of Muslim refugees from India started pouring into Pakistan, refugees who were deprived of their all, who were hungry, unclothed and wounded Within about six months, we received in West Pakistan over seven million refugees but the people of Pakistan did not lose faith. Though anxious, they stood firm as a rock

"By sheer hard work and determination of the people and the Government of Pakistan and their unshakeable faith in their destiny, they surmounted all these difficulties which seemed at first sight to be simply overwhelming Millions of refugees have been settled and are employed usefully. The defence services have been organised and equipped and Pakistan today has one of the finest and best disciplined armies in the world Trade and commerce have been fully revived and Pakistan is one of the few countries in the world to have a favourable balance of trade with the dollar area

"But what perhaps is the source of satisfaction to us is the fact that Pakistan is politically and financially the most stable country in Asia and more than many countries in Europe. At the same time it is one of the most unified countries in the world. Our main task now is to develop our country and to improve the living standard of the common man without which there can be no real progress. I am glad to know that there is now better appreciation of the problems and achievements of Pakistan in this country.

"There are, however, still many fields in which Pakistan would welcome greater co-operation. All that Pakistan desires is peace, peace to carve out its own way of life based on Islamic principles of equality, brotherhood of man, social justice and democracy."

TOUR IMPRESSIONS OF AMERICA & CANADA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on July 19, 1950 in a broadcast speech from Radio Pakistan Karachi expressed his tour impressions of America and Canada

"As you all know, Begum Liaquat and I have just returned from our tour of America and Canada On our return we received telegrams, letters and messages from our friends and well-wishers in Pakistan and other countries, expressing satisfaction and happiness on our safe return home and extolling our achievements in America I regret we were unable to acknowledge these expressions of goodwill individually On behalf of Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan and myself, I wish to thank them all We have been greatly touched by the sincere expression of goodwill contained in these messages We believe in serving Pakistan and our highest ambition is that God may grant us the strength and opportunity to serve our people and our dear land, Pakistan, to our last breath

"I am grateful to President Truman, for having extended to us an invitation to visit America This visit not only enabled me to see the American people and their wonderful country but also gave me an occasion to inform the inhabitants of that country about the birth of Pakistan, its short but eventful history and the Islamic way of life adopted as an ideal by the people of this country It is not a matter for surprise if most of the people in the world of today do not know of Pakistan and its affairs because it is hardly three years since it sprang into existence It is, however, a matter for satisfaction that such people as have had the occasion to learn about Pakistan have found themselves unable to restrain their expression of pleasant surprise and have paid generous tribute to the sacrifice, determination and courage of the people of Pakistan. I can say without fear of contradiction that our people richly deserve this tribute

"We arrived in Washington on May 3, and after a short stay of three days there we started on a tour which included the cities of New York, Chicago, Kansas, San Francisco, Los Angles, Houston and New Orleans. On May 23, we arrived in Boston where the tour programme concluded on May 26. We visited at least one major city in almost every part of the United States USA is a vast country and it is only after travelling through this land that one realises how much the culture of the Eastern States differs from that of the Western States and how much the culture of the Southern States is different from that of the Western and Eastern States The differences are not

fundamental nevertheless they are quite important.

"America has drawn upon almost all European countries for its population and all of them have made a distinct contribution in evolving American culture This intermingling has imparted a freshness to the life of the American people and a newcomer to the United States finds this aspect of their life highly interesting. We had the opportunity of meeting all classes of people and of visiting so many different institutions including such institutions as are interested only in international affairs and those concerned mainly with industry and commerce We went to see different colleges, factories and workshops as well as public welfare centres Besides these, we also inspected hospitals and special organisations of women and children.

"In the Western States, we saw agricultural laboratories where farming is done by the most modern mechanical methods. There is hardly any side of life in America which escaped our study. We examined everything with a view to studying the extent to which it could be transferred to Pakistan Not for a moment did we lose sight of the interest and progress of Pakistan. This tour proved not only interesting but highly instructive. All that we have learnt in these countries will prove helpful to us in the service of Pakistan. Wherever we went we were received with warmth and generous hospitality In fact the people of America and Canada left nothing to be desired in the matter of hospitality and they proved themselves excellent hosts

"Whenever and wherever we met the people of America and Canada we talked to them of Pakistan and of the sentiments which urged hundred million Muslims to stake their all to achieve Pakistan. These hundred million Muslims constituting a part of the population of pre-partition British India wanted to mould their lives according to their faith and their traditions. Nearly fifty to sixty years of political struggle led these Muslims to the inevitable conclusion that in a United India, it is no longer possible for them to mould their lives according to the Islamic tenets or to stand on their own legs economically They decided, therefore, to carve out for themselves a separate State, where they would be able to lead a life of complete independence At this juncture, the Muslims found a great leader who built their dreams into reality. I mean, our great Quaid-i-A'zam who inspired unity of thought and unity of action in Muslims and who in the face of extreme opposition from the enemies of our freedom, who resented the establishment of Pakistan, gave form and shape to the ideal of Pakistan. We also recounted the troubles and tribulations

through which our people had to pass after Pakistan came into being so much so that even our friends began to have misgivings about the possibility of the survival of Pakistan I told them that our enemies firmly believed at the time that Pakistan would not live beyond three or four months, but that through the perseverence, sacrifice and ceaseless efforts of our people, we were not only able to stabilise Pakistan but to develop it from strength to strength

' Our enemies in America had given currency to all sorts of wrong impressions regarding Pakistan They had particularly presented in an ugly and ridiculous form the idea of the Islamic State and the Islamic way of living The people of America had been led to believe that we are a reactionary people wanting to bring into being a social structure where narrow-mindedness, hard heartedness and persecution would hold their sway, where social and cultural decadence would rule the minds of the people, where education would be restricted to a superficial study of a few religious books and where civilisation would gradually die out

"When the fundamental principles of Islam were explained to the people of America, they experienced a pleasant surprise We explained to them our belief that Islam represented the highest stage of human evolution and the basic principles of our religion were alone able to give an immortal system to the world Islam is a religion which inculcates the spirit of equality, fraternity and democracy and teaches us that material progress is like a structure which, outwardly grand and impressive, stands on trial foundations and cannot stand the slightest shock It has been repeatedly impressed by the Prophet of God upon his followers that God loves the diligent and that the idle and the indolent are sinners, it has also been enjoined that every man should be allowed to get the fruit of legitimate labour No other religion considers the acquisition of knowledge as necessary as Islam

"We have made it clear that minorities in Pakistan have the same rights as the Muslims in the country The Government of Pakistan is not only anxious to safeguard the rights and privileges of minorities but is also anxious to extend a very generous treatment to them Before I undertook the journey to America, I entered into an agreement with the Prime Minister of India in which a special emphasis has been laid on safeguarding the rights of minorities The Government of Pakistan has been doing all it can to implement the clauses of this agreement and will continue to do so If it is possible to lay down better principles than those of Islam for laying the foundations of a solid world democracy, we invite our opponents to

come out with these principles The people of the present day world are torn between different mental attitudes and misunderstandings and do not know what course they should choose for themselves We believe that the right course was set for us over 1,300 years ago

"Another erroneous impression given to the American people was that our women are backward, that they have no right and privileges and no role to play in our daily social life in which they have no voice We told them that the facts were contrary to the impressions gained by them Islam was the first religion to recognise certain rights and privileges for women and today the women of Pakistan enjoy the same status and rights as those enjoyed by their sisters in any other country of the world Not only that, the part which our women folk played and the services which they rendered in the achievement of Pakistan are by no means less than those rendered by men The *muhajireen* will ever cherish a grateful memory of thanks to the sincere and painstaking services rendered by our women for their zeal and welfare. There is no aspect of our life in Pakistan in which our women are not doing their share of work They have not only the right of adult franchise but they have also been elected on the Provincial and Legislative Assemblies and are performing their duties very efficiently. These facts gave a pleasant surprise to the people of America and Canada.

"We apprised the people of America how and what projects had been planned for the development of Pakistan and how far these projects have been implemented Those anxious to establish trade relations with Pakistan were deeply impressed by the schemes relating to our industrial progress We had detailed discussions with prominent industrialists and business magnates in different parts of America and Canada regarding the industrial and agricultural development of Pakistan Their advice was very profitable. Equally encouraging was their desire to assist us in our efforts to promote the industrial and commercial development of our country which, I am confident, will in the long run brighten our prospects.

"Lastly, we laid emphasis on all that Pakistan could do to stabilise peaceful conditions in Asia and explained to them the geographical importance of Pakistan. We told them that in every respect Pakistan was the most stable country in Asia today The people in America were also highly impressed by the fact that for the last three years, ever since its creation, Pakistan has presented a balanced budget and has been maintaining a favourable trade balance with other countries. This factor alone speaks volumes about Pakistan's

financial stability

"All those whom we met were not only interested in listening to our accounts of Pakistan but were keen to learn all possible things about our country They were highly impressed by the determination and sense of sacrifice of our people Many persons told me that the re-settlement of seven million refugees was in itself a huge task, the accomplishment of which was nothing short of a miracle

"In Canada too the people talked of Pakistan affectionately especially because Canada and Pakistan were both members of Commonwealth of Nations I delivered a speech in the combined session of the House of Commons and the Senate there which was received with great attention and interest. When I met Mr. MecKenzie King, who has been the Prime Minister of Canda for a long time, he embraced me and with tears in his eyes told me that for the last 30 years he had not seen so much enthusiasm and interest as had been shown on the occasion of my speech in the Parliament of Canada

"I fully appreciate that we were warmly received in these countries only because we represented the people of Pakistan During the last three years our people have established glorious and memorable record of their achievement in such a way as to excite the admiration of the whole world I am sure, as a result of our visit, the relations between Pakistan and other countries we visited have become closer and friendly and this will be useful for all This tour has not only brought the people of Canada and U S A closer to Pakistan but other countries have also begun to take more interest in our country. The eyes of the people of the world are now focused on Pakistan and they are waiting to see how far we succeed in translating our ideology into action. The responsibility of every one amongst us has thus become greater

"During this tour we got the opportunity to discuss the problems facing Pakistan and also the question of her integrity and safety with the statesmen and politicians of the United Kingdom, U S A. and Canada. We also had some talks about obtaining such material which may be needed for strengthening and stabilising Pakistan I have no time to go into details but it would be sufficient to say that discussions on this subject evoked deep interest and sympathy and I am fully satisfied with the success achieved as a result of these talks

"This tour was interesting as well as instructive and useful. The secret underlying the present greatness of America is her industrial development. The same holds true for Canada which in a space

of a few years will rank among the richest countries of the world God has given plenty of resources to these two countries but for reaping full advantage from them hard work and scientific knowledge are essential. It is surprising to see how the people in these countries work hard and apply themselves to the acquisition of knowledge. Their love for their country is unique The love for their land and hard work by the people has made America today one of the most magnificent, powerful and rich countries of the world. Pakistan too has been endowed with all kind of resources and it should therefore be our objective to bring our land to the level of these countries.

"We should not content ourselves with rate countries The people of Pakistan have been gifted with all essential qualities. The need of the hour is that all of us should work day and night to gain our objective as early as possible. For the attainment of our goal, hard work and unity are equally essential The secret of our past achievements was in our having acted unitedly and there is no reason why we should not continue to work with the same unity of purpose for our future Unity is a great boon which has taken the nations to the zenith of their glory and has contributed towards real happiness and contentment

"Discord has brought ruin to many a mighty and civilised nation, complete unity of purpose was the dominant factor which in a space of a few years enabled us to achieve Pakistan, and this spirit of unity gave us power and strength to surmount the difficulties which came in our way. Our success in future will be conditioned by the measure of unity among us. Do not forget that there are certain mischievous elements among us who for selfish motives endeavour to create a rift in our ranks. They are the enemies of their country, I am sure they will not succeed in misleading the people of Pakistan. Pakistan has been created for the good of the masses and if the lot of the common man does not improve, then the attainment of Pakistan, I think, will have been in vain To develop Pakistan and make it prosperous, one necessary condition is that there should be peace in the world. We, therefore, desire peace to prevail everywhere. It is not our desire to pick up quarrels with any country and in case differences do arise, it will be our constant endeavour to remove them by peaceful means.

"In these circumstances the outbreak of hostilities in Korea has deeply grieved us No one can deny that North Korea has been deliberately guilty of armed aggression against South Korea. No fair-minded person can but sympathise with South Korea Events have now taken a critical turn and nobody can say when and where the

repercussions of these hostilities will be felt It is a very sad situation that at a time when peace is most needed in Asia, the chances of preserving it are greatly jeopardised It is known to everybody that the world will probably not survive the third world war It is, therefore, the duty of every peace-loving person that he should exert his all to put down the flames of Korean war as quickly as possible

"As a member of the United Nations, Pakistan has supported the resolution of the Security Council on Korea It will be proper to explain why we adopted this course The object of establishing a United Nations Organisation was to solve by peaceful means all those conflicts which arise between various countries from time to time so that the world is rid of forever of the curse of war This is only possible when every member lends its unflinching support to the decisions of this organisation and endeavours to see that the organisation of the United Nations in reality becomes a body whose decision would be acceptable without any hesitation to every country If, however, in the event of one country invading another, we decide not to uphold the decision of the Security Council or the United Nations, then the existence of such an organisation amongst us would have been wasted. Pakistan has lent its support to the decision of the Security Council purely in the interest of maintaining peace and no other decision was possible for Pakistan

"Before leaving for Pakistan, we had to get admission in a hospital for treatment and had to stay there for three weeks During all this time we were very anxious to return home as early as possible, in order to resume our duties of service to our country I pray to God that all my efforts to serve Pakistan and its people may bear fruit and He may bestow prosperity, peace and unity on our homeland I am confident that Pakistan has a glorious future and our people possess the essential ability to work for its advancement. As I have already said, ceaseless work is necessary for the achievement of our goal

"In the end, on behalf of the people and the Government of Pakistan, I offer my heart-felt thanks to the Governments and peoples of America and Canada for the very warm reception which was accorded to us. I assure them that we cherish sincere feelings of friendship for them all, and we pray to Almighty God for their prosperity and happiness as well as for the maintenance of peace in the world Let us pray to Almighty God that He may grant us strength to do our duty faithfully. Let us pray that God may grant us strength to work for the prosperity and safety of Pakistan Let us pray that our efforts may bear fruit and we may be able to present to the world

such a pattern of life which is based on true principles of Islam and which is worth emulating *Pakistan Zindabad* "

SPEECH AT THE JEHANGIR PARK, KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan at a public meeting at the Jehangir Park in Karachi on August 14, 1950 surveying the progress made by Pakistan in the various national and international spheres of activities said

"Today our independence is three years old Today when we are celebrating our independence we should pray for peace to the soul of the Quaid-i A zam, because it is the result of his selfless service and enlightened leadership that eight crore people are today celebrating their independence Today, we must not forget those lakhs of sons of Islam who sacrificed their all, even their dear lives, so that Muslims could lead an independent life as a separate nation in this subcontinent This is not the day when only the Government should render an account of its activities, today every Pakistani should search his heart to find out what he has done for the progress, stability and well-being of Pakistan, to find out whether he has done his duty or has stopped short of it If your and my heart's voice says that we have not done our duties, we should pledge ourselves afresh to do our mite during the next 12 months for the well-being and progress of Pakistan

"The present times are such that no country can afford to confine its vision to its own boundaries It is necessary for every country today to establish relations with other countries and to strengthen them In brief every country today must have a foreign policy. The foreign policy of the Government of Pakistan is based on the following two foundations

1 We should establish friendly relations with all the countries of the world, and,

2 Our relations with the Muslim countries should not only be friendly, but brotherly, and that they should be made stronger everyday, because the mission of Pakistan can achieve its success only when we make other Muslim countries join it.

"The Muslims on this globe number about 40 crores This strength in numbers can play a great part in the international politics

of today

"Pakistan has established diplomatic relations with a number of countries during the past 12 months, namely, the Soviet Union, Ceylon, Canada, Sweden, Denmark, Syria, Switzerland and Indonesia The Muslims of Indonesia have very lately gained their freedom Seven crore more Muslims have now achieved their freedom Our relations with this Muslim country are friendly and brotherly The visit of the President of this State, though for a very short period, last year, has cemented the bonds of friendship between Indonesia and Pakistan and I hope that the relations between these two countries would grow stronger and stronger with the passage of time

"Pakistan concluded treaties of friendship with Iran and Iraq during the past 12 months. Last year the Shah of Iran visited Pakistan and the way in which Pakistanis welcomed him proved once again that Muslims, no matter where they are, are brothers. His visit to Pakistan has further strengthened Pakistan-Iran relations

"Pakistan has been striving for the independence of other Muslim countries (not yet independent) I am particularly referring to Palestine, Eritrea and Libya Pakistan has been continuously striving for the independence of these countries and the peoples of these countries have openly acknowledged the efforts of Pakistan

"One important event in South-East Asia last year was the establishment of the Central Chinese People's Republic Pakistan has recognised this Government and I hope that diplomatic relations between China and Pakistan would be soon established Pakistan has supported the United Nations' resolution on Korea I maintain that Pakistan could not do anything else The United Nations Organisation was established on the principle that disputes between two countries should not be solved by war but peacefully If today, we decide that international disputes would be decided, not peacefully, but by war, it would send humanity on its doom Pakistan has always been striving towards the establishment of friendly relations between the countries of the world It has been our policy that international disputes should be solved peacefully. Pakistan can never agree to the settlement of international dispues by war Fifty-three Members of the United Nations Organisation have supported the resolution on Korea. Their decision is right, because if there can be any hope of the survival of humanity, it can be through the survival of the United Nations. Those who are criticising the Government for its decision on Korea are ignorant. The times are no more when a nation could confine itself and its vision to its own

boundaries. This is the age of international relations If Pakistan does not maintain and establish international relations, her place in the comity of nations would be nil

"So far as the question of aid (to Korea) is concerned, every country has first to see whether there is plenty for the safeguard of its own independence *One can give aid to others only when one's own* house is not in danger The Government of Pakistan is, however, considering the question I should like to remind you that Muslims do not back on their word and do not break their promises We have to see whether we can give assistance to the United Nations in Korea and if we can, we will certainly give assistance

"Our relations with Burma are very friendly and we consult each other on all international problems. Pakistan has recently given a loan of £ 5,00,000 to Burma

"'For over two years, after the establishment of Pakistan, our relations with India remained such that the two countries could not prosper, our relations were unpleasant. Not only that, we regarded each other as our worst enemy During the last year, soon before the conclusion of the April Pact (on minorities), Indo-Pakistan relations had deteriorated to the worst Pandit Nehru had then said that we were on the verge of war Then came the Pact between Pandit Nehru and myself in Delhi This was only the first step. At that time Muslims were pouring into East Bengal from West Bengal and Assam, and Hindus from East Bengal were leaving for Assam and West Bengal The situation was worsening. It was not only a question of relations between the two countries, but of the lives and honour of lakhs of people We agreed that we would safeguard the minorities in our respective countries, treat them as brothers, and look after their life, property and honour So far as Pakistan is concerned, every individual has fully endorsed this Pact. After the Pact the relations between Pakistan and India suddenly showed improvement, and the poison that was running between them disappeared. So far as we are concerned, I want to assure India that everyone of us would honestly implement this Pact. Not only this, we are Muslims, and as such it is our duty to accord the same treatment to the non-Muslim minority (cheers) Islam, ethics and humanity teach us to accord this treatment to the minorities I want to assure the minorities that we will treat them as we do others in Pakistan. They should not be apprehensive or fearful. Pakistan is their country as it was mine or of any other Muslim. But they must remember that this right imposes the same duties on them as are enjoined on the Muslims of

this land. We hoped that after this Pact we would be able to arrive at mutual agreements on other Indo-Pakistan problems like Kashmir, canal waters and evacuee property, but unfortunately we have not made much progress in that direction

"I have repeatedly told Pandit Nehru that we want just and peaceful solution of all the Indo-Pakistan questions. If we cannot arrive at any agreement mutually, we should refer such of these questions to arbitration as can be arbitrated What more proof is needed of our claim that we are in the right and are sincere? I am confident that Pandit Nehru and his Government wish fully to implement the Pact But, there is still a class in India, term it as the Hindu Mahasabha, the RSS or as you may, which is vomiting venom against the Pact, from the pulpit and the platform and in the Press They are inciting the Indian public They are demanding police action against East Bengal In other words, they are demanding war against Pakistan I ask them not to even mention war. They do not know what war is The conception of war in our subcontinent is that it is happening somewhere in Europe, while black marketeers are making money here. War is something very destructive In the country in which it happens black-marketeers do not roll in money I ask them not to mention war This would only make relations between the two countries unpleasant (cheers) Pakistan is not afraid of war (more cheers and slogans of "*Pakistan Zindabad*"). We will do only that which is demanded by justice Those who are talking of war are doing good neither to India nor to Pakistan It is essential for the well-being and progress of this subcontinent that relations between the two countries should remain friendly

"Now I turn to Afghanistan. Whatever I would say in this regard would come from a sorrowful heart, because Afghanistan is not only our neighbour but a Muslim country. Unfortunately, a few persons in Afghanistan who are at the helm of affairs there, are unreasonably inimical towards Pakistan We have told them repeatedly that we are prepared to help Afghanistan in every possible way, that we want to keep not only friendly but brotherly relations with Afghanistan. We are prepared to accord the best treatment to Afghanistan, but one thing should be clear that we can never agree to the cession of even one inch of the sacred soil of Pakistan (Prolonged cheers).

"Now I would say something about the defence of Pakistan. A country's foreign relations depend, to a great extent, on its defence. It is essential for a country to be equipped with all the means of

defence It is essential for a country to be equipped with all the means of defence to guard its honour and prestige You know what our forces were like at the time of the establishment of Pakistan The way the people of Pakistan, during these three years, have strengthened the armed might of Pakistan by suffering hunger and privation would be written in golden letters in the history of Pakistan There is no country in the world which, depending entirely on its own resources, has strengthened its defences as Pakistan has done (cheers) You will be pleased to hear that today Pakistan's Army is considered to be one of the best armies of the world

"It is not possible for me to tell you exactly the improvements effected in our armed forces and the strength added to them, but you have seen the ceremonial march past this morning and you can yourselves very well assess the difference At a similar march past in 1947 there appeared on the horizon only four aircraft and they, too, gathered from all over Pakistan and what you have seen today is only a portion of our Air Force We have recently added two destroyers to our Navy and a third one is expected to join our fleet shortly

"Today, our Army is as well-equipped as that of any other country We have opened many training centres for our armed forces where, besides the usual training, advanced training in engineering, *etc*, is imparted The Government have decided that all the important posts in our armed forces should be occupied by Pakistanis, because no army can be called a national army unless all the important posts in it are held by the nationals of that country Most of the important posts in our armed forces are today held by Pakistanis and towards the end of this year or early next year the Commander-in-Chief would be a Pakistani (cheers) I hope that we would shortly announce who would be that fortunate Pakistani

"It is a source of pride to us that, in spite of being burdened with heavy expenditure on many items, we have been able to present three balanced budgets In spite of reductions in taxes, we have increased expenditure on schemes guaranteeing prosperity to the country. Whenever we announced the floating of any loan, we got response in excess of what we wanted This is a proof of the fact that Pakistan's economic condition is sound The provinces are also improving their economic condition We have set up a Refugee Rehabilitation Corporation which has given loans to the tune of Rs. 40 lakhs We are constructing a shoe-makers' colony at a cost of Rs. 7.5 lakhs We are providing cheap yarn to the handloom industry Our people are not

paying the attention to industry that it deserves, because some of them have no experience in the field, while others are taking to trade which gives a quick return The Industrial Finance Corporation, set up to promote small-scale industries, has given loans to the extent of Rs. 77 5 lakhs Banks are another pre-requisite for the soundness of a country's economy At the time of partition, we had no bank of our own. Today we have 34 Commercial Banks, with 251 branches, functioning in Pakistan Then, there is the National Bank of Pakistan Now we have our own currency and probably by the next month we will replace the present two-anna Indian coin, which is the last Indian coin legal tender in Pakistan, by our own two-anna bits.

"I once again assure that our decision in September last not to devalue our currency was motivated purely by economic considerations and had nothing to do with politics India forced a trade deadlock with us after our no-devaluation decision, hoping that she would succeed in reducing the exchange ratio of our rupee But the value of our rupee is the same today. One year's experience in non-devaluation has convinced us that our decision was right This decision has immensely affected the world. Now the various countries of the world know that the economic condition of Pakistan is so sound that her decision of no-devaluation has stood the test of time In spite of India's absence from her markets, Pakistan has succeeded in exporting to other countries all her exportable surpluses in various commodities like cotton and jute Our trade policy is to expand our trade with as many countries of the world as possible and not to depend on one country We have concluded bilateral trade agreements with a number of countries We have increased our Merchant Navy during the last year. The Government has now decided to send some persons abroad for advanced training in this field

"We know that we cannot provide means of employment to the masses of Pakistan without opening new factories. To develop and help development of industry, we have established the Industrial Development Finance Corporation. The first result of it is that three jute mills are going to be established in East Pakistan One of these mills would start functioning next year, the second the year after next and the third two years hence

"Some new cotton textile mills are being set up. We decided at a target of ten lakh spindles some time ago. Last year, the total strength of spindles in Pakistan was 1 lakh and 75 thousand. This year, the number is expected to increase to 3 lakhs and 90 thousand.

We are also paying attention to the wool industry and have decided to send some persons abroad for advanced training. By next year Pakistan would become self sufficient in cigarettes, but I would advise you to smoke less (laughter) The new sugar mill set up in the N.-W.F P is the biggest in Asia I want to assure you that the Government of Pakistan and particularly myself will not consider our mission successful unless we rehabilitate all refugees But you must not forget that no country has received so many refugees as Pakistan has About 80 lakh refugees have so far arrived. Foreigners say that whatever we have done in rehabilitating and resettling the refugees is not short of a miracle We have decided to accord priority to refugee rehabilitation over all other problems, except defence (prolonged cheers) I want to remind the people that refugees have played a great role in the achievement of Pakistan. Pakistan could not have been achieved if the Indian Muslims had not striven (cheers) I have been pained to see that certain interested persons have exploited the miseries of the refugees. This is against the honour and glory of Pakistan Demonstrations like those staged in Karachi recently are shameful I hope that nobody would now be guilty of such shameful acts So far as those mischief-mongers (who exploited the miseries of the refugees) are concerned, I warn them that I would never tolerate any harm to the honour of Pakistan.

"There have come to Karachi since February, 1950, another 40,000 refugees The Government have decided to rehabilitate those refugees in Karachi who are homeless Last year, the Government sanctioned the Golimar housing scheme, costing Rs 1.5 crores Now the Government have blue-printed another scheme of developing 500 *acres* of land which would be distributed free to refugees to construct temporary houses. If this is not enough, the Government would do whatever more it can do Critics have said that the Government has not done anything to rehabilitate the refugees I ask them whether all the 80 lakh refugees are still unrehabilitated. But this is not an exclusive responsibility of the Government It is a responsibility which should be shared by every Pakistani, because the very existence of Pakistan depends on the solution of this problem. I ask those who are raising slogans against the Government what they have themselves done for refugee rehabilitation

"The Government have decided to open a house for disabled persons in Karachi A similar house will be opened for orphans and widows I hope that the well-to-do people, who have earned lakhs since the establishment of Pakistan would come forward to help the

Government in these noble tasks If they show miserliness, we will have to adopt some other method.

"The census of Pakistan which is to be held early in 1951 has some special significance Besides ascertaining the actual population of the country, we want to collect information regarding the professions followed by this population, so that we may be able to utilise this information while planning for the progress of Pakistan I hope every Pakistani would extend his co-operation to the Government in its efforts to gather correct information

"Today there are about 5,00,000 refugees from Kashmir in Pakistan Where can these poor refugees go after all if not to Pakistan? Pakistan is willing to help them within her limits But the refugees should not forget that if a boat is overcrowded it is in danger of capsizing Out of these 5,00,000 Kashmir refugees, about 1 00,000 in camps and about 3,50,000 scattered in villages, are getting free rations from the Government As the United Nations Representative is here, continuing his efforts with India and Pakistan, I would say only that I attach the same importance to the freedom of the Muslims of Kashmir as to the freedom of the Muslims of Pakistan We will continue our efforts for the liberation of the Muslims of Kashmir (cheers) But we are peace-loving. We want a peaceful solution of every dispute. There is no difference of opinion among Pakistanis over Kashmir All Pakistanis are united on the Kashmir question They have pledged themselves to the freedom of the Muslims of Kashmir

"We are also making satisfactory progress in the field of education. We have given grants-in aid of Rs. 10 lakhs each to the Dacca and Lahore Universities.

"The Government has always tried to solve labour disputes. Labour should be watchful, because the progress of Pakistan is their own progress and if they hamper production only they would be the losers.

"We can boast of the fact that during the past 12 months, not a single death occurred because of a rail accident

"The Government of Pakistan is continuously trying for the progress of the tribal areas, because the tribal people regard themselves as an integral part of Pakistan and *vice versa*.

"Criticism has been voiced that the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan is delaying constitution-making The delay is inevitable because we want to frame our constitution on a new ideology—on Islamic Principles. However, many committees, appointed by the

Assembly for this purpose have completed the task allotted to them Some delay is better than some vital mistake.

'In brief, during the past year, Pakistan made considerable progress in every field and the people of Pakistan can be rightly proud of this progress I congratulate particularly Government officials and servants and thank them for their hard work I know there are some black sheep in their midst, but on the whole they have played a great role in the building up of Pakistan I hope that in future they would work with more zeal and enthusiasm

"A certain *maulana* recently said in Karachi that I spent Rs 25 lakhs on my State visit to America. This statement does not contain even five per cent truth Such persons do not care much for truth and falsehood This is sad Muslims have great respect for the *'ulema* But *maulanas*, like the one I have referred to, are harmful to the honour of the *'ulema* They should be more careful than us while making statements Even our enemies have admitted that as a result of my visit in the States and Canada, the name of Pakistan and the principles of Islam were introduced to the people of these countries, Even if Rs 25 crores were spent on such a mission, it would not have been much He is the *maulana* who accuses us of not making Pakistan an Islamic State. I ask him 'Do you want the foundations of the Islamic State to be laid on falsehood ?

"They criticise the Pakistan Women's National Guard Do they want the women of Pakistan to be confined to the four-walls of their homes ? Do they want the women of Pakistan to be unable to save their honour and lives ? Do they want four crore women of Pakistan —half of the total population—to be paralysed ?'

"The same *maulana* has made the allegation that the PRODA has been enacted to vest the Government with powers to arrest its opponents. He has also alleged that reports on actions taken under the PRODA are not published So far only one case has been tried under the Act and the full report was published From where would come more reports when there have not been more cases ?

"Their remains the question of arresting opponents. I would tell him that the Government has other means to deal with opponents. Communists, though not active in West Pakistan, are trying to ruin East Pakistan by force But I want to tell them that as long as Pakistanis are true Muslims, they (the Communists) would not succeed in their evil designs

"It is said that civil liberties are being curtailed in Pakistan My claim is that in some cases they have become a licence in this country

The civil liberties that are enjoyed by the people of Pakistan are not enjoyed by any people of the world. If the Communists said in any other country what they do in Pakistan they would be wiped out.

"All the newspapers of Pakistan, except a few, have acted in an irresponsible manner. Theirs is a great mission, a noble duty, to create political consciousness among the masses of Pakistan. But most of them are engaged in factionalism. This is not the way of furthering the causes of journalism in Pakistan."

ROYAL PAKISTAN AIR FORCE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressing the officers and men of the RPAF prior to the grand RPAF display in Karachi on August 15, 1950 said:

"One year ago I reviewed squadrons of the Royal Pakistan Air Force on this airfield. Today it is again my proud and inspiring task to review the squadrons which took part in the fly past over the Independence Day parade yesterday and which are providing us with an air display this afternoon.

"The fact that 120 operational aircraft with their pilots and crews are facing me on this parade and that double the number of aircraft were able to fly over the Independence Day parade compared with last year is eloquent evidence of the growing power and efficiency of the Royal Pakistan Air Force. Numbers of aircraft, however, while they are the ultimate aim, are only indirect evidence of the expansion of our Air Force. During the last year, great strides have been made in repairing our deficiency in skilled tradesmen.

"You will appreciate that an air force firstly exists by the technical skill of its ground airmen and it takes anything upto three years to produce such a man. We have started a great school at Korangi Creek to produce apprentices who are given a most thorough training in all the elements of their trades. At Malir we now are running a very efficient school for the training of airmen in the science of radar which is the eyes of the fighter aircraft. Overseas we have sent young Pakistanis in hundreds to the United Kingdom and Australia for training as officers and airmen in the engineering, signals and other trades.

"At Mauripur we have started a twin-engine conversion school

for the training of pilots and crews from both service and civil aviation upto the highest standards demanded by the service and international civil aviation We have carried out a planned and successful campaign to make the youth of our nation air-minded and to produce the necessary reserves of skilled personnel both in the air and on the ground in the event of our country ever becoming forced into war. The Shahin Air Scouting Movement has been going for just a year and has produced the most encouraging results. Young boys of the best type are being trained on gliders so that they may one day be encouraged to join the ranks of civil aviation of the service in the air. Technical patrols of the Air Scouts have also been started so that other boys with a bent towards engineering may learn the elements of aeronautical science which they can ultimately divert towards the progress of aviation in Pakistan The University Air Squadrons, to recruit the best educated youth of the country into the air, are a going concern and such has been the response from this movement that it is hoped that it will provide the bulk of future air crews for the Royal Pakistan Air Force. The training of a pilot to operational standards takes at least two years, so it is essential, apart from the Air Force itself, to have a reserve of trained pilots in the event of war. To provide such a reserve, the Volunteer Reserve Scheme has been instituted whereby 50 young men are now under training, entirely free from cost to themselves, at the Civil Flying Clubs You will see then that all these measures are designed to provide us with a strong Air Force, an efficient Air Force and an air force capable of immediate expansion in time of war

"Now what about the front line strength of the Royal Pakistan Air Force itself? I am glad to record not only an expansion of our force but a very great advance in its technical efficiency. We have maintained a record of 75 per cent. serviceability in our aircraft on the tarmac throughout the last year and this is the figure aimed at by the Western Air Forces. This, I may say, is a very great advance over the record of the first two years of the existence of the Royal Pakistan Air Force As evidence of the ability of the engineers to produce a peak effort, if required to do so, I would tell you that during the last fortnight the air force has produced an average figure of 92 per cent serviceability. But we do not put everything in the show-window, I would tell you that for every two aircraft which we fly we keep there more aircraft in reserve in the event of emergency. We have re-equipped our squadrons with the latest types of aircraft, the Tempest squadrons, with Furies and the Dakota squadrons, with

Freighters and we are now in the process of forming our Jet Fighter Intercepter Squadron. But an air force does not live by aircraft types or by serviceability figures alone, it ultimately exists by the skill and fighting spirit of its pilots and aircrews The only evidence of our standards in this respect is which many of you witnessed yesterday and the flying which you will see this afternoon, but I can assure you that standards compare most favourably with the most efficient air forces in the West.

"I should in the end like to congratulate you, Commander-in-Chief, officers and men of the Royal Pakistan Air Force for the great strides that you have made during the last year The credit for this achievement is in great measure due to the initiative of Air Vice-Marshal Atcherley Thank you all for the service that you have rendered to Pakistan. May God continue to guide you in the national task of building a first class air force worthy of our great country."

PRESS CONFERENCE ON THE FAILURE OF DIXON'S MISSION IN KASHMIR

Liaquat 'Ali Khan after the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission in Kashmir addressed a Press conference in Karachi on August 23, 1950, in which he said

"With the departure from the subcontinent of the U.N. Representative has ended one more effort of the United Nations to bring about a just and peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute. The failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission was not due to any lack of effort on his part or to want of co-operation on the part of Pakistan. I have his regrets that his efforts were not successful. While Sir Owen Dixon was engaged on his delicate task, it was naturally not possible for him or for us to take the public into our confidence. The public, however, know now that his mission has failed and the responsibility lies squarely on the shoulders of India. The Government of India refused to agree to a programme of demilitarisation which is a necessary pre-requisite for a free and impartial plebiscite and indeed for any peaceful solution of the Kashmir question. Pakistan's stand with regard to Kashmir throughout the 3-year long

dispute has been crystal clear and remains unchanged. Our constant endeavour has been to ensure the creation of conditions in the State of Jammu and Kashmir under which its people would be enabled to decide, free from all pressure and intimidation, whether the State should accede to Pakistan or to India.

"Pakistan's stand was accepted by the United Nations and the principle of a free and impartial plebiscite was embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations' Commission of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, which have been accepted by both India and Pakistan and endorsed by the Security Council. Taken together, these resolutions provide for a cease-fire and demilitarisation of the State preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite. In pursuance of these resolutions fighting stopped on January 1, 1949, the cease-fire line was demarcated and Pakistan was able to persuade the tribesmen and Pakistani volunteers, who had gone to the aid of their prescinded brethren in Kashmir, to withdraw. Pakistan was also prepared to withdraw its forces from Kashmir provided the Indian forces were withdrawn in accordance with the agreed settlement. The sole reason why the State has not been demilitarised is India's refusal to withdraw her forces. India also sought to jump the cease-fire line by demanding control over the northern areas.

"After the Commission had exhausted its efforts at mediation and its arbitration proposal, which had been supported by President Truman and Mr. Attlee and accepted by Pakistan, had been turned down by India, the Security Council asked its President, Gen. MacNaughton, to mediate between the parties. Gen. MacNaughton's proposals of December 22, 1949, were accepted by Pakistan, but not by India Lengthy debates in the Security Council ensued before the Council adopted its resolution of March 14, 1950, which was accepted by both parties and which Sir Owen Dixon characterised as his 'directive '

"The Security Council's resolution took into account the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles as embodied in the two resolutions of UNCIP and Sir Owen Dixon was appointed as United Nations' Representative to assist the parties in the preparation and to supervise the implementation of a programme of demilitarisation. It also authorised the UN Representative to place before the parties any suggestion which in his opinion was likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the disputes.

'Sir Owen Dixon's primary task, therefore, was to ensure implementation of the Security Council's resolutions. I readily accepted

his invitation to meet him and the Prime Minister of India in Delhi for this purpose. All possible aspects of the Kashmir case were examined during our 17-hour long discussions. Throughout this conference, I was ready to fulfil all our obligations in the letter and in the spirit. I was prepared to agree to concrete proposals for the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army and the reduction of the Azad Kashmir forces, provided India was willing to do likewise with regard to its own forces, the Maharaja's forces and Militia I regret to say that India showed no desire to carry out a programme of demilitarisation and to release its military grip on Kashmir. Not content with obstructing the demilitarisation of the State, the Prime Minister of India put forward demands with regard to the northren areas and the administration of Azad Kashmir which were not only unreasonable in themselves but were contrary to the agreed settlement. In these circumstances, I agreed with Sir Owen Dixon that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the discussions in Delhi.

"Sir Owen Dixon stayed on in Delhi for further discussions with the Indian representatives He came to Karachi on August 2 and expressed a desire to explore possibilities of a settlement otherwise than through an over-all plebiscite. The suggestion which Sir Owen had chiefly in mind was a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley and partition of the rest of the State between India and Pakistan. We were given to understand that a solution on these lines would be acceptable to the Government of India We told Sir Owen Dixon that Pakistan stood firmly by its position under the agreed resolutions of August 13, 1948, January 5, 1949 and March 14, 1950, namely that the question whether the state of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan or to India must be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite We also expressed the view that the Indian move towards alternative solutions was solely designed to enable India to get out of its commitment for an over-all plebiscite and that there was no alternative scheme which could provide a fair, just and democratic settlement of the Kashmir dispute

"Sir Owen Dixon fully appreciated our stand but felt that he would not have completed the discharge of his function as a UN Representative until he had exhausted all possible methods of a peaceful settlement. He, therefore, tried to explore the possibility of a scheme of partition combined with plebiscite in a limited area serving as a basis for discussion, but he soon found that India had no intention of agreeing to a free and impartial plebiscite even in a limited area. Apparently, India is not willing to risk a free and

impartial plebiscite even in an area where it claims to have the largest measure of support of the local population unless Indian troops are in control, an Indian sponsored administration is in charge and Pakistan is denied access to the plebiscite area A plebiscite held under such conditions would be a complete farce

"Now that the UN Representative has found that there is no possibility of agreement on any alternative solution, this must bring everyone back to the only solution on which there is an international agreement, namely plebiscite in the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir to decide its accession to Pakistan or to India. The world must now recognise that there is no obstacle in the way of an over-all plebiscite except India's refusal to honour its commitments under a solemn international agreement Peaceful methods of securing this objective—negotiation, mediation, conciliation, proposal for arbitration—so far have led nowhere The occupation of Kashmir by Indian troops in support of the tottering tyranny of the Hindu Maharaja over a Muslim State against the will of its people was an act of aggression This was clearly designed to bring about the encirclement and economic strangulation of Pakistan The refusal of India to withdraw its troops in defiance of the Security Council's resolution is a challenge to the United Nations A very heavy responsibility rests upon the Security Council The Security Council must face facts and ensure that international agreements are respected and carried out The Government and people of Pakistan will not rest until Kashmir is liberated and its people are free to determine their future according to their own wishes"

Asked as to what would be the effect of the breakdown of the present series of Kashmir talks on the Indo-Pakistan relations, he said "I have always held and given public expression to this view that real friendship between India and Pakistan is not possible so long as the Kashmir question is not settled justly and fairly."

His reply to a related question whether he foresaw any deterioration of Indo-Pakistan relations as a result of the infructuous Kashmir talks, was, "So far as we are concerned we look to each problem separately and if we have entered into any commitments we, as men of honour, carry out these commitments to the best of our ability."

Question "Do you want the Security Council to act in Kashmir in the manner in which it has acted in the Korean case?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan (measuring his words) "I want the Security Council to act in a manner which is effective."

"The breakdown," he said while replying to another question,

"would cause great disappointment and resentment amongst the local (Kashmir) population It would cause resentment all over Pakistan. It should cause disappointment all over the peace-loving world."

Question: "Is there any possibility of direct negotiations between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir dispute as recommended by Sir Owen Dixon ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan: "The possibility is there, but I do not see any chances, unless there is a definite change in India's attitude to accept that it must abide by the will of the people I am prepared to abide by the will of the people I did write to Pandit Nehru probably last February and Pandit Nehru at that time replied to me saying that he hoped to send me a reply in the near future When I came back from the tour of the United States, I again wrote to him last July I have not received any communication from Pandit Nehru on the subject since then "

When his attention was drawn to Pandit Nehru's recent reported statement in the Indian Parliament on the efficiency of the East Pakistan administration, he observed that Pandit Nehru was not fair to the administration of East Pakistan. "The administrative machinery of East Pakistan is as efficient as the administrative machinery in any province of India. No doubt, we had certain difficulties after partition because all the Hindu officers had opted out. My statement is borne out by the fact that while there was communal trouble in almost every province of India, there was no communal trouble in East Bengal till February last when communal trouble in West Bengal" had become serious.

considaration ?"

Question: "Is the Moscow invitation also under your active consideration ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan · "I cannot go until those people who invited me fix a date and ask me to go on such and such date "

Question · "They look to your convenience ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan: "Evidently not. They look to their own convenience. The invitation came. Later on they suggested 14 August, 1949 I replied that this is our Independence Day, I can come on any date after that. After that they have not replied "

Question: "Has Indonesia invited you and ,when are you going there ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan. "The Indonesian President had given me an invitation. Since then the invitation has been formally communicated. I will not be able to go before winter."

Question : "Has Burma also invited you ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan : "Not formally."

Liaquat 'Ali Khan further stated, "If there is some honesty and fairness left in the world, I hope to get the whole of Kashmir by the will of the people." Adding that he was not ready to accept any scheme other than an over-all plebiscite put forward by anybody else.

"I do not think that Pakistan's position has been weakened at all by the simple fact that Sir Owen Dixon in spite of his best efforts could not make India agree to the prerequisites of an over-all plebiscite "

Replying to another question, he said that there was no question of the state being partitioned He cited the example of Jaisalmer which was adjacent to Sind and whose area adjoining Pakistan had a Muslim majority. But the state had acceded to India as a whole, as a unit It had not been done in the case of any state's accession that it was partitioned between Pakistan and India "All States have been taken as units for the purpose of accession. Why should there be partition in the case of Kashmir ?"

A British correspondent referred to "the legal status of India" in a question, to which Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied : "No status that any country acquires by fraud and violence can be regarded as legal. The United Nations organisation, if it wants to survive, should take effective steps against any country which violates any international agreement."

Asked whether he expected the Security Council to take some strong action in Kashmir after the Korean experience, he said · "It was always morally bound to take effective action I hope that after the action in Korea there is more vitality in the Security Council and I hope that that vitality would not be confined to Korea only, but would spread and be brought to bear on other issues of international character "

Question "Will you change your attitude towards the Korean question if the Security Council does not take any action in Kashmir ?"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan "So far as Korea is concerned I have made the position quite clear and, as I have stated, we regard that as an act of aggression against South Korea by North Korea and that has nothing to do with what the Security Council would do in this particular matter (Kashmir)."

A British correspondent suggested concessions by India and Pakistan in favour of each other in the entire field of Indo-Pakistan

problems, Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied : "I have suggested to Pandit Nehru that all these disputes between Pakistan and India should be settled, first by mutual agreement. If we fail in that, then by mediation, and if mediation fails then by arbitration. These are the only peaceful methods of settling disputes."

INDUSTRIAL FAIR IN KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, performing the opening ceremony of the Pakistan International Industrial Fair in Karachi on September 7, 1950, said.

"I am very happy to perform the opening ceremony of the Pakistan International Industries Fair It gives me great pleasure to see so many countries taking part in this Fair. The progress of a country and the wealth and happiness of its people depend on their having a balanced economy and a flourishing trade. No country which is backward industrially and technologically can stand the fierce competition of a fast moving world of industrial progress today

"Pakistan, as everybody knows, is primarily an agricultural country. Though it has many flourishing small scale and cottage industries, as a visitor to this fair will find for himself, it has no major industry. Both the people and the Government of Pakistan are determined to industrialise the country as rapidly as circumstances permit. For industrialisation we need machinery, we need capital, but above all we need education By education, I mean not only technical education but education in general. Any big industrial concern not only needs engineers and chemists and other technical workers but also managers, accountants, secretaries and a host of other trained people who make it possible for the concern to be run at all. I will go further and emphasise that education does not mean only the ability to read and write but the ability to use one's powers of judgment and thinking and the power to direct one's talents into creative channels. A craftsman is, in one sense, an educated person because he has been trained to use his mind as well as his hands. It is obvious, therefore, as I have said a minute ago, that we need education at various levels for the industrialisation of our country

"An international exhibition or fair provides a great deal of education. Though its primary purpose is supposed to be to facilitate trade and commerce between the countries participating in it, to my

mind its educative importance for the people is just as great. So far as the average citizen goes a visit to a fair, like the present one, is always beneficial as it extends his knowledge and experience To a manufacturer it gives ideas and concrete evidence of what can be achieved in certain directions To a shopkeeper it gives information about the availability of goods and the way to display and market them. In short, almost anybody who visits an exhibition learns something The stimulation of ideas is the most potent factor in the growth of a people and nothing stimulates ideas so much as an enlargement of experience which an international fair certainly provides

"I said a little while ago that we are anxious to develop our industries at as rapid a pace as possible I would like to emphasise, however, that we are not going to do so at the expense of our agriculture After all agriculture is also an industry. It certainly is the oldest and perhaps even now the most important industry in the world We are as anxious to modernise and develop our agriculture as we are to develop our industries

"In this world of today we find, however, that even the development of agriculture on scientific lines necessitates the development of industry The improved implements, the tractors and the artificial manures needed for agricultural improvement are dependent on industrial development for their availability The Government of Pakistan is determined, however, that our agriculturists, who are the backbone of the country, should have all the benefits of scientific and industrial advance to improve their lot. I take this opportunity of welcoming the representatives of foreign countries who are present in the audience, as they must have found that an International Fair among other things promotes understanding between the people of different countries I hope they will find genuine understanding and friendship here The people of Pakistan are keen to have the friendliest of relations with all the countries of the world and to do their utmost to promote the cause of peace, goodwill and prosperity in the world

"When we look round we find a tragic conflict of ideologies which is absorbing the major part of human energies and efforts. The consequences of such conflicts can bring nothing but misery to the common man The labour spent in making a bullet, a bomb or a gun is not only labour wasted but what is worse, labour spent in a destructive cause While the people of Pakistan, like any other people are determined to sacrifice all in order to defend their freedom, they desire

nothing more than peace in the world which will give them the opportunity to develop their country and to reap the fruits of their labour

"In the end I wish this Fair all possible success and I hope that it will be the fore-runner of many other successful fairs that will be held in Karachi and elsewhere in Pakistan *Pakistan Zindabad*"

SECOND DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF QUAID-I-A'ZAM

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in a message to the nation on the occasion of the second death anniversary of Quaid-i-A'zam on September 11, 1950, said

"Two years have passed since the Architect of Pakistan and Father of the Nation, Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah, left us. He bequeathed two great legacies to us Pakistan is one His own indomitable spirit, his own steadfast, unquestioning loyalty to the national cause is the other These legacies were of the nature of a trust. On this day, therefore, let us sit in judgment on ourselves—every-one of us—and decide whether during these two years we have proved faithful to our trust and acted as the Quaid-i-A'zam would have wanted us to act.

"Let us search our hearts and decide it if consciously or unconsciously we have done anything which would mar our unity, or create confusion in the national mind and, therefore, tend to weaken Pakistan. If so, let us mend our ways—every one of us. Let us remember the national watchwords our Quaid-i-A'zam gave us—unity, faith and discipline. Let us so live and act that the spirit of Quaid-i-A'zam, watching us with paternal affection from its celestial abode, would smile and say. 'I am proud of you'."

PAKISTAN AND THE LEAGUE ARE THE QUAID'S TRUSTS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan at a largely attended public meeting held in Karachi on September 11, 1950 to commemorate the second death anniversary of the Quaid-i-A'zam said:

"It is two years today that the Quaid-i-A'zam or rather the mortal body of the Quaid-i-A'zam departed from us. I have purposely

used the expression 'the dead body of the Quaid-i-A'zam,' because the Quaid-i-A'zam will never die so long as Pakistan lives and Pakistan, God willing, will live as long as the world exists It is not necessary for me to tell you today the greatness of the Quaid-i-A'zam's personality, because it has been already established that but few persons of his calibre have been born in this world

"Today I ask you and of course, myself as well, one question, Have you really remembered the lesson taught by the Quaid-i-A'zam? Have you acted on the principles he bequeathed? Search your hearts to find out whether you have really remembered his lessons and acted on his principles? During the past two years we have been always shouting the slogan of *Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad* When we shout *Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad* we really wish eternal life to the principles of the Quaid-i-A'zam, to the courage of the Quaid-i-A'zam, to his sincerity and to his earnestness which got us this great kingdom of Pakistan and which freed 8,00,00,000 human beings from the bonds of slavery If your slogan really springs from your heart, it is your bounden duty to act on the principles laid down by the Quaid-i-A'zam.

"This is our good luck that the Quaid-i-A'zam, in his lifetime, had shown us the right path through the expression of his thoughts on all walks of life Read his speeches and his statements and you will not find a single phase of life on which the Quaid-i-A'zam has not expressed his views The path pointed by him is always before us to guide and help us The Quaid-i-A'zam laid down three golden principles of unity faith and discipline It is a fact that these three principles got us Pakistan and it would be by acting on these three principles that we would be able to make Pakistan, the Pakistan of the Quaid-i-A'zam's dreams Search your hearts, Have you really acted upon these principles? Two years after the death of the Quaid-i-A'zam, do the Muslims of Pakistan have the same unity which they had at the time of the achievement of Pakistan? Have they still the same staunch faith which got us Pakistan? Have they got the discipline which they had two years ago? Excuse me when I say that our opponents and the enemies of Pakistan are ceaselessly attacking these three principles one after the other. They know that so long as the people of Pakistan follow these principles, no harm can come to Pakistan"

Liaquat 'Ali Khan then read out the following quotation from a speech of the Quaid-i-A'zam in March 1948, in East Pakistan, stating that the Quaid-i-A'zam had then expressed his views on this subject, and that his words then spoken were true to what was now happening.

"I once again warn you against the enemies of Pakistan and ask you not to fall easy victims to their game Unfortunately, amidst you are present some persons, who, in spite of being Muslims, are out to destroy Pakistan, and are getting handsome returns for their activities from the enemies of Pakistan I want to tell them, they are committing a serious blunder We are not prepared to tolerate sedition and treachery I warn them that if they do not give up their objectionable activities the Government of Pakistan and the Government of East Bengal will be forced to deal with them in the proper manner.

'I can understand sincere and just difference of opinion The question of new political parties is also being raised. In this connection, I want to make it absolutely clear that Pakistan has been achieved after a struggle spread over 10 years and that it is a result of the efforts of the Muslim League. There were some persons who did not play any part in this struggle for freedom and independence, but the struggle continued in spite of all impediments and obstacles in its way, and with the help of God our efforts bore fruit.

'The Muslim League is a sacred trust in your hands. Is it not our duty to save this sacred trust? Should we entrust it to new political parties and to individuals whose past is black? Do you have faith in Pakistan? Do you want that East Bengal or any other part of Pakistan should be included in India? If you want to build up Pakistan, it is your duty to join the Muslim League to strengthen it. At this critical juncture, it is the duty of all Muslims to gather together under the Muslim League flag, because the Muslim League is the guardian of Pakistan. Later we will think whether we need any other political party.' "

Resuming his own speech, Liaquat 'Ali Khan warned his audience that today efforts were being made to create the same atmosphere which necessitated the above statement by the Quaid-i-A'zam. He said: "Our opponents are attacking the unity of the Muslims of Pakistan. They say the Government of Pakistan exhorts the Muslims of Pakistan to remain united and puts forward the Kashmir question as the excuse. Is the Kashmir problem over? The aim of the enemies of Pakistan, my friends, is to defeat the unity of the Muslims of Pakistan.

"Mr. Suhrawardy, President of the 'Awami Muslim League, who is now-a-days busy making speeches and giving statements, spelt the doom of the Muslims of India by destroying their unity and by striking at the roots of this unity. The last session of the All-India Muslim

League Council in December 1947 decided to bifurcate the League into the India Muslim League and the Pakistan Muslim League Suhrawardy did not allow the Indian League to be formed by propagating that there was no need of communal parties (in India) and by intimidating the Indian Muslims that if they joined the League, more atrocities would be perpetrated on them Did the (Indian) Muslims not need a communal party? Are the Hindu Mahasabha and the Sikh Akali Dal not communal parties? His aim was to disrupt the unity of (Indian) Muslims to such an extent that if they wanted to raise their voice against the atrocities and tyrannies of which they were victims they had no voice to raise This is his (Suhrawardy's) achievement. The Muslims have achieved Pakistan and the Muslims of Pakistan will never allow their unity to be disrupted

'Certain political parties are also attacking the staunch faith of the Muslims of Pakistan Suhrawardy says that the state of affairs in Pakistan has considerably deteriorated during the three years of its existence and that there is no department and no sphere of activity which has not gone from bad to worse They (sic) purposely want to undo the faith of the Pakistani nation which is absolutely necessary for the existence of Pakistan The world, and even the Indian leaders, have admitted that the progress made by Pakistan since her inception is a miracle, but he (Suhrawardy) is not prepared to admit it

"This (that conditions are deteriorating in Pakistan) is being said not only to raise doubts in the hearts of Pakistanis, but to damage the position Pakistan has acquired in the world Obviously, when a Pakistani himself would say that things are going to the dogs in Pakistan, the world would believe it For whose benefit, I ask, is all this being said? The enemies of Pakistan have let loose these dogs who talk like this I say they are traitors, liars and hypocrites.

"He (Suhrawardy) says that Pakistan should have remained neutral on the Korean issue Now there are 59 members of United Nations Organisation The Security Council of this Organisation passed a resolution Fifty-three members accepted the resolution, and it was rejected by six—Russia and its satellites I wish somebody could explain to me as to how could Pakistan remain neutral in this matter Either you accept a thing or you do not If you accept (the Security Council resolution on Korea) you are with the other 52 (members of the United Nations Organisation), and if you do not, you are with the six Communist countries. I affirm that Pakistan could not take any decision other than the one she took

(in the matter of Korea)

'Every leader and every newspaper has said since the failure of the Dixon mission in Kashmir that the Security Council should force India to implement the agreement (on Kashmir) to which Pakistan and India are parties On the one hand is the hue and cry that the Security Council resolution of Korea should not be accepted (by the Pakistan Government), while on the other hand, the Security Council is being urged to force India to implement the agreement With what face, I ask, can they urge the Security Council to do so if they are against Pakistan's acceptance of the Security Council Resolution on Korea (which condemned aggression and asked the United Nations to meet it with armed strength) All this hue and cry, therefore, is being raised to deceive the masses They want to weaken the staunch faith of Pakistanis, because of which Pakistan is and, God willing, will go on progressing

"They are also attacking the discipline of the Pakistani nation. [Measuring his words] The refugees are being misled so as to create disruption in their ranks I want to tell them (the refugees) that their good does not lie in the weakness of Pakistan You (refugees) know very well the result (of Pakistan's weakness) We had Pakistan where you could have at least sound sleep as a member of an independent nation, without being mortally afraid about the lives of your children and wives Remember that if any harm comes to Pakistan there would be no place in the world for not only yourselves but for any Muslim Therefore, be aware of these disruptionists Only your Government and your national political party can help you I assure you that so long as I am holding this post, I will consider your miseries as my own miseries It is correct that I live in a big house, but I assure you that my heart weeps (for you) as does your heart

"Until we succeed in securing for the Muslims of Kashmir the opportunity to decide their fate independently and freely, we will continue to treat the Kashmir question on the same level as the question of Pakistan's independence Rest assured that there are no two opinions on this question of Kashmir So long as the Kashmir question is not justly solved, we cannot have real friendship with India

"On the occasion of the last (Afghanistan) Independence Day Celebrations in Kabul, the King of Afghanistan said—though it does not behave a king to say such things for a country with whom he professes to be friendly and, moreover, it is also against diplomatic etiquette—that atrocities were being perpetrated on Pathans in

Pakistan and expressed the hope that they (the Pathans) would be soon free I regret that the Afghan Government made their king make a statement which no king would be prepared to make I regret that this Muslim country, which is our neighbour, is a tool in the hands of the enemies of Pakistan and Islam

"The tribal people made the same sacrifices during the struggle for the achievement of Pakistan that the people of any other part of the country made After the establishment of Pakistan, they freely proclaimed that they were part and parcel of Pakistan Pakistan considers them to be her part and parcel and will contiuue to regard them as such They are brothers and their miseries are our miseries

"It is to be regretted that the Afghan Government, tempted by bribes, is trying to cause disruption If Pakistan has to deal with certain persons, like the Faqir of Ipi, who, it seems, thrive on bribes, can it be called atrocity on the Pathans? I do not want to see any harm come to the people of Pakistan If it was not against diplomatic etiquette, I would have asked What freedom was in Afghanistan? What rights were granted to the masses? Is there any parliament? I would have said that it is a private limited society of the few. I would have further recalled the atrocities of the Afghan Government on the Hazaris which are unparalleled in history I would have said that there private trading was not allowed and was in the hands of the private limited society I would have said that the soldiers of the Afghanistan Army did not get their loaf of bread and that they get only 10 rupees a month as their salary I would have reminded that Afghanistan has so far never presented any budget to the world. I would have said all this if I had not regard for diplomatic etiquette. Pakistan regards Afghanistan as a brother. She wants to see Afghanistan progressing. Pakistan stretches her hand of friendship towards Afghanistan, because we are Muslims and the people of Afghanistan are also Muslims. If a few go astray (in Afghanistan), I will not say that the Afghans are not Muslims Pakistan and Afghanistan, and, if not today, tomorrow the brothers will embrace each other. The secret of Afghanistan's existence lies in this.

"For sometimes past there has been a good deal of nervousness and speculation that the Pakistan rupee is going to be devalued. Nearly a year ago, when a large number of countries devalued their currencies, we decided not to devalue the Pakistan rupee. We took that decision after most careful consideration. It was a sound decision taken on purely economic grounds and has been fully vindicated

by subsequent events.

"Recently, when we became members of the International Monetary Fund, we intimated to the Fund the exchange value of our rupee as required by the rules The Fund has the question now under examination. It has said nothing to us. When it does, we shall consider what the Fund has to say, coolly and with all the consideration it deserves. But we have told the Fund in clear terms supported by full facts and figures that the present value of our rupee is the right value and that we see no reason for altering it Let me hope this clear statement will put an end to speculation and restlessness

"Every Pakistani is grieved to learn of Chittagong Express derailment On behalf of every Pakistani as well as on my own behalf I express full sympathy with the relatives of the victims of the accident. You have read in newspapers that sabotage was the cause of the accident Similar incidents have been taking place for some time. I give timely warning that if such activities continue, there is no place for these people in Pakistan I have been described as a kind-hearted man and I admit that I am a kind-hearted man Nevertheless, if to save Pakistan from ruin, I have to hang my own son, not a single tear would glimmer in my eyes

"With Pakistan are bound the lives of 8,00,00,000 human beings God has devolved this responsibility on my weak shoulders So long as this responsibility devolves on me, I will not hesitate from doing anything for the existence of Pakistan It is our duty to make the Muslim League that the League is not anybody's personal property. It is a national organisation. It is the duty of every Pakistani to make it strong. We should not do anything which might damage the prestige of the League, because damage to the League is damage to the nation. No doubt, there are shortcomings in the League There are shortcomings in every political party. But it does not mean that we should scrap it (the League). It is difficult to construct and easy to destroy.

"Those who are founding different political parties are aiming at weakening this national organisation and thus to cause disruption It is the duty of all of us, the Leaguers, to strengthen the League The existence of Pakistan depends on this. The office-bearers of the League should not consider their offices as a stepping-stone to prosperity They should consider their offices as a means of serving the organisation. I am a member of the League. If the League wants to replace me with someone else, I would most willingly agree to it

"Before I conclude, I once again remind you of the three

principles of the Quaid-i-A'zam : unity, faith and discipline. If you act on these principles, Pakistan will progress much more than what she has already done *Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad, Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad, Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad*"

STATEMENT ON KASHMIR

Giving a lengthy account of how India wriggled out of her commitments in Kashmir by 'quibbling, evasion and obstruction under the smoke-screen of moral platitudes' in the Pakistan Parliament on October 5, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Since the publication, just over a fortnight ago, of a misleading summary of Sir Owen Dixon's report to the Security Council, a wave of resentment and indignation has swept through the country. While I am fully conscious of the depth of feeling in Pakistan on the Kashmir question, I would urge Hon'ble Members to examine the full text of Sir Owen Dixon's report cooly and calmly and, as behoves the dignity of the House, to exercise the utmost moderation and restraint in making their observations

"The House is fully aware of the events in Jammu and Kashmir that have led to the present position in which India is in military occupation of the greater and most valuable part of Jammu and Kashmir and refuses to allow the people of the State the right of self-determination. This chain of events was started by the deliberate policy of the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir whereby, in the words of the special correspondent of *The Times*, London

> 'Muslims were systematically exterminated—unless they escaped to Pakistan along the border—by all the forces of Dogra State, headed by the Maharaja in person and aided by Hindus and Sikhs. This happened in October 1947, five days before the first Pathan invasion and nine days before the Maharaja's accession to India.'

"In trying to perpetuate the century-old tyranny of Hindu rule over the Muslims of Kashmir, India relies upon force as her principal means Her claim to Kashmir rests upon the fraudulent Instrument of Accession with which the Hindu Maharaja secured the help of Indian armed forces to subjugate the people of Kashmir and the claim is enforced by the Indian Army of occupation in Kashmir

"The House will recall that Kashmir is not the only field in which Indian aggression has been witnessed Junagadh, which acceded to Pakistan, was invaded by the Indian Army and occupied by force That act of aggression still continues Hyderabad, which sought to remain an independent State in treaty relations with India, was overrun by the Indian armed forces Hyderabad's complaint is still pending before the Security Council The House is also aware that the use of force did not break the will of the people of Kashmir to liberate themselves from Dogra rule Despite 15 months of intensive military operations, the Indian Army did not succeed in overcoming the resistance of the brave people of Azad Kashmir Having despaired of outright military conquest, the Government of India at last entered into an agreement with Pakistan and the United Nations as to the procedure and method by which the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to Pakistan or to India would be decided. This international agreement, which is embodied in the resolutions of the UN Commission for India and Pakistan of August 13, 1948 and of January 5, 1949, was endorsed by the Security Council on March 14, 1950

"I would ask the House to observe that all the factors of the Kashmir situation, on which Indian representatives are continually harping, were present at the time of this agreement The brave people of the tribal areas had gone to the assistance of their oppressed brethren in Kashmir in October, 1947 The Azad Kashmir Government and the Azad Kashmir forces had been in existence since October, 1947 The Pakistan Army had, in answer to the desperate appeals of the Azad Kashmir people after the all-out offensive launched by India in the spring of 1948 and in defence of Pakistan's own vital interests, moved in to hold certain defensive positions in May, 1948 The northern areas had overthrown the hated Dogra rule in November, 1947. All the might of the Indian Army had been of no avail against the patriotic valour of the people of these areas and no Indian soldier had set foot in their territory.

"All these facts were known to the Government of India, had been argued before the Security Council and the U N. Commission for India and Pakistan and had been taken into account in formulating their resolutions. No new factors have entered into the situation. It was with the full knowledge of these facts that the Government of India accepted this international agreement. The agreement was clear and unequivocal. It was endorsed by the Security Council. The Pakistan Government, therefore, felt justified in accepting the agreement It

put its reliance on the fact that no civilised Government could violate its pledges freely given before the highest international body.

"This international agreement, embodied in the UNCIP's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, provided for

(i) A cease-fire and demarcation of the cease-fire line,

(ii) Withdrawal of tribesmen and Pakistan volunteers who had gone to the State for the purpose of fighting,

(iii) Withdrawal of the Pakistan Army and the bulk of the Indian Army,

(iv) A plebiscite to be conducted under the supervision and control of a Plebiscite Administrator, who was empowered to determine the final disposal of the remaining forces in the State, and who was vested with all the powers he considered necessary to ensure the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.

"The first and second provisions of this international agreement have already been carried out Cease-fire orders came into effect on January 1 and there has been no recrudescence of fighting during the last 21 months Agreement on the demarcation of the cease-fire line was reached in July 1949 The tribesmen and other Pakistani volunteers had gone to the assistance of their brethren in Azad Kashmir have withdrawn But the Government of India has persistently refused to carry out its obligation under the agreement The UN Commission tried their hardest to break the evasions and obstructions of the Government of India They did not succeed The Commission then proposed that the interpretation of the agreement should be left to the arbitration of Admiral Nimitz, whom both the Governments of India and Pakistan had accepted as Plebiscite Administrator This statesmanlike suggestion was endorsed by President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee We agreed, but India refused The question was then referred to the Security Council who asked its President, Gen A G L McNaughton to mediate His proposals of December 22, 1949, which provided for effective demilitarisation of the State, preparatory to the holding of the plebiscite, were accepted by Pakistan but rejected by India The Security Council, after a great deal of discussion passed its resolution of March 14, 1950, in which it accepted the principles of paragraph two of Gen McNaughton's proposals regarding demilitarisation and appointed a UN representative to supervise demilitarisation and to take other steps leading to the holding of a plebiscite

'On April 12, 1950, the Security Council appointed Sir Owen Dixon a judge of the High Court of Australia, as the United Nations representative Sir Owen Dixon brought to his task great experience

patience and industry. He had familiarised himself with the records of the case during his stay at Lake Success and after his arrival in the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent on May 27, 1950, held discussions with the representatives of India and Pakistan and studied the situation in the State of Jammu and Kashmir at first hand.

"Shortly after his arrival Sir Owen Dixon said in a statement to the Press that he had come 'as a representative of the United Nations acting under and in accordance with the resolution of the Security Council which I must accept as my directive' In his discussion with Pakistan representatives, he made it clear that he had no intention to re-open decided issues or go into matters which were now purely of historical importance For him the only relevant considerations were the agreement between India and Pakistan embodied in the Commission's resolutions and the directive given to him by the Security Council in its resolution of March 14, 1950

"Sir Owen Dixon invited Pandit Nehru and myself to a conference in New Delhi from July 20 to 24, 1950 in a joint attempt to effect a settlement of the Kashmir question The conference adjourned on July 24, without reaching an agreement The proceedings of the Delhi conference have been described at length in Sir Owen Dixon's report I shall draw the attention of Hon'ble members only to some of its salient features. Sir Owen Dixon said at the very outset that his primary task was to assist India and Pakistan in drawing up a programme of demilitarisation preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite. I fully endorsed this statement and offered to carry out every obligation that Pakistan had accepted under the agreed settlement. The Prime Minister of India, however, raised numerous objections to fulfilling India's obligations with regard to the withdrawal of Indian troops and the disbandment of the State forces and Militia He tried to re-open issues which had been decided already, or which the Security Council had wisely set aside as not being relevant to the objective of a free and impartial plebiscite , Sir Owen Dixon tried his utmost to meet every objection put forward by the Prime Minister of India, however irrelevant and invalid it might be, but it was of no avail.

"In his efforts to induce India to carry out its obligations, the UN representative offered a number of concessions to India which went beyond the terms of the agreed settlement, but still India's Prime Minister was not satisfied It became obvious that India was not prepared to carry out the demilitarisation it had undertaken, or to keep its promise to allow the people of Kashmir to decide their

future in a free and impartial plebiscite As Sir Owen Dixon has said in his report, he became convinced 'that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarisation in any such form, or to Provisional Government during the period of plebiscite of any such character as would, in my opinion, permit of the plebiscite being conducted in conditions sufficiently guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse by which the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled '

"Sir, you will observe that the agreed scheme for an over-all plebiscite could not be proceeded with, not because it was inherently impracticable, nor because Pakistan was not prepared to honour all its commitments The *only* obstacle, the sole reason why the UN representative came to a dead end, was that India went back on its word and was afraid of the verdict of the people of Jammu and Kashmir

"Sir Owen Dixon could, and perhaps should, at this stage, have gone back to Lake Success and reported how and why he had been prevented from discharging the mission with which he had been entrusted by the Security Council He, however, chose to investigate alternative solutions, in particular, a proposal, which of late have found favour in certain Indian circle, for a plebiscite in a limited area and partition of the rest of the State When this proposal was mentioned for the first time in my presence on July 23, I said that I was shocked to hear the suggestion This meant that a solemn international agreement for an over-all plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir was being discarded simply because one of the parties would not honour its obligations Sir Owen Dixon replied that he fully appreciated Pakistan's stand, but it was his duty as UN representative to explore all avenues of agreement before reporting back to the Security Council

"I returned to Karachi on July 24, but Sir Owen Dixon stayed on in Delhi for further discussions with the Prime Minister of India and his colleagues Sir Owen Dixon came to Karachi on August 2, 1950, with the following Indian proposals

'(i) That the plebiscite should be held only in the Kashmir Valley and some adjacent territories The conditions under which the plebiscite would be held were not specified but the UN representative had apparently been assured by the Government of India that they would agree to the conditions necessary for a free and impartial plebiscite

'(ii) The rest of the State should be partitioned between India and

Pakistan. No indication was given as to the basis on which the partition would be effected.'

"We pointed out to Sir Owen Dixon that an over-all plebiscite was the only fair and just solution of the Kashmir dispute and that the suggestions which he had brought from Delhi meant that India was seeking the resile from its solemn international commitments and added that the Indian proposals could not serve as a basis for reconvening the conference The UN representative went back to Delhi and after further discussion with Indian representative decided to formulate his own plan and to submit it to India and Pakistan for acceptance or rejection This plan was basically the same as the Indian Proposal Sir Owen Dixon, however, proposed to specify the conditions under which the plebiscite would be held, and secondly, to formulate his own proposals for the partition of the rest of the State between India and Pakistan This revised proposal was placed before us on August 11, 1950 We explained to Sir Owen Dixon that Pakistan could not agree to give up its stand that the fate of the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir should be decided by means of a free and impartial plebiscite

"Sir Owen Dixon replied that he fully understood Pakistan's position that 'under the agreed resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, and March 14, 1950, the decision of the destiny of the State of Jammu and Kashmir is to be by an impartial plebiscite.' He assured me that neither he nor any other authority of the United Nations would regard me or my Government as in the least degree derogating from or prejudicing that position by agreeing to attend the conference at his request to consider proposals of an alternative character. We also pointed out to Sir Owen Dixon that the conference was bound to fail because India would not agree upon specific measures which he had in mind for ensuring the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite. Sir Owen Dixon had indicated that the specific measures which he had in view include the following

(a) Placing the plebiscite area under the temporary control of an administrative body consisting of UN officials.

(b) The administrative body should have the power to exclude troops of every description If, however, it required some troops, it could request both India and Pakistan to provide them.

(c) India and Pakistan would have equality in any right granted to lay their views before the people and in other respects.

"Sir Owen Dixon was requested to put these suggestions to India before convening the conference. He did so, and contrary to all his

expectations, India rejected every one of the safeguards which he considered necessary for a free and impartial plebiscite in the limited plebiscite area Pandit Nehru's telegram of August 16, 1950 which appears as an annexure to Sir Owen Dixon's report shows that India was prepared to agree to a plebiscite even in the limited area of their own choice, only if their armed forces were allowed to remain in control, if the civil administration was in charge of their protege, Shaikh 'Abdullah, and provided Pakistan had no access to the plebiscite area It became clear to Sir Owen Dixon, as it had always been clear to us, that India had no intention of allowing a free expression of the will of the people in any part of the State under their control Sir Owen Dixon accordingly left for Lake Success on August 23, 1950 to report the failure of his mission to the Security Council. At more than one place, in his report Sir Owen Dixon has made a grievance of the fact that neither of the parties put forward any constructive proposals and that the onus of making suggestions was left to him

'I venture to submit that this observation does not do justice to Pakistan Throughout these negotiations our stand was that both India and Pakistan were bound by the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and that we were prepared to carry out our obligations both in letter and in spirit If there was any doubt about the meaning or purport of the agreed resolutions, we were willing to abide by the decision of any impartial authority We were also prepared to consider any other reasonable suggestions which Sir Owen Dixon might wish to put forward provided they did not jeopardise the freedom and impartiality of the over-all plebiscite I cannot understand what other constructive suggestions the UN representative expected us to put forward

"In his anxiety to break the deadlock over demilitarisation at any cost, Sir Owen Dixon suggested the commencement of the withdrawal of Pakistan troops as a first step and, in the course of the discussion, made however casually and tentatively but nevertheless unjustifiably certain remarks on the entry of tribesmen into Kashmir in October 1947 and of some units of the Pakistan Army in May, 1948, regarding which, as he himself admits, he had neither been commissioned to make nor had made judicial investigation. I immediately contradicted him and he had nothing further to say either then or in any subsequent discussions As Sir Owen Dixon has stated, I did not allow this to stand in the way of my agreeing to comply with his request for commencing the withdrawal of Pakistan troops as a first step in order to get on with demilitarisation somehow. Apart from

this, I must say that Sir Owen Dixon stuck to his task with great perseverance and resourcefulness, but this proved of no avail against Indian ingenuity in raising new and fresh difficulties and objections As one objection dropped to the ground, another raised its head, until Sir Owen Dixon became convinced that by no process of argument or persuasion could he induce India to demilitarise Kashmir and take other steps for a free and impartial plebiscite in the State The world is beholden to Sir Owen Dixon for a thorough-going exposure of the Indian technique of wriggling out of obligations and commitments by quibbling, evasion and obstruction under a smoke screen of moral platitudes (weighing every word)

"In spite of the facts brought out in Sir Owen Dixon's report, the Prime Minister of India has not been deterred from his characteristic approach to Kashmir In his statement to the Press on September 30, he has again harped upon his favourite theme of Pakistan's aggression. I ask him, can there be any bigger aggression than denying the right of self-determination to a people by brute force, as India is doing in Kashmir? (Raised his voice to a high pitch) Pakistan stands for the liberation of the people of Kashmir, India for their subjugation (cheers)

"In the same statement to the Press, the Prime Minister of India has claimed that though he criticised some of the proposals put forward by Sir Owen Dixon for holding the plebiscite in the Valley as a part of the over-all plebiscite, in the main he was prepared to accept them As any reader of Sir Owen Dixon's report can see, the facts are that the Prime Minister of India refused to entertain any of the suggestions put forward by Sir Owen Dixon He refused to agree to any firm programme for the effective demilitarisation of Jammu and Kashmir He insisted, and still insists, upon retaining in Jammu and Kashmir such of the Indian force as his military advisers may think necessary, he insisted, and still insists, upon retaining the State forces and the militia which had been raised by Shaikh 'Abdullah in clear violation of the terms of the agreed resolution of August 13, 1948, and which, as Sir Owen Dixon repeatedly pointed out, made a free plebiscite impossible, he insisted, and still insists, on the extension of Indian military rule to the northern areas in utter disregard of the UNCIP's resolution of August 13, 1948. Having rejected every proposal of Sir Owen Dixon for an over-all plebiscite, having also rejected his proposals for a plebiscite in a limited area combined with partition of State, it is useless for the Prime Minister of India to try to mislead the world. The world knows now what value to attach to his repeated advocacy

of self-determination for the peoples of Asia

"India has made much play with its offer to reduce its forces in Kashmir, 20 to 25 per cent India has built up large forces in Kashmir and the maintenance of those forces over long lines of communication is putting a severe strain on Indian transport and economy India wants to reduce that strain and wants also to make a virtue of it Even after this reduction of 20 to 25 per cent, the Indian forces in Kashmir will be many times the forces Pakistan has in the State We sent in only the minimum force to hold a defensive line

"Judged by every consideration, cultural, demographic, economic and strategic Kashmir should be a part of Pakistan For Pakistan, Kashmir is a vital necessity, for India it is an imperialist adventure This adventure is costing the people of India dear in terms of money, resources, and economic well being It has brought terrible political repression and untold economic misery to the people of Kashmir It has struck at the root of friendship between India and Pakistan It has imperilled peace in Asia In the face of this situation it is surprising to find Sir Owen Dixon stating towards the end of his report that he was not 'prepared to recommend any further course of action on the part of the Security Council' and that perhaps it would be best to leave the parties to settle the Kashmir dispute between themselves While I fully sympathise with Sir Owen Dixon's disappointment and frustration at the failure of his mission, I feel that his recommendation is only a counsel of despair

"Before the Kashmir dispute came before the Security Council in January 1948, repeated efforts were made by Pakistan to resolve the dispute peacefully by direct negotiation with India but India was not prepared to accept any fair and just solution Even afterwards I have tried in personal discussions with the Prime Minister of India to settle the matter but have met with no success The last talk I had with the Prime Minister of India on the subject was in April, 1950. Such progress as has been made hitherto in resolving the Kashmir dispute has been through the efforts of the Security Council and its agencies The dispute is of vital importance not only to the four million peoples of Jammu and Kashmir but to the 400 million peoples of Pakistan and India It is an important and dangerous dispute, because on it depends the peace and welfare of this large region The Security Council cannot, in keeping with its responsibilities for the maintenance of the world peace, divest itself of this problem The issue in Kashmir is very simple There is an international agreement, embodied in the UNCIP's resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, according

to which the question of accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan is to be determined through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite. Both India and Pakistan are parties to that agreement But India refuses to carry it out

"The duty of the Security Council is clear. India must be made to implement that agreement If the Indian interpretation differs from the plain meaning of the words, the Security Council should either give its own decision or refer the matter to arbitration The arbitrator having given his award, it must be enforced. This question of arbitration goes much deeper than the Kashmir issue It is the key to the settlement of all disputes between India and Pakistan. As the House is aware, there has been a good deal of correspondence between the Prime Minister of India and myself regarding a declaration that India and Pakistan will not go to war, and that they will settle all their disputes peacefully Those peaceful methods of settlement are negotiation, mediation and arbitration My attitude from the beginning has been that if negotiation and mediation fail to produce agreement, both countries should bind themselves to proceed to arbitration, and both countries should agree to carry out the award of the arbitrator It is this point that the Prime Minister of India is so far reluctant to accept. He replied to my proposals after a period of six months and simply reiterated his original formula which leaves the matter vague and inconclusive. He has not tried to explain why he cannot agree to proceed to arbitration after negotiation and mediation have failed.

"No person or country with a just and righteous cause need be afraid of going to arbitration We are prepared to refer to arbitration all disputes whether concerning the interpretation of the international agreement on Kashmir, or concerning canal waters, evacuee property, Junagadh or any other matter, if we fail to resolve them through negotiation and mediation In order not to let the disputes drag on indefinitely, we have suggested to India that we should allow two months for negotiation and two months for mediation I have written to the Prime Minister of India pointing out and without this clear provision for a resort to arbitration we can go in an interminable round of discussion and negotiation without reaching any decision In respect of only two of these disputes, namely, the canal waters dispute and the evacuee property problem, the Prime Minister of India has now suggested that they be referred to a tribunal of four judges, two from Pakistan and two from India, but he does not go on to explain as to what would happen if the judges are unable to reach agreement

It should, however, be obvious that without provision for arbitration by an independent and impartial body, we would get no further than we are today. We want to live on the friendliest terms possible with India We want to settle all our disputes peacefully As I have said time and again, war between us would bring nothing but untold misery and disaster to the people of India as well as to the people of Pakistan But if all efforts at peaceful settlement of disputes are thwarted, if the three million Muslims of Kashmir are held down by force and denied their right of self-determination, and if solemn international agreements are treated as mere scraps of paper, that is hardly the way towards peace

"The goal of our policy is clear and unalterable, whatever the consequences We are resolved to secure the right of self-determination for the people of Kashmir and we shall not allow India to dominate Kashmir by force (loud and continuous cheers). We firmly believe that the people of Kashmir want to be with Pakistan and it is only Indian bayonets which stand in the way. No power on earth can thwart the will of a people by military force as the history of liberation throughout the world and nearer home in Asia shows (cheers)

"The people of Pakistan secured their freedom against such heavy odds that few outsiders believed it possible. Today also people shaked their heads and wonder how Kashmir will be liberated. They fear the Security Council will not act merely to secure justice and freedom for a down-trodden people and that the desire not to offend India will deter the Security Council from doing anything effective. I say to them, it is not fair to judge an august body like the Security Council—the principal organ of the United Nations—before it has acted. The issue before the Security Council is clear and simple. India refuses to implement the agreement over Jammu and Kashmir All methods of pacific settlement of disputes—negotiation, mediation, conciliation, proposals for arbitration—have been tried but have proved ineffective. It is the duty of the Security Council now to give clear direction to India to carry out its obligations under the agreement and thus secure for the people of Kashmir their inalienable right of self-determination

"Let not the people of Kashmir despair. The day is not far off when Indian tyranny over them will come to an end (cheers) The 80 million people of Pakistan are with them (more cheers) All nations that care for democracy and justice are with them (further cheers). And above all, since their cause is just, God, whose stern retribution

overtakes all tyrannies of whatever colour and form, is with them (long and prolonged cheers)."

PAKISTAN WILL NOT YIELD ONE INCH OF HER SOIL

Mr A M A Hamid (East Bengal) in a short notice question on October 7, 1950, asked the Prime Minister, Liaquat 'Ali Khan to refer to the answer he gave to the question asked by Dr Omar Hayat Malik on January 9, 1950 and to state "if our relations with Afghanistan have shown any improvement since ?" In reply to the question, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"No, they have grown worse. In reply to the question referred to, I had stated that the people of the tribal territory on the Pakistan side of the Durand Line were not only good Pakistanis but were rightly proud of the notable part played by them in the achievement of Pakistan I am glad to be able to say that their devotion to Pakistan is as strong as ever in spite of the most persistent propaganda by Afghanistan Government to wean them away from their loyalty

"The tone of the Government-controlled Afghan Radio and Press, which was already violent and vituperative, has steadily become worse and now they are openly concentrating on incitement and war-mongering The climax of this organised campaign of calumny and blackmail was reached on the occasion of the *jashan* celebrations in Kabul in August last, when the King of Afghanistan and the Prime Minister, among others, flouted all diplomatic conventions and made anti-Pakistan speeches. So-called '*Pakhtunistan*' flags were hoisted at the stadium where the *jashan* celebrations took place and the Afghan Air Force dropped anti-Pakistan leaflets. Many attempts have been made to persuade the Government of Afghanistan to stop this hostile propaganda but without avail. The notes of protests which are sent are either rejected or ignored. One of the themes which the Afghan propagandists have been exploiting both in Afghanistan and in other countries relates to the so-called economic blockade of Afghanistan. The facts are as follows.

"Under the Anglo-Afghan Treaty of 1921 and the Anglo-Afghan Trade Convention of 192', Afghanistan is entitled to transit facilities. Even in the face of grave provocation, the Government of Pakistan

have scrupulously observed the relevant provision of the treaty and the convention and the Government of Afghanistan have not been able to establish a single case of discrimination On the contrary we are going out of our way to assist them For example, we are at the present moment engaged in constructing 16 petrol tankers through a Pakistani firm, with the material we imported by spending our foreign exchange, so as to enable the Afghans to continue to import petrol to Afghanistan Facilities have also been provided for the repair of another six of their tankers at Peshawar The Government of Pakistan have, as a special case, allowed multi-journey visas on a unilateral basis to Afghan petrol lorry drivers and cleaners

"In many cases we are allowing the export of commodities to Afghanistan which Pakistan can ill-afford and for which we have spent our valuable foreign exchange In the case of Afghan fresh and dry fruit, India has imposed a 36 per cent import duty but Pakistan has imposed no import duty Pakistan railways give priority to the movement of goods to and from Afghanistan, for instance, without the use of N W R refrigerated van facilities, the valuable fresh fruit trade of Afghanistan would be ruined Whereas Pakistan has applied its visa rules quite liberally in favour of Afghan nationals, the attitude of the Afghan Government has been just the reverse Thousands of Afghan nationals are carrying on flourishing business in Pakistan and are even opening new businesses Nearly a lakh and a half Afghan tribesmen—Powindahs—come down every year with their flocks to pass winter in Pakistan pastures and these are permitted to enter without passport and visas On return they are allowed to export cloth, sugar, tea, foodgrains and many other necessaries, which they claim are not readily available in Afghanistan at prices which they can afford

In contrast to this, Afghan Government are refusing visas to almost all Pakistani nationals including some employees of the Pakistan Embassy The process of squeezing out Pakistani traders in Afghanistan has been going on for quite some time On account of harassment by Government officials and blackmail by the police, the flourishing Pakistani merchants of long-standing, who at one time numbered several hundreds, have been reduced to a mere handful. Protests and representations made to the Government of Afghanistan have proved of no avail Government institutions and private employers have been asked to terminate the services of Pakistanis in their employment Many have to come back losing large arrears of salaries, provident funds and pensions

'Honourable members will recall the recent Press Note which gave

facts about the help given by Pakistan to Afghanistan *haj* pilgrims in the matter of relaxation of currency regulations, reservations of berths out of Pakistan's quota, provision of free living accommodation at the Haji Camp and the supply of foreign exchange In return for all this, Pakistan has received nothing but abuse from the Radio and Press of Afghanistan Having utterly failed to suborn the loyalty of our Tribesmen, the Government of Afghanistan has become desperate and has started organising raids into our territory by Afghan tribesmen and elements of the Afghan Army. Pakistan frontier has been violated on a number of occasions

"On June 16, 1950, it was discovered that an Afghan Army piquet had been established 300 yards inside the Pakistan territory in the Chaman sub-division The Afghan soldiers when requested to withdraw refused to do so Afghan tribesmen who had collected on the other side of the border opened fire at our militia killing one JCO and wounding two other ranks and committed further violation of the frontier before they were expelled. Our protest demanding apology and compensation is still pending with the Afghan Government. In the second half of July, Afghan nationals led by an Afghan soldier, made two hostile raids in the Kurram Agency and had to be driven out by our levies. One of our sepoys was killed and another injured On September 16, about 15 Afghan tribesmen crossed into Pakistan territory and opened fire on the Inamdar Bostan Militia post near Nushki

"Finally, I come to the most serious incident of all Information was received on the night of Saturday, September 13, that a large Afghan regulars and tribesmen, armed with artillery, had crossed our border in the Dobandi area, about 30 miles north-east of Chaman, their first objective being the Quetta-Chaman railway in the Khojak area. Dobandi is two miles within Pakistan territory. The *lashkar* was reported to be under the command of Brig. Ghafoor Khan, who formerly commanded the Afghan troops in the Spin-Boldak area. A patrol of the civil armed forces was fired on by the elements of the *lashkar* on Monday, October 2, when they were advancing towards Begra Pass, which is about four miles inside the border and which the enemy had occupied. A company of regular Pakistan troops which was also moving on to the Begra Pass occupied it the same day without opposition as the enemy withdrew on the approach of our troops and retired north-west towards Dobandi. The enemy *lashkar* has been dispersed and driven beyond our border by the civil armed forces and Pakistan Army. A strong protest has been lodged with the Government of Afghanistan.

I repeat once again what I said in my statement on January 9, that the Government of Pakistan are still willing to discuss questions but I would like to impress upon the Government of Afghanistan that the feeling of anger and resentment against their hostile and un-Islamic policy towards Pakistan is mounting in the tribal areas and indeed throughout Pakistan. The disturbance of peace in an area of such strategic importance is fraught with grave consequences. We desire peace and have no territorial ambitions but neither the threat of force nor force itself will make us yield one inch of the soil of Pakistan."

ELECTION AS LEAGUE PRESIDENT

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was elected President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League on October 8, 1950, after the Council had authorised Central and Provincial Ministers to become office-bearers in the League organisation Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressing the Council, after his election, said

I will begin my speech with this line *qurae fal baname mans diwana zadand* I am cordially thankful to you for the confidence you have expressed in me I have purposely used the word 'confidence' and not the word 'honour' because I have neither ever thought nor think that any office entrusted to me by the nation is for honour No It is for service and I cordially thank you for that I appeal to you and through you to the entire nation. I request you and the nation to assist me in the carrying out of this great responsibility that you have put on my shoulders I have always said, rather it always has been my firm belief that the existence of the League, not only the existence of the League but its strength, is equal to the existence and the strength of Pakistan. The Muslim League achieved Pakistan It was the call of the League responding which millions of human beings left and lost their hearths and homes.

"Now the League cannot forget its responsibility, it cannot leave it aside It is the duty of the Muslim League to make Pakistan such a worthy State so that the sacrifices made for its achievement may not go wasted It is my conviction that the strength of the Muslim League is as necessary and important as the strength of the Government I regret some remarks made by Mian 'Abdul Bari and I want to remove the misunderstanding. He said that I and my

Government have never accepted any proposal of the League This is not correct. Not a single resolution has so far been passed by the Working Committee or the Council of the All-Pakistan Muslim League which the Government did not accept But the Government cannot necessarily accept every proposal of one of the so many branches of the League. If the Punjab League wanted the Government to accept and act upon any of its proposals, it should have approached the Working Committee or the Council of the Pakistan Muslim League If the Pakistan League accepted that proposal or resolution and the Government did not act upon it, then he would have been justified in making that observation

'It was I who set up the precedence and the tradition at the first session of the Pakistan Muslim League Council of rendering Government accounts. Whatever today there are shortcomings in the League—and there are many—,it would be wrong to blame the Government for them. Unfortunately, the condition of the Muslim League today is not what it was before the inception of Pakistan. The few shortcomings in its organisation are responsible for this. I am not ready to admit that the Muslim masses of Pakistan are against the Muslim League. I claim that the Muslims of Pakistan are still with the Muslim League, and only with the Muslim League It is our duty to remove the shortcomings and ills from our organisation and to have faith in this that to make the League strong is to make Pakistan strong.

"What was the goal of the Muslim League before the achievement of Pakistan? To achieve Pakistan To fight against the Hindus of Hindustan and the Government of the day to get Pakistan Now you have formed your own Government Why? So that the League may be an opposition party even when your own representatives run the Government? To think that the League may remain the opposition is wrong. So far as I am concerned, I had decided in the beginning and I re-affirm it today that I have always considered myself as the Prime Minister of the League. I never regarded myself as the Prime Minister chosen by the members of the Constituent Assembly The day I will come to know that the League has no faith and confidence in me, that very day you will not find Liaquat 'Ali the Prime Minister of Pakistan.

"Many important problems face the Government. No matter how strong the Government, unless there is a general awakening and unity among the masses, it cannot face those problems. Awakening among the masses is League's responsibility. I yearn to hear once

again the same slogan of *Muslim League Zindabad* which was raised before the inception of Pakistan, because I do not regard League and Pakistan as two separate things

"Mian Bari has referred to the formation of dynasties. If I had that ambition, why would I have put my neck in your hand. It is possible that he had that ambition, *fikri har kas ba qadr himmate oost* I have decided to accept this office after a great deal of thinking and deliberation Some friends warned me that I was following the wrong path They told me I would be criticised and that I would lose popularity. Why should I care for popularity? What would I do of popularity if the thing which gave me popularity is lost? If I lose popularity and the League wants to make somebody else its President, it is free to do so People want offices for prestige Now I do not care for prestige There will be many more Prime Ministers of Pakistan But I am the first and none would be the first Prime Minister of Pakistan again Is not that prestige enough. But so long as I am alive, I would serve Pakistan even if I have to sweep the streets of Pakistàn

"I would like to say a word to the Press I have seen that all the newspapers have written that I should accept this office of responsibility Now I ask them that if they are in a way responsible for this decision, it is their responsibility as well to make it a success. They (the Pressmen) are all those who tried their utmost for the achievement of Pakistan At a time when nobody was ready to help the cause, they raised their voices in its favour. We had no Press of the League. Other newspapers helped the League. Now it is their responsibility to once again support the League as they had done once before

"I have one more request to make to the Press. If the Press really wants the Government to regard its voice as the voice of the people, it should realise its responsibility while commenting editorially It is not enough to criticise the actions of the Government. It is the responsibility of the Press to also put forward constructive alternate suggestions The Press should help us by giving solid suggestions. I am appealing only to those newspapers which have helped the League and stood by it, and which do not want to create disaffection in Pakistan It is futile to appeal to those (newspapers) which would describe it as hypocrisy if I go to perform *Haj*. It is the responsibility of the Press to strengthen Pakistan and the Muslim League.

"There is a complaint against me that I cannot meet everybody. To meet everybody is impossible If anybody wants to see me for some

personal purpose, he better not take the trouble. But if anybody wants to see me for something beneficial to the League and the nation, I would be most pleased to see him I have still great regard for my old fellow workers. If they do not meet me, they should not think that regard had decreased We all have to work together for Pakistan and the League.

"It is my conviction that if we try to make the League strong with firm belief and courage—which is our duty because strength of the League is the strength of Pakistan—the League will once again attain those heights which it had attained before the establishment of Pakistan

"Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman served the League when he took upon himself the task of reorganising the League Apart from that, you should not forget that if the person, no matter who he is, whom you select succeeds, it is your success, and if he fails, it is your failure."

PRESS INTERVIEW IN LAHORE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan arrived in Lahore from Karachi by air on October 11, 1950 [Replying to a question, he said,

"In every country, there is a political party that comes into power, forms the government and rules the country "

When asked to amplify his recent statement wherein he was reported to have said that "Muslim League is Pakistan," Liaquat 'Ali Khan said: "Pakistan is the child of the Muslim League It is the duty of the mother to look after the child till it grows up "

Replying to a correspondent who asked him as to whether he attached more importance to the Muslim League Council or to the Constituent Assembly as a source of power to his Government, Liaquat Ali Khan said that he was the Prime Minister of Pakistan because of the Muslim League Party in the Constituent Assembly which in its turn drew its power from the Muslim League organisation He said that he was the Muslim League Prime Minister and the control and guidance of his Government rested with the Muslim League.

Question "Has the Muslim League ever exercised that control ?"

Answer. "There is not a single instance where the Government has not complied with mandate of the Muslim League." When his attention was drawn to the demand of the Punjab League for the

repeal of Safety Act, he replied that the demand was from a prov League and not from the All-Pakistan League.

When his attention was drawn to the resentment caused l reference to the opposition in Pakistan as "dogs of India," Li 'Ali maintained that there were in Pakistan "some persons" who "dogs of India. Do you want me not to forewarn my people ag them?" He added that he did not refer to any particular p or persons but if anyone took it for himself it was his own outlool

Asked if the concentration of power into his hands did not i him a dictator, he remarked "It (dictatorship) is not in my nat He did not think there was a danger of the Muslim League l identified with the administration in Pakistan. On the contrar felt that with his election to the Presidentship of the League, Government servants would become more responsive to the pı opinion and promptly answer its call

Replying to another question as to whether he intended to re in favour of another person after he had revitalised the Mu League, he said "I have never quited any office or pos service which my people asked me to occupy I won't quit Presidentship of the League as long as my people want me to c on in that office"

Asked as to his programme for revitalising the League, he that a programme for that purpose would be drawn collectively.

Asked as to whether the fixation of the admission fee foı Muslim League ticket at Rs 1,000 did not preclude the possibility a poor man becoming member of the Assembly on the League ticl he said, 'It might be so but the League has to fight the elections , it must have funds for that' Later on, he assured that he would that a really deserving person was not deprived of the League tic merely on that account

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PAKISTAN'S STAND ON KOREA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on October 11, 1950 moved a resolution in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan asking the Assembly to approve the action taken by the Government of Pakistan in regard to Korea Replying to the debate on this motion, he said

The resolution, which I had moved, has received the suppc

all the Hon'ble members of this House except the two detached members from the Panjab

"My friend Mr Kamini Kumar Dutta of the Opposition has rightly pointed out that it is one of the sacred duties of Pakistan to make every effort to secure freedom for all the oppressed and down-trodden nations of the world, especially those of Asia I want to assure him that this has always been, and is, the policy of the Pakistan Government.

"I would like to point out to the Hon'ble members the great part which the representative of Pakistan, the Foreign Minister, has played in the Councils of the United Nations in securing the freedom, to quote a few instances, of the people of Libya, Eritrea, Indonesia and so on

"It is wrong to say that every policy of the Pakistan Government, or for that matter, any policy of the Pakistan Government, is dictated by any other consideration except the consideration of the good of Pakistan and the good of the humanity at large If, on certain matter, other countries see eye to eye with Pakistan or we see eye to eye with other countries, it does not mean that we are following them or they are following us

"As a rule I would not have wasted the time of this House to take notice of the speech that has been made by Mian Iftikhar-ud Din, because if you read his speeches, he has only three propositions to put forward, no matter whether it is Kashmir, whether refugees, whether it is Korea, whether it is anything else in the world, that this Pakistan is a stooge of the British and America, this Pakistan Government does not represent the people, this House does not represent the people, this House is self appointed and self-nominated. This is the gist of what he has said on the floor of this House. I do not know how far it is dignified for any member of this House to make statements and cast reflection on the representative character of this august assembly I do not know how far this is right, how far it is noble, if nobility exists in certain quarters, to treat all the members of this House as if they had no honest convictions, as if they were people who just say ditto to every action of the Government .

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din accuses us because there are certain actions and statements of ours which may be similar to the statements and actions of either America or the U.K., that because of that we are the agents of the British or the Anglo-American bloc, we are their lackeys, we are their bootlickers. Then in what category Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din

places himself *vis-a vis* Shyama Prasad Mukherjee ?"

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din ' I was talking of Kashmir "

Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am surprised that any Pakistani should have put forward a proposition which is being put forward by Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and those other enemies of Pakistan who want to unite Pakistan and India

"The member talks of Kashmir He knows fully well the situation in Kashmir He knows fully well what position is. He knows, in Kashmir there is aggression already done by another country There is no question that Pakistan wants to take Kashmir by force If Pakistan has done anything in the past, it has been to counter that aggression The member should not in his enthusiasm make statements which are dangerous, which are against the interest of Pakistan, and which are suicidal to Pakistan unless of course he believes in all what Shyama Prasad Mukherjee and his friends say

"He has made the statement that we have allowed America to make a Pakistani base From where has he got that information ? '

Mian Iftikhar-ud Din "By accepting that position in Formosa ?"

Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "What have we accepted in Formosa ? There is no decision about Formosa that the Pakistan Government have accepted "

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din . "Why then you send wheat ?"

Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "We have sent wheat to South Koreans and not to Formosa

"Then he made another proposition Why do not you send army to Palestine, to Libya, to Egypt ? I know only those make such proposals who want Pakistan to be an easy prey to any ambitious power He knows fully that Pakistan has not got a big enough army "

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din ' Then why did you send to Korea ?"

Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "What have we sent to Korea ?"

Mian Iftikhar-ud-Din "Wheat "

Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan 'The member does not know the difference between wheat and soldier (laughter)

"As I said, the stand we have taken on Korea is the right stand Pakistan's foreign policy is and always will remain not the policy of opportunism

"We stand by certain principles and we will continue to follow those principles Those principles are that Pakistan shall play its full part in the maintenance of peace in the world and fight aggression

wherever it may be and of whatever complexion it may be"

STATEMENT ON J N. MANDAL'S RESIGNATION

To a question of Mr Nur Ahmad on J N Mandal's resignation, Liaquat 'Ali Khan gave the following answer in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan on October 14, 1950

"I have not so far received the letter of resignation which Mr J N Mandal is said to have addressed to me but I have seen the text of the letter which he released to the Indian Press on October 7 I have no reason to doubt the authenticity of the letter that has been published in Indian newspapers and, in view of its contents, Mr Mandal must be held to have quitted the Pakistan Government

"Mr Mandal was in Karachi till September 15, when he left for Calcutta with the intention, it now seems, of leaving Pakistan for good The reason for his visit which he officially stated at the Secretariat, however, was that he had received a telegram that his son was laid up with typhoid in Calcutta and his condition was causing anxiety. A few days later, he sent a telegram intimating that his son was better but that he himself was unwell On September 29, I sent him a wire to say that I was sorry to hear about his health and hoped that he would soon recover and return to his work in Karachi The following day I received a telegraphic reply from him that he had recovered from illness but had been advised complete rest for some time more by his doctor He added that he might not be able to return to Karachi before the middle of October It now appears that Mr Mandal had no intention whatever of returning to Karachi at all

"Information about Mr Mandal's visits to Calcutta and his intrigues and contacts with the militant Hindu organisations in West Bengal, which are openly advocating aggression against Pakistan, reached me from various sources on my return from the United States about the middle of July. I also received reports that during his tour of East Bengal in April, May and June, Mr Mandal had tried in various ways to sabotage the Indo-Pakistan Agreement on Minorities, concluded in Delhi on April 8, 1950.

"I took the first available opportunity, therefore, of asking Mr

Mandal whether there was any truth in the story in general circulation that he was in league with the enemies of Pakistan and was opposing the implementation of the Minorities Agreement Mr Mandal denied this and gave me his full assurance of loyalty and devotion to Pakistan He added that he was wholly in support of the principles and policy laid down in the Delhi Agreement and although he was rather concerned about certain individual cases of maltreatment in East Bengal, he was satisfied that the situation in that province as a whole was normal and satisfactory and that everything possible was being done to implement the Agreement And in order to dispel any doubts in the public mind on this last point, he proposed to issue a Press statement explaining the position Mr Mandal issued this statement on September 8, in the course of which he specifically stated that the conditions in East Bengal were normal, that the confidence of the minority community in that province had been restored, that the Central and Provincial Governments were doing their best to implement the Delhi Agreement, and that Hindu migrants were returning to their homes in East Bengal in large numbers

'On one point alone Mr Mandal expressed dissatisfaction. He complained to me against the inclusion of Mr Baron in the East Bengal Cabinet and felt slighted that his nominee had been ignored in making the appointment of a Minority Minister to the East Bengal Cabinet I told him that the appointment of a provincial Minister must necessarily be left to the discretion of the Chief Minister and could not be imposed by the Central Government and that Mr. Baron who had been selected was commanding the confidence of the majority of his community

'In face of the categorical assurance of loyalty to Pakistan by Mr Mandal as recently as last month and his equally categorical statement in the Press about the implementation of the Delhi Pact in Pakistan, the false and baseless allegation now made by him in his letter are self contradictory and untrue and could only have been made by a person with scant regard for truth and honesty.

"I do not wish to comment in detail on Mr. Mandal's long and distorted version of the events before the Partition All this is past history But I would like to draw the attention to the confession now made by him that he 'always considered the demand of Pakistan by the Muslim League as a bargaining counter' only, that he held strongly that the creation of Pakistan would never solve the communal problem 'or even ameliorate the conditions of Muslims in Pakistan , and that he was all along 'opposed to the partition of Bengal

"This must sound very strange to each that heard Mr. Mandal speak as Chairman of the first meeting of the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan in Karachi on August 10, 1947 Then Mr Mandal said

'I hope you will agree with me when I say that the free Independent State of Pakistan will bring to all her citizens prosperity, happiness and peace. I would like to point out that not only the people of Pakistan and India but the people of the whole world look to the Pakistan Constituent Assembly and find for themselves that the Muslim community which determined to acquire their legitimate rights and privileges will never lack in the equality of doing not only justice and fairness but also acts of generosity towards the people of minority communities inhabiting Pakistan, and that is my greatest satisfaction.'

"Mr Mandal added :

'Unless a minority people are loyal and faithful to the State they have little justification to demand safeguards, protection and fair treatment. I would, therefore, like to make it perfectly clear that the people of minority communities are required to change their outlook and people of all communities living in Pakistan should trust one another

"Again while replying to an address of Welcome presented to him by the Harijans of Karachi on August 17, 1947, Mr Mandal said

"We look upon Pakistan wherever its boundaries may extend as our motherland

He expressed the hope that

"the generous gesture of the Muslim League in offering a seat to the Scheduled Castes in the interim Government and later in the Dominion Government would be adequately safeguarded '

"The world knows now the response of Mr Mandal to this generous gesture when after occupying for four years the high office of a Minister first in the interim Government and later in the Pakistan Government and proclaiming up till almost the last minute of his stay in Pakistan his unswerving allegiance and loyalty to Pakistan, he sneaks away to another country to disown, abuse and malign his motherland.

"In his letter Mr. Mandal has quoted at great length a number of alleged instances of high-handedness or injustice towards the minority community in East Bengal and has given a grossly exaggerated, false and distorted discription of the disturbances that took place in East Bengal about eight months ago as a direct reaction to the

communal rioting in West Bengal This letter, which according to a Calcutta newspaper *Nation*, has been supervised and edited by a prominent member of south Calcutta family is nothing but a rehash of the nauseating propaganda which has unceasingly been carried out by the Hindu militant organisation in East and West Bengal.

"There is the same combination of exaggeration, half truths and downright lies with which we are by now familiar The true facts about these alleged incidents and disturbances have been given on the floor of this House by me or in the statements of the East Bengal Government and it is unnecessary for me to repeat them now

"Mr Mandal has suggested, contrary to the statement made by him in the Press and personally to me last month, that the conditions in East Bengal have deteriorated very gravely and that the provincial administration is obstructing rather than furthering the implementation of the Delhi Agreement. He has further stated that the Hindus in Pakistan will be either converted or completely exterminated by gradual stages in a planned manner I cannot allow these completely false and extremely mischievous statements to pass unchallenged

"In the first place, I should like to state categorically that the situation in East Bengal is normal and that since the Delhi Agreement of April 8 1950, there has been no communal incident in East Bengal Mr Mandal admits as much in his letter although a section of the West Bengal Press has continued to play up, in reckless disregard of truth and the best interests of the two countries and their people's imaginary incidents in East Bengal, concocted stories of lawlessness and insecurity of life and property have been and are being put out to create and exploit communal trouble A recent examination of over 800 individual complaints received from the West Bengal Government showed that only about 5 per cent of them were true

"I have personally looked into this question of crime in East Bengal and the extent to which Hindus are its victims. I find that as in many other parts of this subcontinent, there has been some increase in crime in certain districts of East Bengal in comparison with pre-Partition days In other districts, on the other hand, the position has either remained stationary or has even improved. Both Hindus and Muslims continue to be victims of crime and the proportion between them remains very largely the same as before Partition. One feature which stands out is that stories about the molestation of women are wild exaggerations of actual facts The crimes against women show no perceptible increase over the last three years so far

as Hindus are concerned. In fact the number of crimes against Muslim women is much higher than the population ratio would warrant. As Honourable members would realise there is a certain level of crime in every society depending upon a number of social economic and cultural factors We are determined to put down crime with a firm hand, although it would be unrealistic to expect that we would succeed in extirpating it entirely

"Maintenance of law and order is the primary duty of the Government and in this respect East Bengal compares favourably with West Bengal and Assam where unfortunately a number of communal incidents have taken place even after the agreement The issue is, however deliberately confused and distorted by the detractors of Pakistan who, although fully aware that complete communal peace has prevailed in East Bengal for the last many months, nevertheless continue to present even ordinary crimes like theft and burglary in Hindu houses as major communal incidents

In the second place, Mr Mandal has accused the East Bengal Government and Muslim leaders generally of unwillingness to implement the Dehli Agreement and of failure to take effective steps in this direction As I have said before, this accusation goes contrary to the statement made recently by Mr Mandal But apart from that I think all impartial observers will support me when I say that my Government as well as the Government of East Bengal have done their best to implement the Delhi Agreement

"The East Bengal Government can justly claim priority in taking all the measures required by the Agreement The joint tours of the two Ministers appointed by the Governments of Pakistan and India have proved beneficial and have helped to restore confidence in the minority communities This has certainly been the case in East Bengal The work of the Central Ministers and the Minority Commissions and district Minority Boards in our respective areas have been under constant review by the Prime Minister of India and myself, although we have had occasionally to have good reason to be satisfied with the progress that has been made

"Figures of migration are a good index of the effect of the Delhi Agreement and the restoration of confidence in the minority communities. Up to the end of July there was a net exodus from East Bengal and the number of outgoing migrants exceeded that of incoming Hindus from April 12 to July 31 by 1,43,309. As might be expected, with the restoration of confidence the return movement has gained momentum and from August 1 to October 6, there has been a

net influx of 87,125 representing an excess of incoming Hindus over outgoing migrants

"Hindu migrants are returning to their homes in East Bengal in such large numbers that even Mr Mandal has not dared to challenge the fact, but instead of acknowledging it as a sign of confidence in conditions in East Bengal, he has attributed it to lack of rehabilitation facilities in West Bengal and India If that is the real reason, his advice to all Hindus to come out of East Bengal must be sheer madness The fact of the matter, however, is that conditions in East Bengal have been normal for so long that migrants feel secure in returning to their homes where the Government is doing everything to rehabilitate them

"The Government of East Bengal have from the very beginning regarded the rehabilitation of returning Hindu migrants as a matter of the highest priority Immediately after the Delhi Agreement, orders were issued stopping the rehabilitation of Muslim refugees on vacant lands belonging to Hindu migrants so that such land should be available for Hindu migrants to reoccupy as soon as they returned In pursuance of this policy the vast majority of returning Hindu migrants have been rehabilitated in their own houses and land and adequate funds have been sanctioned for the relief and rehabilitation of Hindus who suffered in the disturbances A limited number of houses were requisitioned in the past but they have mostly been derequistioned now

"Mr Mandal has also made the false allegation that Hindus are being squeezed out of East Bengal economically The measures I have recounted above show conclusively that the East Bengal Government is doing everything in its power to restore confidence and to rehabilitate the minority community economically and otherwise

"There has been no interference whatever with the religious practices or the educational facilities of the minority community Funds have been sanctioned both by the Central and the East Bengal Governments for the advancement of the Scheduled Castes education The allegation that pupils of all denominations are forced to recite from the Quran is totally false On the contrary, there are specific orders that only pupils of a particular denomination concerned should attend the religious instruction of that denominations. Such false allegations would deserve no notice at all but for the fact that they possess very dangerous potentialities for mischief.

'As I said before, my Government and the Government of East Bengal can confidently assert that we have endeavoured to the best

of our ability to discharge our obligations under the Delhi Agreement I will not by any means claim perfection for the work but I do claim sincerity of purpose and consistent and conscientious efforts.

"The real obstacle in the way of the Delhi Agreement is the attitude and activity of a strong section of West Bengal Hindus and West Bengal Press They have continued in utter violation of the Agreement to disseminate false and exaggerated news and mischievous opinions calculated to arouse communal passions and hatred between India and Pakistan The Delhi Agreement specifically laid down that those guilty of such activity shall be rigorously dealt with and both Governments undertook not to permit such propaganda and to take prompt and effective action against individuals or organisations guilty of it We have repeatedly drawn the attention of the Government of India to the open and flagrant violations of the Agreement in these respects The Government of India, although sincerely desirous of promoting the objects of the Agreement, have for one reason or another felt unable to take action against either of those organisations or the West Bengal Press

"So far as Mr. Mandal's allegations about the treatment of the minorities in West Pakistan are concerned, the leaders of the Scheduled Castes and other minorities have already refuted these allegations in the Press and given Mr Mandal the lie direct His allegation that a large number of Hindu temples and Gurdwaras in Karachi and Sind are in possession of Muslims and have been put to secular use is a distortion of facts. It is true that in some cases the migrating Hindu trustees have sold temple properties, as for example, Gur Mandir in Karachi, which was sold to a European purchaser in 1948. In other cases residential tenements attached to temples and Gurdwaras have been hired or leased to refugees but the sacred precincts of the temple itself are not allowed to be occupied The properties including the Karachi Pinjrapole which have been declared to be non-evacuee are in the process of being restored to owners or trustees.

"In his letter, Mr Mandal refers to the demand presented by him before the Minority Sub-Committee of the Constituent Assembly on behalf of the Scheduled Castes for joint electorates with reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes It is interesting to note that in his reply to the address of welcome presented by the Harijans of Karachi on August 17, 1947, Mr Mandal agreed with the demand put forward in the address for separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and added that the acceptance of this demand for separate

electorates would be an acid test of the sincerity of Pakistan towards the Scheduled Castes.

"Lastly, I most strongly condemn Mr Mandal's most mischievous assertion that the Hindus in Pakistan will be either converted to Islam or liquidated according to plan This is utterly false and outrageously irresponsible and dangerous statement which I strongly repudiate I should add that if I have not dealt with every one of the calumnies in Mr Mandal s letter it is because I do not wish to weary the House with a detailed refutation which would take hours to complete

'Throughout, Mr Mandal's letter has displayed an unreasoning and malignant hatred towards Islam and Islamic institutions We are trying in our imperfect way to translate the high principles of Islam in to practice and embody them in our constitution As the members of the minority community in this House gracefully acknowledged the other day, the fundamental rights recently approved by the Constituent Assembly are a clear testimony to the manner in which we intend to fulfil our pledges to the minorities

Mr Mandal s letter provides positive proof of the suspicions of disloyalty that his conduct had aroused in recent months Many people will in this just indignation ask why he was not dealt with as he deceived before he could slip away to Calcutta I must say that his explanation of his conduct and his profession of loyalty during his last interview did not fully satisfy me, but I preferred to give the benefit of doubt and not to withdraw in haste the trust I had reposed in him as my colleague for four years. Mr. Mandal has chosen to betray that trust

"I have seen a report that Mr Mandal has released to the Indian Press, a seven page letter, which he alleged to have addressed to me in June on the situation in East Eengal I spent almost the whole of June in hospital in the United States and Mr Mandal's letter of June, assuming that there was such a letter and that it is not a more recent production, did not reach me I mention this only to say that I do not propose to take any notice of Mr Mandal's outpourings in future

"Mr Mandal has now openly aligned himself with those Hindu militant organisations in West Bengal who seek to bring about war between India and Pakistan The Prime Minister of India in his speech before the Indian Parliament in August, 1950, dealt in detail with the warmongering of this group and showed that its demands against the territorial integrity of Pakistan or for exchange of minority

populations between India and Pakistan were nothing but demands for war between India and Pakistan which would bring misery, anarchy and chaos to this whole subcontinent The Delhi Agreement which all men of goodwill in India and Pakistan welcomed as the only path of sanity and peace is anathema to these evil men

"In his interview in Calcutta on October 10, Mr Mandal stated that in his view 'there are only two ways of solving the problem for good. The Delhi Agreement has never been and could never be a real solution, either East Bengal must form a part of Indian Union or East Bengal Hindus should be settled in India '

"This is direct incitement to war It is possible that the war-mongers with which Mr Mandal has joined indulge in such talk because they imagine that East Bengal is militarily defenceless I should like to tell these people that if, God forbid, an occasion ever arises when the military defences of East Pakistan have to be put to test, they are going to be very shortly disillusioned

' Mr. Mandal has done the greatest possible disservice to the interest of the minority communities both in India and Pakistan, but whatever resentment might be felt at the conduct of an individual, it should never be allowed to affect our national policy and our duty towards the minorities

"The Council of the Muslim League, in its resolution of October 8, urged both the Government and Muslims of Pakistan 'to redouble their efforts to win the confidence of the minorities The duty enjoined on them by Islam to protect the minorities and treat them in a fair and generous manner is a sacred obligation which must be fully honoured'. This obligation we must faithfully fulfil."

LIAQUAT INVITES COMMONWEALTH INTERVENTION

The following interview of Liaquat 'Ali Khan with Norman Smith, Associate Editor of the *Ottawa Journal*, Canada, was published in its issue of October 14, 1950

Replying to a question if there was anything Canada or the Commonwealth could do to end the terrible dispute that was so dissipating the strength and vitalities of both Pakistan and India at the time when they needed everything they had to get on with their

nationhood. Liaquat 'Ali said "Yes You can use your influence to make India adopt a more reasonable course It isn't important which method you use What is important is that you decide to apply this pressure, to use your influence So far you have not done so It is discouraging to me and dangerous to the Commonwealth that it does not take a more positive role I do not plead for central authority or any of that kind of thing I ask that members of the family work to straighten out family quarrels

"The Commonwealth has developed so much freedom that it is running the risk of remaining with nothing. In your earlier days when India, Pakistan and Ceylon were not dominions, you were a unit in interests and religion and race more or less You could afford to be easy. But now that you have new races and colours and creeds in your family, you must offer them something in return for membership Of what purpose is the Commonwealth if it does not acknowledge a common interest "

Liaquat 'Ali felt that Pandit Nehru could not fail to heed the combined advice of the Commonwealth and United Nations if only they would give that advice openly and frankly To stand back in some kind of neutrality, or in fear that to annoy Nehru would bring some dire results, was simply to embrace evil rather than good, and there could be no stating the fundamentals differently

Replying to another question if he thought war could actually break out between the two countries on this issue, he said "India is a country with a lot of internal problems on its mind It might underestimate the gravity of its actions towards Pakistan. And we would perish rather than submit to humiliation "

When, asked "but you don't plan to perish," he said "No, we do not plan to perish. We have right on our side and we are not going to betray it without fighting with all we have "

SPEECH AT SIALKOT

Liaquat Ali Khan in the course of a speech at Sialkot on October 26, 1950 said

' . If the Muslim League is not made strong and powerful and

the mushroom growth of parties is not checked immediately, I assure you that Pakistan, which we got after great sacrifices, will not survive .

"There are two types of people in the country, one who are genuinely interested in the stability and prosperity of the country and have some grievances against the League on its failure to fulfil in full the pledges given by the Party prior to partition and the second category consists of those persons who are out to cause disruption in the country and discredit the organisation. The last named element, rightly or wrongly, honestly or dishonestly, is causing disruption and is making attacks by issuing false statements.

"We have in our midst *Aby Lahabs* who refuse to pay any tribute to us on our achievements within the short span of three years but they instead make a scathing attack on us for not improving the conditions of the country The entire world has praised the achievements made by Pakistan during the last three years but our friends, however, refuse to agree with the other countries of the world in this regard.

"I am convinced that Pakistan is politically the most stable country of the East and even none of the countries of the Western hemisphere have challenged this claim This claim is challenged only by *Aby Lahabs* of our country .

"I am the Prime Minister of Pakistan because the Muslim League, your national organisation which within seven years won the Muslims Pakistan, devolved upon me the mantle of premiership. If the League asks me to resign from my office, I will immediately comply with the orders of the organisation to whom I owe my present position "

SPEECH AT GUJRANWALA

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, replying to an address of welcome presented by the Gujranwala City Muslim League on October 26, said that he fully agreed with them that one of the misfortunes that befell them after the establishment of Pakistan was the weakening of the Muslim League organisation which had such a proud record of achievements. "But, we all are responsible for it. The responsibility cannot be foisted on any one single person. Those who formed groups and parties within the Muslim League in the Punjab did not do so for any principle or programme."

Referring to his assumption of the office of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, he said that his new responsibilities had offered him more opportunities to serve his people. "I welcomed it when my nation called upon me to assume this responsibility and I believe that there is no honour greater for a Pakistani than that he should sacrifice

his life in the service of his people.

"I assure that I have never been influenced in my decision by my personal leanings and nor shall I be influenced in the future I have always followed the voice of my conscience You should not forget that you achieved Pakistan under the leadership of the Quaid-i-A'zam through your solidarity and perseverance Through unity you can achieve the most difficult objectives and it is my conviction that if the Muslim League does not re-emerge as a strong organisation, your hardships and difficulties will be multiplied a thousand times.

"One thing that you should always bear in mind is that you should be with the Muslim League not for any selfish motives but for the welfare and progress of your people and your country You should bend all your energies for creating unity in your ranks. I am a Muslim Leaguer for the last 27 years and the various vicissitudes in the fortunes of the organisation during this period never for a moment affected my loyalty and attachment to it. I advise you to exercise the maximum of discretion in the selection of your leaders and I believe that honesty of purpose is the greatest virtue of a leader I tell you that I am Prime Minister today because the Muslim League demands it from me .

"With the people of Pakistan there is only one solution of the Kashmir imbroglio, namely, free and independent exercise of the right of the people of Kashmir to decide whether they will accede to Pakistan or to India There is no other solution Both in the capacity of the President of the Pakistan Muslim League and as Premier of Pakistan, I assure you that we shall get this right to the people of Kashmir and shall in no way allow India to annex it by force We stand for peace and shall strive for peace but we shall not let the three million Muslims of Kashmir be sacrificed in the name of peace We believe that our cause is based on justice and justice shall ultimately triumph

"I have undertaken this tour to see with my own eyes as to what had been done for the victims of the floods and what more was required to be done I am happy to note that during this great calamity, the civil and military officials from top to bottom have spared no efforts to mitigate the sufferings of the people and one can confidently look forward to much closer contacts between the public and the administration in the future The Muslim League, too, despite its many handicaps and shortcomings, has made its full contribution towards the relief of the victims National service is of course the duty of the Muslim League. The Government officers are from among us

They are not foreigners It is the duty of the Muslim League to bring allegations of corruption against an officer to the notice of the Governor of the Punjab who will not let any corrupt officer go scot free . ."

He invited the people who criticised the recommendations of the Fundamental Rights and Basic Principles Committees as 'un-Islamic to present their own recommendations based on the Islamic principles before the nation to decide as to which of them were based on the edicts of Islam He warned the public not to be misled by the interested propagandists who called the recommendations as un Islamic He added, "We believe that if the foundations of Pakistan were not laid on Islamic principles, Pakistan cannot exist Negative criticism does not help anybody, and I am prepared to accept the unanimous decision of my nation on this issue "

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, PESHAWAR UNIVERSITY

Delivering the inaugural address of Peshawar University on October 30, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said :

"The opening of a University is not an ordinary event but an event of deep significance for the students, for their teachers and for the people in general When you construct and open a public building, when you erect and start a factory or when you complete a dam for irrigation and the production of electric power, you have completed a task It is now for you to sit back and enjoy the fruits of your labour There is nothing more to do But when you inaugurate a University, your work does not end there It just begins The work of a University, like the general process of education itself never ends—it is a continuing process

"Just as every human being, however learned and gifted he may be, has to go on learning and educating himself all his life and institution of learning has to go on extending, deepening and otherwise improving its work and technique. It has constantly to address itself to the problem of providing better facilities, both material and spiritual, for those it takes within its fold.

"To begin with, a University is a centre of learning, a centre of research and organisation, which arranges to impart knowledge and education to those who seek it This immediately raises the questions.

What is education? What is learning? In what way are they related to our everyday life? Is the purpose of education merely to provide an individual with the means of earning a livelihood or is there any deeper satisfaction to be derived from it? These questions can be multiplied indefinitely but they all point to the same thing namely, a definition of the purpose of education

"I do not wish here to enter into a detailed and lengthy discussion on education But I do intend to indicate broadly what education should mean to us

"A man who is born into this world has certain needs and certain desires whose satisfaction he constantly seeks He needs food, shelter and clothing to keep alive and be comfortable But this is not all He desires to know something about his place in the universe and his place in society The questions to which he seeks answers are innumerable What is the purpose of life? What should be his relations with his fellow human beings? What is good and bad? What is the most satisfactory way to live in this world To the extent to which he finds satisfactory answers to his questions he leads a contented life.

'It is the purpose of education to enable an individual to find the right answers to these questions, to provide him with the technique for not only earning a living but becoming a useful member of society. In short to enable him to become a good man, a good citizen, a good father, a good husband, *i e*, a fully integrated human being.

"We notice that the scope of education is as wide as life itself. If we narrow this scope we do violence to human nature, and we cramp the development of those we teach. A human being has the right to develop all his natural gifts and to seek a fruition of all his endowments Moreover, every human being is potentially a unique individual Education must make it possible for him to develop his aptitudes and his uniqueness

"I know that there is a school of thought which denies that man has any spiritual needs It proclaims that humanity has only material needs and that all the ills of our society can be set right by a change in our economic system. Unhappily there are many people in the world today who subscribe to this view, who see no difference between man and the animal excepting that man, because of a biological accident in prehistorical period, acquired intelligence and thus became a social being But the logic of this view is based on false premises and however imposing the edifice, its foundations are insecure.

'People who deny the spiritual needs of man do so by taking a narrow view of life, by only selecting a part of man's accumulated

experience, by ignoring the fact that all the great civilisations of the past were based on spiritual ideals and on religion. What is more when people chose to ignore their spiritual ideals their civilisation crumbled and fell. We are witnessing the same process today with our own eyes.

"This is not only to deny that the material needs of humanity are not important or that we can ignore them. On the contrary it is the paramount duty of a Government to bring about conditions which make it possible for every human being to be able to earn an honest labour. It is also the duty of every Government to see that there is no exploitation of one group of people by another. Nevertheless humanity has again and again come to the conclusion that men do not live by bread alone, that the satisfaction of the spiritual needs of man is the warp and woof of his existence as a human being.

"We, the people of Pakistan, are followers of Islam. We believe in a divine purpose in the creation of the universe and it is our duty to do everything to bring that purpose to fulfilment Islam implies a submission to the will of God and an unquestioning acceptance of the Divine purpose.

"In the struggle for and the achievement of Pakistan we have taken upon ourselves a mission of heroic proportions : namely, to create a society which enables its members to satisfy both their material and their spiritual needs—a society which is free from strife and which has no aggressive aims against anybody

"In this context, education in Pakistan acquires a deeper significance and a very great importance. We have inherited a system of education which needs a great deal of modification before it becomes suited to our needs. This process of modification is going on and it is in this all-important work that the universities in Pakistan can play a great part I have no doubt that Peshawar University will make a fitting contribution to this work.

"But it is important that we should all realise that we cannot achieve our ideals unless we educate the present and future generations of Pakistanis on the right lines. There is a misunderstanding prevalent that I must clear here. Some narrow-minded or misguided people believe that it is not possible to combine religious education with science and religion. In other words, they imply that religion is against progress. Nothing could be farther from truth. It is only people who have studied religion superficially and who have no real understanding of science who make these assertions. Nobody who understands Islam can make such a demonstrably false statement.

"Life is not something static. it is a dynamic process and it implies constant change. Not to recognise the necessity or the inevitability of this change is to deliberately blind ourselves to realities which face us all the time. It is through this dynamic process of evaluation that man progresses and the divine purpose is fulfilled.

"Islam takes this fact into full consideration and therefore, stressses the importance of education If evolution were not a fundamental law of life where was the necessity for acquiring education? Why should both the Quran and the Holy Prophet have stressed the importance of education? Because Islam recognises the necessity of change and stresses the importance of education, it is the most progressive religion in the world. We must never lose sight of this fact in preparing and executing any educational scheme of ours.

"I would like to say a few words here to teachers and students on this occasion Teaching is the noblest and the most difficult of professions It is noble because it is selfless and because it bestows on human beings the most precious thing in the world—learning It is difficult because it entails unending labour and brings few material rewards And yet the inner satisfaction of having imparted knowledge to others is perhaps the greatest reward that any man can expect or get

"Pakistan today needs selfless and devoted teachers more than anything else The making of our future generations is in their hands and I am sure they will come up fully to our expectations by doing their work devotedly

"The duty of a student is to acquire knowledge and develop his mental, physical and moral capacities. As long as he is a student he should not allow himself to deviate from his path of learning and fritter away his energies I know that in our troubled and difficult world of today there are many distractions that entice students away from their work But the correct and the right thing to do is not to be misled by these distractions. A student who does not devote himself wholly to his studies is like a sentry on duty who is asleep. Both are endangering and betraying their people The greatest service that any individual, whether he is a student, a teacher, a Government servant, a soldier, a shopkeeper or a bus driver, can render to his country is to do his duty faithfully."

PAKISTAN CAN REPEL BORDER INCURSIONS

On November 6, 1950, when Liaquat 'Ali Khan's attention was drawn to the statement of an Afghan Embassy spokesman in Washington that Afghanistan would create further trouble on Afghanistan-Pakistan border on the lines of recent incursions by Afghan troops in Pakistan territory, he said

"Pakistan is quite capable of dealing with any incident which may be put up by Afghanistan."

When asked to comment on the recent statement of Pandit Nehru that Pakistan had no independent foreign policy, he said "Pandit Nehru makes so many comments that if I started answering every one of them, I shall have no time to do anything else."

He added, in reply to another question, "Pakistan has not protested to India against this statement of Pandit Nehru."

Asked to give his reaction to Chinese invasion of Tibet, he said "The scene is so far away that I have nothing to say."

Q "But is not Pakistan interested in the issue?"

A "Pakistan is interested in every issue which ensures peace in the world."

Q. "What is Pakistan doing to ensure that peace?"

A. "Whatever we can."

Q. "And what is that you can?"

A. "Prayers."

Questioned on his talks in Peshawar with the Burmese Foreign Minister, he said "We discussed matters of common interest and there was generally identity of views. Our relations with Burma are very friendly. They are our neighbours and naturally meeting between the representatives of the two Governments occasionally is of great benefit."

Replying to a question on the formation of Jinnah Muslim League by Khan of Mamdot, he said "I have been a member of the Muslim League for the last 27 years. I have seen so many ups and downs in the Muslim League that such things do not worry me. In 1927, Sir Muhammad Shafi broke away from the Muslim League and formed a Shafi League. We all know what has been the fate of that League and I have no doubt that the Mamdot League will also meet the same fate."

Asked to comment on the use of Quaid-i-A'zam's name by Khan of Mamdot, he said: "I have noticed the resentment that has been expressed in the Press and by the people that the Quaid-i-A'zam's

name should not be allowed to be used for any personal advantage As a mater of fact people should not trade on Quaid-i-A'zam's name. I hope the Khan of Mamdot will realise that it was not a very good thing to use the name of Quaid i-A'zam "

Asked whether he thought the stock of the Muslim League was low in the Punjab as a result of party squabbles, he said "I would say it has gone up Those who were in the Muslim League for personal and selfish motives have gone out Now only those are staying or will stay in the Muslim League who have the interest of the nation and o Pakistan at heart

PAKISTAN COUNCIL OF INDUSTRIES

Inaugurating the second meeting of the Pakistan Council of Industries n Karachi on November 9 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan said

I am glad to be here with you once again to inaugurate the second meeting of the Pakistan Council of Industries It would be source of satisfaction to you that after a year of its coming into existence the Council is being given legal status in the rules framed under the Development of Industries (Federal Control) Act

"This fact by itself is an earnest of Government's keen desire to associate you in framing their industrial policy and programme This is in keeping with the avowed policy as declared by me last year at the time of your first meeting.

"I would also like to express at the earliest opportunity the Government of Pakistan's appreciation of your willing and ready response and concentration in resolving the fundamental as well as the day-to-day problems confronting the industrial development of the country

'The progress made in the industrial field during the last year will be outlined to you by your Chairman, the Minister for Industries would anticipate him to this extent only as to say that you will find his account to be a record of no mean achievement

'As I have already observed on a previous occasion, our efforts have to be judged against the background of events that have crowded Pakistan s last three long and eventful years during which period

almost at every turn we have been beset with innumerable difficulties

"Despite all these obstacles and handicaps the headways that we have made should not only be a source of some pride to us but should at the same time be an incentive to spur us on to more and greater efforts.

"I referred in my speech last year to the problem of financing industrial development and the need for stimulating foreign investment with this end in view Reasonable facilities have been created for financiers abroad to export to Pakistan large blocks of capital for investment in productive enterprises but a feeling is growing and not without some reason that full advantage has not been taken of our policy so far

"It should, however, be remembered that it takes time for foreign investors to decide where and how to utilise their surplus funds and inquiries continue to be made by investors abroad so that their interest in investigating the possibilities of industrial investment in our country does not seem to have abated I am nevertheless glad that a conciousness should exert seriously to mobilise the existing financial resources of our own country and divert them to more productive directions It was a matter of satisfaction that our people within a short period filled up the gap in commerce and trade which was one of the many problems created at the time of partition but we need no longer continue being complacent over the revival of trade alone.

"It is a truism that commercial activity does not create wealth and merely renders a service in the chain of distribution of goods which has come into being as a result of modern large-scale industrial production The temptation of quick and high returns offered by trade has to be curbed and overcome so that money is diverted to more fruitful channels of industrial enterprise This is really speaking, a truer service of the country and also in the long run a sounder investment I am constrained to say that our hopes that capital from within the country will be forthcoming for industrial investment have not been realised

"The Government may therefore, have to consider raising loans for financing industry and also take other steps for creating credit facilities So far we have naturally and for obvious reasons followed orthodox financial concepts but many countries have resorted to other methods to overcome shyness or shortage of capital One of the steps which the Government have taken to stimulate greater flow of capital towards industries has been the Government's financial association with private enterprise and the formation of the Industrial

Development Corporation But unless there is an acceleration in the flow of capital to industry we will have to take some or other of the steps to which I have alluded and which have been found fruitful elsewhere in stimulating industrial enterprise While still on the subject of finance in relation to industry, I would like to say a few words more After all, money or finance are subservient to the economy of a country as a whole It must be treated as a means of mobilising a country's available resources in materials and man-power.

"These are the real capital of the country and finance merely mobilises them and canalises them into a specific form of activity The problem should, therefore, be looked at from this angle and I am sure that once this change comes about, capital required for industrial development will be forthcoming in the requisite quantity and at the desired pace

"I am glad to say that in their plan for the organisation of industries the Government are now providing an adequate scope for small-scale and cottage industries along with large-scale industries. This is more important in the earlier stages of industrial development because it reduces the need for external capital These small industrial units have an important and useful place in consumption goods industries particularly where their function is, in many cases, complementary to that of large units The detailed proposals of the Government to stimulate the development of small-scale and cottage industries will be dealt with by my colleague the Minister for Industries and I would like to mention only one vital aspect, namely, the Government's financial assistance towards their development If these industries have to play their proper part in the economic uplift of the country, they have to be given help in various directions and not the least important of them is in the matter of financing these cottage and small-scale workers with their meagre monetary resources. The Government have under consideration legislation in this behalf and though it would be somewhat early for me and premature to discuss what would be its scope or its effect, I would, nevertheless, at this stage, like to state that the Government realise that financial assistance to small-scale and cottage industries is a necessity and that the Government should, in some way, afford this assistance and help.

"Some of the factors for consideration are the methods which should be employed in giving loans and subsidies and the conditions under which these should be advanced, and it is these and similar other matters which are at present under examination There is, however, another method by which all Pakistanis can take a share in

helping these industries and that is by exercising a preference for goods manufactured in their own country It was in a moment of inspiration that the Minister for Industries coined the happy phrase 'Patronise Pakistan Products

"The Government have organised a nation-wide campaign to arouse public consciousness to the necessity of encouraging indigenous production The advantages that will accrue to the nation in utilising their own products are so well-known that I need not recapitulate them here

"The Government as one of the biggest buyers is undoubtedly in a position to stimulate industrial production in the manner that I have suggested, but its determination to purchase locally manufactured products has to compete with the desirability of making the most economical purchases possible irrespective of the source of supply The Government have at present under active consideration proposals which will materially increase the purchase of Pakistani products. The Departments of Supply and Development are keeping statistics to show the total purchases made by them of imported and indigenous stores respectively and I am glad to observe that there has been an encouraging and steady increase in stores falling under the latter category

"I am aware of the feeling which is growing in certain quarters that the Government's taxation and farm policies do not give sufficient encouragement to industrial enterprise It is alleged that high rates of income-tax particularly in the upper slabs are not conductive to capital formation which is so necessary to modern large-scale industry Criticism is also being levelled against the existing tariff schedule that duties on some raw materials are high and are low on certain finished products which also are being manufactured locally so that imported finished goods are at an advantage in our markets

"I would remind you that the Government last year set up a Committee known as the Public Investment Inquiry Committee to investigate amongst other things into the causes of shyness and shortage of capital It made certain recommendations which have been carefully considered and the Government s action on them will soon be notified I would like to stress that what is really required is a greater spirit of co-operative effort in industry as without joint stock enterprise, it is almost impossible to raise the money needed for promoting big industries.

"As regards the criticism of the tariff schedule , the Government have now fulfilled their promise of setting up a Tariff Commission.

It will now be for the Commission to inquire into the cases of those industries which ask for protection including a protective tariff. I hope you will avail at the earliest of the opportunity now open to you and will not delay in putting up your claims for the consideration of the Commission.

"I have already said that the real wealth of a country consists of its man-power and available resources in materials God has blessed us with a finest raw man-power to draw upon for our technical personnel

"The Government have spent and will continue to spend large sums of money in getting Pakistani technicians trained abroad both on the theoretical side to obtain knowledge of an industry and on the practical side to get advanced specialised workshop or factory training The necessity of obtaining facilities of industrial training has always been kept in view by Members of the Cabinet who have had to go abroad and several friendly Governments and some manufacturing concerns have agreed, as a result of their efforts, to train Pakistani nationals in their factories and workshops

"The Government have every intention of taking the fullest possible advantage of these offers and of other facilities available under the UN programme for assisting undeveloped and under-developed countries It is also hoped that the deliberations of the Consultative Committee of the Commonwealth Conference will soon result in some concrete proposals to assist backward members of the Commonwealth and to train their technicians

"The same may also be said of President Truman's Point Four Programme. But the deficiency is so considerable that unless industrialists themselves share the responsibility with the Government and get proper foreign training for their employees it may not be made up for many years to come

"I would also take this opportunity of inviting the attention of foreign firms operating in Pakistan to this important factor in industrial development as they have in general better training facilities both here and in their factories elsewhere. It would also be of considerable advantage to them in the long run to give higher technical training to suitable and properly qualified Pakistanis

'The activities of the Geological Survey of Pakistan during the past year have been fruitful in revealing to us a number of important new mineral finds We have naturally been anxious to investigate our coal and oil resources and I am glad to inform you that a considerable deposit of lignite has been discovered in East Pakistan.

Without arousing hopes unduly, this discovery may well prove to be a turning point in the industrial development of that province.

"The Government having finalised their policy for working Pakistan's mineral and oil resources, search for oil has again been started and pursued with vigour. Prospecting or mining leases have been given for new areas both in East and West Pakistan and from the data so far available there is a great hope of striking oil in these new areas. The Government of Pakistan also hope that the oil companies will co-operate with them in implementing the new oil policy which was formulated after having obtained their views

"In the end I must thank all those who are taking part in this Conference for their help and for the time and energy spared by them for this valuable work. My thanks are due also to those members of the public who have helped us in the past year with their fruitful suggestions

"I realise that there are some people in our country who are not satisfied with the rate of progress of our work I understand and sympathise with their attitude Their dissatisfaction arises out of a keen and laudable desire to achieve a great deal in the minimum possible time. They must not, however, become impatient They must remember that Pakistan is only three years old and has even now to face innumerable difficulties. We must not overlook these difficulties when we assess our progress I am not suggesting that we should not work harder or try to achieve more but only this that we must not become impatient. We still need a few years' hard work before our path becomes comparatively smooth.

"I have no doubt in my mind that if we go on working hard and selflessly we shall achieve our goal with the grace of God, sooner than most of us think. *Pakistan Zindabad*."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS, KHAIRPUR LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY

Inaugurating the first Legislative Assembly of Khairpur State on November 11, 1950, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said.

"I believe, it is going to be a memorable day for other parts of Pakistan too. Khairpur has the distinction of being the first Pakistani

State to have a Legislative Assembly elected on the basis of adult franchise. It has no nominated bloc, all members are elected by the people I congratulate you, gentlemen, on having stolen a march on others

"The democratic rights bestowed on the people of Khairpur are in keeping with the declared policy of the Government of Pakistan It is their earnest desire to enable the people of the States to enjoy the same rights as enjoyed by the people of the provinces in Pakistan and to see that the system of government in the States takes the same shape as has developed gradually in the provinces.

"There is much scope for agricultural and industrial development in Khairpur The area is known to produce cotton and wheat in abundance and it is these commodities which are in great demand throughout the world today I am glad to see that the State Government is alive to these facts, and is not only working out various development schemes but also pursuing some of them in right earnest

"So far as agriculture is concerned, I am sorry to learn that some of the land has gone waste due to *sem* (waterlogging) and *thor* (salinity) The Central Government is considering measures to remove these defects and it is expected that such land will soon be reclaimed for cultivation

"The Government of Pakistan is anxious to provide to every part of Pakistan all possible facilities for educational and economic progress. For this very reason, the Government of Pakistan has made proper arrangements for providing the best possible education to the young Ruler of Khairpur, so that he may, on his return, be able to serve his State and his people better Having completed his education at Aitchison College, Lahore, he has now been sent to England to prosecute his studies under the supervision of the Pakistan High Commissioner

"I would like to draw your attention to another important question—the question of refugee rehabilitation You all know that since Pakistan came into being most pressing question before the Government—after defence—has been how to resettle the displaced persons as quickly as possible in order to alleviate their distress and to enable them to take their proper place in society as worthy citizens of Pakistan by standing on their own feet without being a burden on the Government

"We should not lose sight of the fact that there still remains much to be achieved Many refugees are still unsettled and there is a greater number of those who have not yet been satisfactorily employed. The Government of Pakistan will continue its efforts till every refugee

has been resettled In this it needs the co-operation of every Pakistani

"I am told that uptil now nearly 15,000 refugees have been rehabilitated in Khairpur and the administration of the State has undertaken to rehabilitate 10,000 more

"I want to emphasise that to provide housing accommodation or to allot a few plots of cultivable land is not enough for the rehabilitation of refugees. What is needed is that they should be given facilities for making a living and in case they happen to be cultivators, agricultural implements and other requisites be made available to them. This can only be done by hard work and a sympathetic approach to the problem.

"Mr President, in the course of your speech, you have referred to the Kashmir problem and while expressing sympathies with the people of Kashmir, you want them to be free from their troubles as soon as possible I assure you that every Pakistani thinks similarly and wants the Kashmir dispute to be settled on a fair and just basis as soon as possible. The Government of Pakistan have been trying from the very outset to see that the people of Kashmir have the right to decide their lot according to their will We hold the opinion and shall continue to say that the people of Kashmir be given an opportunity to have a free hand in moulding their destiny

"This has been our stand and it will be so in the future. Pakistan wants peace and it has always been its effort to decide every dispute by peaceful means. I want, however, to make it clear that we shall never permit India to subjugate Kashmir and hold it at the point of the bayonet. With all the power at our command, we shall oppose it, whatever the consequences.

"Finally, I want you to keep before your mind the ultimate objective for which 80 million people of this country offered sacrifices and achieved Pakistan. Before the partition of this subcontinent, the Muslims held the belief that so long as they did not have a hand in shaping their future, they would neither be satisfied nor would they be able to lead a life of contentment and happiness. Besides, they thought, they would not be able to lead a life in conformity with the principles of Islam which are very dear to them Pakistan was not achieved simply for adding another State to the States of the world, but because we wanted to establish a system based on Islamic principles and embodying at the same time the progressive elements of the present-day world.

"Such a system cannot be established in a day. It requires years

of ceaseless and selfless work You can also participate in this noble task of achieving this objective To put it correctly, it is your duty to work towards this ideal along with others You have undertaken a new task and if you pursue it honestly, God Almighty will bless you with success

"Your primary duty is to improve the lot of the masses because so long as the lot of the masses does not improve, this country can neither be developed nor can it be called prosperous. You have a very good opportunity to serve your nation You should see that personal wrangles of self-interest do not interfere with your endeavours and you should at all times work in the spirit that you are working for the welfare of the people and the State and for the betterment of Pakistan. I am sure your efforts will bear fruit in the form of a splendid and bright future for the people of this land"

INTENTIONS OF NEW PARTIES

Liaquat 'Ali Khan delivered his message of unity under the banner of the Muslim League to the people of the Khairpur State at a public meeting held on November 12, 1950 He said

" . I maintain that what the Muslim League has done (in achieving Pakistan) has never been done by any political party of the world What was our lot before the achievement of Pakistan? In numbers we were 10 crores, but we were neither organised, nor had we wealth and power. We had merely faith in our God and his Prophet. It is my firm belief that the birth of Pakistan was not only for the establishment of another independent country in the world. It is my conviction that God Almighty had brought Pakistan into being with some other purpose and when He wishes to do something He himself creates the proper causes

"The Muslim League was in existence since 1906. The Quaid-i-A'zam had also taken part in Indian politics for the last 40 years or so, and everybody accepted him as a good politician But the Quaid-i-A'zam of 1937 was very different from the Quaid-i-A'zam of earlier years. God Almighty entrusted a task to him.

"I have been in the Muslim League for the last 27 years and during this period, I never joined any other political party. Today

there is not a single Muslim in Pakistan or India who can claim to have stayed in one party for such a long time I have seen many ups and downs in the League In 1927, it was bifurcated into the real League, led by the Quaid-i-A'zam and the imitation League, led by Sir Muhammad Shafi. And now I have seen the day when the same Muslim League has achieved Pakistan—an achievement unparalleled in world history.

"When the Quaid-i-A'zam returned to this subcontinent from England, where he had settled down in 1930 or 1931, he undertook the task of organising the Muslims of this subcontinent who were then unorganised They had reached such a stage of disunity that they felt ashamed to call themselves Muslims Suddenly they rallied round the Quaid. What was that which made them do so? His insight, political acumen, and foresight was of course there But above all his honesty and integrity was mainly responsible for this rallying of the Muslims round him You have got Pakistan because of his honesty and integrity, and Pakistan can survive only if we are honest and sincere. Besides the Quaid-i-A'zam's leadership and guidance, the other great weapon in our hands for the achievement of Pakistan was our unity and organisation Today again the same unity and organisation is more necessary for the existence and strength of Pakistan

"Every person, who is not a victim of selfishness or who has not lost his brains knows that for a new country like Pakistan, whose enemies from all sides want to overshadow—enemies not only from outside but from inside—'unity and discipline are of paramount importance. Those who want to disrupt this unity are not friends of Pakistan, they are the enemies of Pakistan I have never regarded any office as a means of gaining prestige I regard offices as means of service to the country and the nation. No doubt the Presidentship of the All-Pakistan Muslim League is a great honour. But Prime Ministership of Pakistan is no less great an honour.

"People accuse me of dictatorship I wonder what type of dictator they think I want to be? I want to awaken and organise my nation. And thus I want to save the future generations against any threat of dictatorship (cheers). I want to strengthen the Muslims to unite the nation so that tomorrow if anybody even dreams of becoming a dictator, he would not have the courage to become one.

"After the achievement of independence, Government and nation are not two different things. The wrong mentality of regarding both as different entities is the outcome of 200 years of foreign rule. If the

party is organised and you are united, you can make the Government do anything you like Therefore, today it is most imperative for the nation to be united so that we can carry our country successfully past all the important problems facing it We can make it prosper and progress and can give practical shape to our dream of the times when we were fighting for the achievement of Pakistan that there be a country where we may be able to live as true Muslims and where by acting upon the principles of Islam, we may be able to show to the world that besides Capitalism and Communism, the two prevailing ideologies, there is a third one as well, namely Islamism

"The service Pakistan has so far done to Islam is not mean achievement The achievement of Pakistan and what has so far been done in Pakistan has made the Muslims of the world proud Every Muslim now thinks that the existence of Pakistan is a source of pride for Islam To strengthen Islam means to strengthen the Muslim countries and give them a sense of pride

"During my tour of the United States of America, many ambassadors of Muslim countries told me that it was for the first time that a Prime Minister of an Islamic country had the moral courage to preach Islam in America When they said that, their faces were beaming with pleasure They said they could never muster enough courage to say like things even in private parties in America

"People say that Liaquat has no beard But have I applied for the *Pesh Imami* [congregational prayer leader] of a mosque. (Laughter) Islamic appearance alone does not make a person Muslim. What we need is the real Islamic passion in our bosoms We need an Islamic heart.

"Thank God our country is safe from every epidemic. But unfortunately we have a peculiar epidemic in the country now-a-days. That epidemic is of party forming You practically daily read in the newspapers that a new political party has been formed These parties have neither any principles nor any programme. One gentleman, the moment he loses his majority support in the Muslim League, quits it, gets angry and forms a political party of his own. Why are these parties being formed? Not because they have any genuine difference with the principles of the League Everyone of them [founders of the new political parties] wants to become the President [of the League] and Prime Minister [of Pakistan] Tell them that there can be only one President and only one Prime Minister. There are, say, three parties [opposing the League] But even they cannot join hands. The only solution of this problem is that leadership should not be on a

co-operative basis (laughter).

"So far as the League is concerned, it is not somebody's personal property. It is the national organisation. The nation can call upon anybody to serve. So long as we do not engender the spirit that office is not for prestige and honour, we cannot make the party strong. I have been a member of the League for the last 27 years Before 1936, I never held any office in the League But why do people pine for office? If for personal ends and benefits, they do not deserve it. If for service, it is up to the nation to ask somebody to serve the country

"There is so much to be done in Pakistan that if somebody works incessantly all 24 hours, he cannot finish even a fraction of it. Office is not the only way of service There are a thousand other ways. But those who run after offices are selfish. Leaders are made by the nation, they should not forget.

"It is said that we (the Pakistan Government) have bungled in the Kashmir dispute We followed the policy we thought was right. Those who call it wrong may please suggest what should have been in place, so that the nation should get a chance to ascertain whether what we did was right or what they are suggesting is right. But our critics say all this only to mislead the people.

"It is also said that the recommendations of certain Committees of the Constituent Assembly are un-Islamic and opposed to the Objectives Resolution. If it is so, please tell us what is in keeping with the Objectives Resolution? Mere destructive criticism does not give any constructive aid or help. The Constitution we are framing is not being framed for any particular group or class It is for everybody and for our future generations, our children We want to frame a constitution which must be in keeping with the Objectives Resolution.

"It is my conviction that if Pakistan is not established on Islamic principles, Pakistan will not survive It has been created under such circumstances that it is absolutely imperative to make it an Islamic State This is my conviction, how can I go against it? I wish people told us what we should do I wonder how there can be a Muslim who has seen the hardships and sacrifices of lakhs of persons for the achievement of Pakistan and does not want Pakistan to be established on Islamic principles.

"The critics, some of them foolhardy and brainless, and some of them dishonest, want to create disruption and chaos in Pakistan Our greatest weapon is unity If we lose that, we lose everything. We

have to read the straight and right path Therefore, we should make our party strong, because with it is associated the existence and strength of Pakistan The Muslim League created Pakistan With the League is associated the history of the Muslims of this sub-continent And now after the establishment of Pakistan, the life of the Muslims of Pakistan depends on the League The League has become so famous that even African Muslims are now christening their parties as Muslim Leagues They know that the Muslim League has done a miracle The Muslims of the world have an attachment with the League I admit there are certain shortcomings in the League But if we are not capable of removing these shortcomings of the national organisation we do not deserve to have a political party at all.

"I am told there are about 25,000 refugees in this State and a few thousand more are about to arrive I am pleased to know that complete harmony between the *muhajireen* and *ansar* prevails here. I would ask the indigenous population of the State to always keep before them the example of the Muslims of Medina at the time of the departure of the Holy Prophet from Mecca If all behave like the Muslims of Medina, the refugee problem would be solved, not in years, not in months not in days, not even in hours but in minutes. The refugee problem has, to a great extent, been solved. But still quite a good deal has to be done The Government has levied the Muhajir Tax for this purpose We cannot be satisfied unless we rehabilitate each and every *muhajir* If there are 80,00,000 dissatisfied souls in Pakistan Pakistan can never prosper and progress. Therefore, it is necessary that this problem be solved as early as possible

"Some persons are trying to create rifts between the *muhajireen* and the *ansar* I tell both that those who want them to clash are neither friends of the one nor the other They are the enemies of Islam We should beware of their activities. I would ask my Pakistani brothers not to pay heed to their talk.

"I know fully well that on the Kashmir issue, there is no difference between the people and the Government. They want the Kashmiris to have the right to freely decide their fate We have been striving and will continue to strive to achieve this right for them. We will never, no matter what the consequences, let India subjugate Kashmir by force

"We want peace We are peace loving. But 32,00,000 Muslims cannot be sacrificed in the name of peace. We need perseverance, steadfastness and courage to solve this issue. I am sure that because we are in the right, we will, *Insha Allah* be successful."

POSTPONEMENT OF CONSIDERATION OF INTERIM REPORT OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES COMMITTEE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan moved on November 2, 1950 in the Constituent Assembly that the consideration of the interim report of the Basic Principles Committee be postponed to enable the Committee to examine and consider any suggestions that may be sent by the people in regard to the basic principles of the Constitution Placing the motion before the House, he said

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan (East Bengal—Muslim) "Sir, I beg to move

'That with a view to give full opportunity to those who may be interested in offering suggestions regarding the basic principles of the Constitution, the Constituent Assembly resolves not to take into consideration during this session the Interim Report of the Basic Principles Committee, in order to enable the Committee to consider any concrete and definite proposals that are in conformity with the Objectives Resolutions, which may be received by the office of the Constituent Assembly by the 31st of January, 1951, and to make such further recommendations as may be found necessary'

"Mr President, Sir, since the presentation of the Report of the Basic Principles Committee to this House and its publication, a large number of comments have appeared in the Press as well as from platform These comments can be classed into three categories Some of them are based on ignorance and inadequate appreciation of the recommendations contained in the Report Some are deliberately intended to mislead people and create confusion Some have been made with a genuine desire to see our constitution based on the principles laid down in the Objectives Resolution Sir, when this House adopted the Objectives Resolution, I have no hesitation in stating that it did so without any mental reservations. It has been our earnest desire throughout to frame our future constitution in conformity with the principles that are laid down in the Objectives Resolution

"Sir, we are desirous, I would say, are determined, to frame our constitution in accordance with those noble principles because we believe that in a world today which is torn by strife, which is in a state of chaos, the Islamic principles as embodied in the Objectives Resolution are the principles which can bring peace and progress to humanity It is our belief that Islam did not lay down these principles for any particular country or for any particular people

They are the principles which are applicable to all times and to all lands It is now for the people of Pakistan to frame their constitution in a way which would show to the world that these principles are capable of being practised upon, that these principles are capable of providing opportunities for a people who believe in God to progress with honour and with dignity. As such, Mr President, it is the earnest desire of the Members of this House to do whatever they can to frame the constitution in a manner that it may be an example to other countries of the world that are seeking peace and progress

"Mr President, it is stated in the motion that this postponement is desired for the purpose of enabling the Basic Principles Committee to examine and consider any concrete and definite suggestions that may be sent by the people with regard to the basic principles of the constitution I am fully aware of the fact that it means some delay, but there is no other alternative, if we are anxious and desirous to do our best in this direction

'Sir, a number of people while offering criticism on the Report have just stated that it is not in accordance with the Objectives Resolution and that there are a number of principles that should have been embodied in the Report It is an invitation and an opportunity to those people to make concrete and definite suggestions with regard to the Report as to which of its provisions are not in conformity with the Objectives Resolution and what are the reasons for their saying so In the same manner, it is to ask people to tell us what other principles are there, which are in conformity with the Objectives Resolution, which have been left out and which can be and should be embodied in the principles which we are laying down for the framing of our future constitution I do hope that those who are genuinely and honestly interested in framing the kind of constitution we all desire will take the fullest opportunity that is being afforded to them. It is not in the nature of a challenge that I have moved this motion, it is with the desire for seeking co operation from all those who have a genuine desire that we should have a constitution which is the best

'Mr President, there is no individual in the world or collection of individuals that can claim all knowledge or wisdom of the world and the members of the Constituent Assembly are no exception to this But we do claim that whatever has been done so far has been done according to our lights in conformity with the Objectives Resolution and whatever we will do in the future will be in

accordance with the Objectives Resolution because, as I have stated, Mr. President, it is not a matter of tactics with us, it is a matter of sacred belief with us

"Mr. President, it is a very great responsibility that has been placed on the shoulders of the Honourable Members of this House and I hope that every true Pakistani in this country will share that responsibility with us We are not framing this constitution for only the Members of this House or any particular section of the people of Pakistan, we are framing this constitution for all the people of Pakistan, for their future generations and for the peace and progress of this country as a whole And, as such, I feel that it is the duty of every Pakistani to play his part fully

"I would like once again to say, Mr President, that it is my firm belief that if we fail in the mission which we have set before us, we shall have failed not only the people of Pakistan but we shall have failed the whole of mankind"

STATEMENT ON JOINT 'NO WAR' DECLARATION

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan on November 28, 1950, delivered the following speech in the Constituent Assembly while placing his correspondence with the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on the subject of a 'no-war declaration'

"Mr. Chairman Sir,

With your permission, I am placing on the table of the House for the information of the members the text of the correspondence which was exchanged between the Prime Minister of India and myself on the subject of a 'no-war declaration.'

"Over a period of ten long months, we discussed the manner in which some of the principal disputes between India and Pakistan could be expeditiously settled and the feelings of mutual distrust that afflict the two countries removed. The disputes to which I made special reference were Kashmir, Junagadh and its neighbouring States which have acceded to Pakistan, the distribution of river waters, evacuee properties and the assets of Pakistan withheld by India Before I describe the salient features of this correspondence, I think,

you would be interested to know how it started

"In November last year, Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of India, suggested in conversation with Mr Isma'il, our High Commissioner in India, that a joint 'no war declaration' might be made by India and Pakistan When the High Commissioner reported this matter to me, I considered it and, after much thought, sent him an *aide memoire* to the following effect

"The Pakistan Government welcomes the proposal that all outstanding disputes between India and Pakistan should be settled by peaceful means and not by war This has been their stand all along They are convinced that a just and peaceful settlement of outstanding questions would remove both the causes and the fear of war between the two countries

The main disputes between India and Pakistan relate to (1) Jammu and Kashmir, (2) Junagadh and neighbouring States that have acceded to Pakistan, (3) Canal waters, (4) Evacuee Property and (5) assets of Pakistan withheld by India

'The issue of Jammu and Kashmir relates to the implementation of the U N Commission's resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949 These resolutions have been accepted by both Governments and have the character of an international agreement Negotiations between the two Governments and mediation by the U N Commission have failed to resolve the differences between the two Governments in the implementation of Part II of the Commission's resolution of August 13, 1948, the only course left is to refer the points of difference to arbitration In short, both Governments should reaffirm their desire to implement at the earliest possible date the Commission's resolutions of August 13 1948, and January 5, 1949 by having a free and impartial plebiscite in the spring of 1950, and should agree in advance to refer to arbitration any points of difference that have arisen or may arise in the implementation of these resolutions

'In the view of the Pakistan Government, the Kashmir dispute has an absolute priority over other disputes Without a just and peaceful solution of the Kashmir question, it is impossible to create that atmosphere of goodwill which is essential to the solution of disputes

'The second dispute relates to the occupation by India's armed forces of Junagadh and neighbouring States which had acceded to Pakistan The U N Commission has been entrusted with the

task of mediation in this case also and if its efforts at mediation do not succeed, both Governments should agree to abide by arbitration

'The third issue is a judicial one and if negotiations between the two Governments do not succeed, both Governments should agree in advance to refer the matter to decision by the International Court of Justice

"The evacuee property dispute can only be settled after the canal waters dispute has been settled since a decision on the canal waters dispute has a vital bearing on the question of evacuee property A settlement of the canal waters dispute is, therefore, an essential preliminary to a settlement of the evacuee property After the canal waters dispute has been settled, the evacuee property dispute should be settled by negotiation aided, if necessary, by mediation and if that does not prove successful by a resort to arbitration

'For example the assets of the State Bank withheld by the Reserve Bank, the sterling due to Pakistan under the Payments Agreement In this case too if negotiations do not succeed, both Governments should agree in advance to refer the matter to arbitration

'In all cases where a matter is to be referred to arbitration it should be agreed that all points of difference including those relating to procedure should, if necessary, be referred to arbitration so that it should not be possible for either party to hold up or obstruct a settlement and both Governments should agree to abide by the award of the arbitrator

'If the Government of India is prepared to accept a solution on the above lines, further negotiations can be undertaken to settle the details and the procedure of mediation and arbitration As soon as agreement has been reached, a joint declaration will be made that the two Governments will in no case go to war

"This Note was read over to Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai by our High Commissioner on December 3, 1949 In short as soon as I learnt that India was thinking of making a request for a joint 'no-war declaration', I welcomed the idea and made concrete and definite suggestions as to how, in my opinion, the objective of a peaceful settlement of all disputes could be achieved

"This was, Sir, the beginning of this correspondence which I have now placed on the table of the House I have no doubt that the hon'ble members would read the correspondence carefully They will

observe that I have throughout maintained the attitude that if we are to achieve the substance and not merely chase the shadow and if we are to carry conviction to our peoples, something more than a mere declaration is required. The history of the relationship between India and Pakistan ever since the establishment of Pakistan is not a closed book to any member of this House It is a heartrending fact that this very young country has passed through a series of most difficult situations created, if I may say so, by the unneighbourly attitude of India. I make bold to say that no nation, young or old, subjected to so much stress and strain at its very birth could have withstood the shock as resolutely and as well as we have done

"Before I discuss the correspondence, let me state once again from the floor of this hon'ble House that in Pakistan we stand for peace—peace with our neighbours, particularly India, and peace throughout the world We have no aggressive designs against anybody. We do not covet anybody's territory but I reiterate this—and I know that the whole nation to the last man is with me in this—that we shall not yield an inch of our territory to anyone

"We are sincere in our desire for peace We have great tasks ahead of us which require all our attention and all our energies. We have no desire to waste our time burning incense before false shibboleths

"The text of the declaration proposed by the Prime Minister of India will be found in the correspondence This declaration was handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner on December 22, though by a curious chance it did not reach me until much later This was followed by a letter from the Prime Minister of India dated 16th of January in which he offered certain comments on the specific disputes which were referred to in the *aide memoire* which I have just quoted He also stated in the letter that the whole object of the proposed joint declaration was to remove, to lessen the unfortunate tension that existed between our two Governments and to produce an atmosphere which was more favourable to the consideration and settlement of particular disputes I replied to his letter on the 14th of February and in the course of my reply I stated as follows.

> 'As I have repeatedly reaffirmed, Pakistan is convinced that war between India and Pakistan would bring utter ruin on both. The common good of both countries lies in the peaceful settlement of all disputes between them'

After welcoming the proposal to issue a join declaration, I went on to say

'To attain this object, it is essential that there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration since peoples and Governments are judged by their actions rather than by their words This action should, in the view of my Government, be taken laying down a clear-cut procedure with an agreed time-table, which would make it binding on both Governments to carry through the settlement of their disputes to its final peaceful conclusion

'For example we could lay down that from the date of the declaration, two months would be allowed for negotiations. The next two months would then be allowed for settlement by mediation of those matters which negotiations had failed to resolve.

'If, at the end of this second period of two months any matters remained unsolved they should all stand automatically referred to arbitration by a method agreed up in advance A last period of two months should suffice for this process, though its duration, of course, will depend on the arbitration or arbitrators '

"I made this suggestion in no spirit of controversy but from bitter experience I pointed out to the Prime Minister of India by way of illustration that the Kashmir dispute which holds the key to Indo Pakistan relations was a case in point. This dispute was referred to the Security Council and after a year's effort the settlement embodied in the UNCIP'S resolution of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, was reached, with the agreement of both India and Pakistan and the approval of the Security Council

"This settlement provided for a cease-fire and demilitarisation, leading to a free and impartial plebiscite Differences having arisen over the programme of demilitarisation and the Commission's mediation having failed to resolve them, the Commission suggested arbitration of the points of difference Pakistan accepted but India refused with the result that the matter was referred back to the Security Council after the lapse of a year The Security Council then asked General MacNaughton to mediate

"The proposals which General MacNaughton put forward have again been accepted by Pakistan but not by India In a situation of this kind, when a reference to an international body like the Security Council and negotiation and mediation carried out under its authority have failed, no negotiations other than arbitration of points of difference in the implementation of the settlement already reached can lead to a resolution of the dispute

"It will be seen from this that the considerations which impelled

me to propose a precise procedure were derived from past experience I accordingly added a draft declaration which you will find in the correspondence. It is as follows —

'The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples, hereby declare that they will not resort to war for settlement of any existing or future disputes between them They further agree that settlement of such disputes will always be sought through peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation and if these should fail to bring settlement, by resort to arbitration of all points of difference including those relating to the procedure for arbitration They undertake that they will abide by the award of an arbitral tribunal which shall consist of or the settlement of all existing disputes In the event of their not being unanimous, the decision of the majority shall be binding Negotiations for the settlement of all such disputes shall begin as early as practicable, and such of them as are not settled by negotiation within two months from the date of this declaration shall be referred to mediation for which a further period of two months shall be allowed Any matters remaining unsettled at the expiry of this period shall be referred to arbitration

'In pursuance of this declaration, both Governments hereby agree to refer to this arbitral tribunal differences which have arisen or may arise in implementation of the UNCIP's resolutions of August 13, 1948, and January 5, 1949, which both Governments have accepted for settlement of the Kashmir dispute Both Governments also agree that the canal waters dispute shall, if no agreement is reached by negotiation or mediation, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision In other disputes outstanding between them such as Junagadh and its neighbouring States, evacuee property, boundary disputes and claims relating to assets, both Governments agree that if no settlement is reached by negotiation or mediation the matter shall be referred to the arbitral tribunal It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that implementation of this declaration and the spirit which lies behind it will serve to promote friendly relation between the two countries and advance the cause of international peace '

"I seek your indulgence, Sir, to draw the attention of the House to one or two points If and when there is dispute between two countries, what are the possible peaceful methods of settling that

dispute. I know of only three—negotiation, mediation and arbitration. If there is a fourth method, I must confess I am not aware of it. There could be no greater proof of our keenness to live on friendly and cordial terms with India than that we offered to settle our present and even possible future disputes with her by all these methods.

"During this period, the Prime Minister of India and I have not only written long letters to each other but we have also met serveral times I regret to say that I have not succeeded in convincing him that my proposal offers the one and only method of a permanent and friendly understanding between the two countries My disappointment, therefore, is very great Since, however, I believe in the peaceful settlement of disputes, I wish to assure this House that despite this failure, I shall continue to work for a friendly understanding with India and I hope that in course of time the Prime Minister of India would be able to see my point of view

"Coming to the specific disputes, I would like to draw the attention of the Hon'ble members to the pertinent portion of the correspondence With regard to Kashmir, I would like to point out that it is the attitude of India that is making it impossible to hold a free and impartial plebiscite Since India is in military occupation of large areas in Jammu and Kashmir against the will of the people of Kashmir, it is clearly to India's advantage to prevent a plebiscite being held This Pakistan cannot possibly allow to happen

"The Kashmir dispute has now been before the Security Council for nearly three years The UNCIP and Sir Owen Dixon have reported at length on the dispute The world knows by now that the efforts of Sir Owen Dixon failed simply because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru would not listen to any of his suggestions It is now nearly two years since the cease fire and two years have been wasted because Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru does not agree to any suggestion made by the UNCIP, or Sir Owen Dixon, to allow the demilitarisation and the withdrawal of the Indian forces from Kashmir so that a free and impartial plebiscite may be held

"The commentary of the Indian Prime Minister on the United Nations Charter is worth quoting. He says:

> 'In spite of the brave and eloquent words of the Charter of the United Nations fierce disputes and impassioned arguments are in progress at Lake Success even as I write Member nations look at each other with fear and suspicion and the world stands on the verge of a catastrophe It is even possible that the United Nations may change its original shape and character.'

If this is what he feels with regard to the United Nations Charter which has been accepted by 60 nations of the world as a sheet-anchor, I feel I was justified in suggesting that a declaration as suggested by him would be utterly useless and would not carry us any further It might possibly have served as a good basis for international propaganda but it could not have contributed to the solution of the problems in the least

"With regard to Junagadh and its neighbouring States, the Prime Minister of India has taken up a curious stand He seems to have forgotten that the case of Junagadh and its neighbouring States is still pending before the Security Council and according to its resolution will be considered and disposed of after the settlement of the Kashmir dispute. Here is a case in which the Indian armies invaded Pakistani territories and proceeded to declare them as parts of India Is this the manner in which the Prime Minister of India wishes to settle disputes peacefully? Why is he not prepared to refer this question to any independent arbitral tribunal to decide whether the occupation of Junagadh and its neighbouring States by India is lawful or not?

"The Prime Minister of India is pleased to describe the dispute regarding Junagadh and its neighbouring States as not a live issue. It is by no means a dead issue It is indeed a very live issue.

"On the canal waters dispute, I wrote a personal letter to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru on August 23 drawing his attention to the official communication that had been sent on the subject to his Government In this letter, I referred to the suggestion made by him that we should have a report of technical nature before concluding that a settlement could not be reached by negotiations I pointed out that since his letter was written we have had benefit of studies by highly competent Indian and Pakistan irrigation engineers who had met together

'A meeting of the negotiating committee which met at the end of May disclosed, however, that disagreement was less over technical questions than over the question of the fundamental rights of riparians of international rivers I urged that no amount of further factual research would lead to an agreement by negotiation

"The factual data already collected had made it clear that Pakistan could not agree to diminution of its share of supplies from the river Sutlej with its tributary Beas, Ravi and Chenab I also added that on India's part the negotiators had announced that whether the research they proposed was made or not, they could not agree that the projects designed to diminish the supplies heretofore allocated to Pakistan

should be suspended. Those projects, I asserted, constituted such a threat to the vital interests of Pakistan and the maintenance of good neighbourly relations that if we did not reach agreement now the result would be a situation endangering international peace and security and justice

"I invited the Prime Minister of India to agree to refer this case to the International Court of Justice and I appealed to him that under the optional clause the Government of India had agreed to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court on the application of countries which are not members of the Commonwealth I pointed out that while such Commonwealth machinery was lacking it would be anomalous to deny to a sister member of the Commonwealth the friendly means to judicial settlement that were offered by India to countries outside the Commonwealth.

"After two years and a half of argumentation Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has now agreed that the dispute might be adjudicated. He had, however, suggested the setting up of a tribunal composed of two Indian judges and two judges from Pakistan I have again pointed out that it would be much better that this matter be referred to the International Court of Justice and I do not see any particular advantage in setting up a special tribunal when the world's highest tribunal is available to the two countries

"I have apparently not yet succeeded in convincing Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru He does not think that the International Court of Justice 'sitting thousands of miles away,' as he puts it, would be better qualified to decide the question than the *ad hoc* tribunal which he suggests might be set up I have, however, not rejected his alternative proposals I have asked him to let me have a draft of governing convention

'With regard to evacuee property also, no progress has been made I pointed out to the Prime Minister of India that it was futile to discuss the value of evacuee properties, as it depended to a considerable degree on canal waters. So far as agricultural lands in Pakistan are concerned their value depended entirely upon the availability of water They were irrigated lands and unless a settlement of the canal waters dispute has taken place, it is futile to expect that a settlement of the agricultural property was both possible and practicable.

"With regard to the urban properties we have already an Inter-Dominion agreement which, if India allows to be fully and freely implemented, would reduce the problem to manageable proportions.

But apart from this, ultimately the value of urban property also is affected to a very considerable extent on whether large parts of agricultural lands in West Pakistan are to receive irrigation water or not.

"So far as our claim with regard to the assets of the State Bank of Pakistan and other moneys are concerned we have made no progress and in his last letter Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has dismissed the case by saying that they had counter-claims

"This in short, Sir, is the substance of the correspondence that has been conducted for the past 10 months between the Prime Minister of India and myself There has been no agreement even on simple issues I am still of the view that what I suggested through our High Commissioner on December 3, 1949, that the only method in my opinion by which we can restore cordial relations between the two countries and carry conviction to our peoples that there would be no war between them, is to lay down a precise procedure with a time-table so that everyone in India and Pakistan should feel that at least now, for better or for worse, all the principal disputes between the two countries would be settled once and for all. My efforts have failed

"I still feel that the effort was worthwhile and I would only be too glad to renew it again as soon as I feel that the Prime Minister of India had appreciated the realism and the practicability of the line that I have adopted"

PRESS CONFERENCE AT KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on his return from Dacca on December 26, 1950, at the Mauripur airfield, Karachi, said

"Pakistan, from the very beginning, has been supporting China's admission to the United Nations"

Replying to a Press correspondent's question, he said: "The Security Council will stultify itself if it does not implement the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, on Kashmir"

Replying to the question whether he still hoped the Security Council would implement the two resolutions, he said "It should"

When it was pointed out to him that the Security Council was delaying the matter, he replied, "But still we are going on insis-

He told Press correspondents that he intended to spend "a little time during January and February in the Punjab, firstly in connection with the selection of Muslim League candidates (for the ensuing elections) and secondly for visiting a few places before the elections."

When his attention was drawn to Press reports on a "new Kashmir plan," he said "I do not know what that new plan is. There cannot be any plan. The only plan is a fair and free plebiscite."

He told a correspondent, who wanted to know as to how was the food situation in East Pakistan "There is no food situation in East Pakistan"

"The situation *vis-a-vis* the smuggling of jute from East Bengal into West Bengal is now better. I will not say it has stopped altogether, but it is less now than what it was. . . .

"I have not seen any particular Communist movement in East Pakistan. It is true that the Communist problem is more acute in East Pakistan than in West Pakistan, but there has not been any increase to Communist activity in East Pakistan."

Asked to comment on the agitation against the Basic Principles Committee Report, he replied "Everybody is now busy all over Pakistan preparing new constitutions We will probably get a thousand constitutions which will be helpful, because they will give more views."

When his attention was drawn to a recent statement by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, that Mr. Mandal "is a Pakistani national", Liaquat 'Ali Khan said "I hope, he will come back to Pakistan. A number of nationals betray their country and run away but by doing that they do not cease to be the nationals of that country.

"A number of Scheduled Caste members saw me in Dacca and they felt ashamed of Mr Mandal. They were all very grateful to the Pakistan Government that Pakistanis have treated that (Mr Mandal's) as only an individual betrayal."

INTERVIEW TO HERALD TRIBUNE'S SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, who was being interviewed by A. T Steele, special correspondent of the New York *Herald Tribune*

after he had put off plans for his departure for London on December 31, 1950, said:

"I can see little point in attending the coming Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference unless the Commonwealth countries agree to collective consideration of the Kashmir issue."

Disclosing that he was still in communication with London on the matter, he said, "I shall be prepared to go—if I find that the Prime Ministers are willing to deal collectively with the Kashmir problem—to see what they can do. The situation has not yet reached a point where I can say definitely whether I will be going or not ...

"I have felt and I feel that unless the Conference deals also with Kashmir problem, I could make no useful contribution. I am too busy to go to London on a holiday jaunt.

"I feel the world do not sufficiently recognise the seriousness of the Kashmir issue, especially in the context of the deteriorating global picture. Here are two countries facing each other with armies, yet nobody takes a serious view. With no settlement in sight, anything might happen, despite the best efforts of both sides." He charged the United Nations with "tinkering" with the problem—"not dealing with it in an effective manner." He added: "In mid-December, I got information that the Security Council would not take up the Kashmir question until the later part of January—that the United States and the United Kingdom did not want it brought up until after the Commonwealth Conference. That gave me a shock."

He mentioned the "general feeling" in Pakistan that "the Western Bloc has been taking Pakistan too much for granted and is kowtowing to India.

"Pakistan's people feel that the United States is not really giving that consideration to Pakistan's case that it should. Pakistan finds the scales always weighed in favour of India in spite of the fact that justice is on our side.

"In the United Nations when the security of Western Powers is at stake—as in Korea—everything moves very fast." By comparison he pointed out, Kashmir had been a problem for three years and "we are where we were. That's why people are beginning to lose faith in the efficiency of the United Nations' Organisation." He, however, remarked that the United Nations could, if it would, settle the Kashmir dispute by ordering a plebiscite, putting its own interpretation on the Kashmir resolution and applying pressure on all parties concerned to carry out their obligations. He felt that such a course would produce the desired results without the necessity of military action.

STATEMENT ON LONDON TALKS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, accompanied by Begum Liaquat 'Ali Khan and a party of five officials, left for London on January 6, 1951 to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. The following statement of Liaquat Ali was issued from Karachi

"The public is generally aware of the circumstances in which I have not so far gone to London to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, which opened in London on January 4, to consider the present international situation

"When about the middle of the last month I learnt that the Kashmir question would not be taken up by the Security Council till after the London Conference, I asked for its consideration by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers. I did so because the Kashmir dispute affects vitally relations between India and Pakistan and peace and security in Asia It would be unrealistic and futile to consider the situation in this part of the world without first seeking a solution of the Kashmir question.

"There has been some delay in settling the procedure for the discussion on Kashmir in London. This was perhaps unavoidable since each Commonwealth Prime Minister had to be consulted. I have now received intimation from the Commonwealth Prime Ministers assembled in London that they are willing to take part in a joint session on Kashmir I have accordingly decided to leave for London tonight to discuss the Kashmir question with the Commonwealth Prime Ministers and attend the Conference

"I am fully conscious that the patience of the people of Pakistan and of Kashmir has been sorely tried by the intolerable delay in the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir If the effort which will be made in London to resolve the present deadlock proves successful the Commonwealth will have rendered a signal service to world peace for myself I can only say that I am determined to make every endeavour to secure a just and peaceful settlement in accordance with the will of the people of Kashmir."

INTERVIEW TO 'DAILY MAIL

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in an interview with G. Ward Price, Director and Special Correspondent of the London *Daily Mail* on January 6, 1951, said.

"Until the Kashmir question is settled neither Pakistan nor India can make any contribution to the peace and security of Asia. We are too busy watching each other and that is a grave disadvantage to the whole world, for Pakistan and India are the only two stable Asiatic countries ...

"The Turkish Government have asked me to visit Ankara on my way back, but as elections are to be held in the Punjab in the month of March, and I, as President of the Muslim League, have to preside over the choice of candidates, I will not be able to do so "

Replying to a question whether he thought it possible that a solution of the Kashmir question might be found in London, he said "What I want is that the minds of the Commonwealth Premiers should be brought to bear upon it After all we talk about the Commonwealth as a 'family of nations' If there are any disputes within the family, what better place can be found for settling them than the family itself? Hitherto it has been a convention that we should shut our eyes to any differences of opinion within the Commonwealth, because it was feared that recognition of their existence might weaken its structure On the contrary, it is failure to face upto to them that will have that effect, for people will begin to doubt the utility of the Commonwealth's existence.

"This conference will deal with the problem of security in Asia To that discussion I could make no effective contribution while the question of Kashmir remained in suspense It was not worthwhile for me to fly 5,000 miles only to tell my colleagues that such was my position I did not try to bring pressure to bear by saying that I would not come unless a decision about Kashmir was made in favour of Pakistan All I asked was that it should be discussed and if something can be done to break the present deadlock on the subject, I feel that the Commonwealth will have rendered a great service to the peace and security of the world."

PRESS CONFERENCE IN LONDON

Liaquat 'Ali Khan at Press conference in London on January 16, 1951, said

"Indian Prime Minister, Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, rejected a pro-

posal by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers to put forces from other Dominions in Kashmir before and during a plebiscite.

"The Prime Ministers made a very helpful proposal. The Commonwealth force was to be withdrawn from Kashmir as soon as the plebiscite was ended I accepted the proposal. I am sorry to say that Mr. Nehru rejected it.

"I am gratified that the Prime Ministers made such a proposal They also offered that the expenses of any forces sent would be borne by the countries supplying those forces This was a very great practical contribution by the Prime Ministers of the other Dominions

Referring to negotiations for a settlement of the Kashmir issue, he said. "It has been agreed by all concerned that it should be decided on a free plebiscite, but one of the conditions of the plebiscite is that Kashmir should be demilitarised There cannot be a free plebiscite if there are large armies in occupation The Prime Ministers had to consider how to break this deadlock

"Their plan for troops from other Dominions was their solution There was a second proposal that a combined force of troops from India and Pakistan should take charge." Liaquat 'Ali Khan accepted this too, but Mr Nehru rejected it.

Liaquat 'Ali Khan said that India, to excuse the retention of her troops in Kashmir, had argued that they were there for the security of the State.

He had earlier gone over the history of discussions and negotiations saying that it had been agreed by all concerned that the future of the people of Kashmir should be decided by a free plebscite—"that it would be the people of Kashmir who shall decide their own fate"

He added: "There is a third Commonwealth proposal that the United Nations Plebiscite Administrator (Admiral Chester Nimitz of the United States Navy) should have authority to raise a local force from among the people of Kashmir itself. All other forces (including Jammu and Kashmir Militia and Azad Kashmir Forces) should either be disbanded or withdrawn." Liaquat 'Ali Khan accepted the proposal, but Mr. Nehru rejected it.

Asked which Commonwealth countries would have sent troops to Kashmir, Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied, "Australia and New Zealand and I think other Commonwealth countries would have done this. We never reached the State of finding out which ones." He added: "No co-operation is possible between India and Pakistan so long as the deadlock over Kashmir lasts."

Asked what would happen next, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said "I

know what the Government of Pakistan proposes to do but I don't want to say it today "

Questioned on how long he would give the United Nations Organisation to take action, he said "I want the United Nations to decide tomorrow The issue is so important I am prepared to withdraw all my forces tomorrow if Mr Nehru will withdraw his."

Asked about a suggestion that arms would still be in the hands of Azad troops, he replied. "I am quite prepared to see that even these are withdrawn I am prepared to accept any responsibility that any human being can No human being can escape responsibility when injustice is being perpetrated

"Let us appoint three men of integrity and ability I am prepared to leave the whole matter to them Let that be test of my sincerity All I want is that the people of Kashmir should have real freedom to decide their future I am prepared to accept any reasonable proposal which will ensure that "

Liaquat 'Ali Khan was told by a questioner that Mr Nehru had said that he feared strife if any change was made in Kashmir at that time He commented "It is an argument I would not put forward as an honest argument "

Questioned about what he expected from Lake Success, he said "I want the Security Council to give directions to India and Pakistan as to what are their obligations and see that they are carried out . . So long as the Kashmir dispute lasts neither Pakistan nor India can make any contribution to the preservation of peace in Asia "

Dealing with the reasons which held up his arrival at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, he said "It was not because I was non-co-operative I do not believe in non-co-operation I believe in the co-operation of all the people of the world.

"It was due to the fact that I felt the Prime Ministers of these great countries, who were assembling in London, should be prepared to devote some time and attention to this problem of Kashmir, which is not a problem only between India and Pakistan, but which is a problem that should concern all the peace-loving peoples of the world.

"Mr Nehru talks of giving freedom to the people to decide for themselves He wants them to decide with Indian bayonets pointing at their heads in Kashmir. I could not understand how a plebiscite would indeed be fair when there was a foreign army in occupation of a certain territory That is really why these negotiations failed.

'So far as Kashmir is concerned, it is a Muslim country irrespective of what anybody may say, 80 per cent of the population is Muslim

Geographically, economically, and culturally, it is a part of Pakistan

"All its rivers flow through Pakistan. All roads lead from Kashmir into Pakistan. It is only joined to India by a narrow strip of road which has been constructed after the partition of the Indian subcontinent."

"The situation is very serious. People are getting impatient and are losing their faith in peaceful methods. We have in Pakistan something like over half a million Muslim refugees who have come away from Kashmir from that area which is occupied by India. These people have not come to Pakistan for a change of climate The climate in Kashmir is much better than it is in Pakistan.

"We want a peaceful solution. An offer was made by the Commonwealth Prime Ministers for finding a peaceful solution of this problem. This has failed I have told you why it has failed. The only hope one can still have for a peaceful solution is in the Security Council The matter is before them and I hope and pray, for the sake of the peace of the world, that the Security Council will move greater vigour and speed than it has been doing in the past

"I am not exaggerating when I say that peace in Asia, not only in Asia but peace in the world, depends today on a satisfactory solution and a just solution of this Kashmir problem. As this deadlock lasts there is always a great threat to the peace of the world As far as Pakistan is concerned we want a just and peaceful solution. We want the people of Kashmir to decide whether they want to remain with Pakistan or with India. But we shall not be a party to allow India to take possession of Kashmir by means of force. I shall resist it with all the resources at my command, because that will mean submitting to injustice, submitting to aggression and if Pakistan once accepted that position then Pakistan might as well wind up and might go and sleep which I am not prepared to do."

PRESS CONFERENCE IN KARACHI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, at a Press conference in Karachi on January 22, 1951, said

The Government of Pakistan have two future courses of action before them vis-a-vis the Kashmir dispute, one of which is to pursue

the matter in the Security Council. The other I will not tell you If the Security Council is interested in preserving peace in the world, it should apply its mind to the solution of the Kashmir problem with vigour and speed, and I am sure the Security Council is interested in the maintenance of peace in the world.

"When Pandit Nehru comes here we will discuss all questions, but the Kashmir question cannot brook any delay It must be dealt with by the Security Council at the earliest possible moment."

Asked to comment on the possibilities of direct negotiations between Pakistan and India on the Kashmir dispute, he remarked: "So far we have failed "

Q "Is Pandit Nehru coming at all to Karachi ?"

A "I don't see why he should not What I have said about his acceptance of the proposal for stationing Commonwealth troops in Kashmir, s perfectly correct I don't think there is any doubt about it

"Pandit Nehru is opposed to it, and if he accepts it, the way is open to him The meaning of what he said (during the discussions at London) was 'No'. I shall be very happy if he accepts it now, if he did not say no

"I am satisfied that the Commonwealth Prime Ministers did whatever they could (regarding the Kashmir dispute) As you know, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers cannot force any country in the Commonwealth to adopt a certain line of action We are all free, independent and sovereign States within the Commonwealth, and one country cannot dictate to another as to what it should do. But so far as their efforts are concerned, they did all that any reasonable person could be expected to do.

"I think all the Prime Ministers knew the facts (about Kashmir) as they are, or at least one fact that there cannot be any free plebiscite in Kashmir so long as Indian troops are there."

Asked by a correspondent as to what time he would give to the Security Council to implement the UNCIP resolutions on Kashmir, he replied: "It is not a question of giving time. I am fully aware of the feelings of the people of Pakistan on this issue, and I have no doubt that in the interest of everybody concerned, it is of vital importance that this issue should be settled as soon as humanly possible "

Asked whether Pakistan had given any commitments regarding the supply of raw materials to the United Kingdom or any other Commonwealth country, he said: "Pakistan has not entered into any

agreement with any country with regard to the supply of raw materials. Pakistan is as free with regard to this matter as it was before I went to the Conference."

In reply to a similar question on defence, he observed: "I had no defence talks with any country of the Commonwealth and there is no commitment that I have made on behalf of Pakistan in this particular direction."

Asked to cite the reasons given by Pandit Nehru for rejecting the Commonwealth force proposal, he remarked: "It would not be fair for me to give the reasons Pandit Nehru gave, because I will not do justice to him. It is really for Pandit Nehru to say what were the reasons why he did not accept this proposition. I would not like to say anything whereby I may do any injustice to Pandit Nehru with regard to his reasons."

Further questioned whether Pandit Nehru did give any reason at all, he replied: "I think if you knew Pandit Nehru as well as the rest of the world knows, you must rest assured that he must have given reasons and at great length also."

The so-called Kashmir Government was described as the "hand-maid of Pandit Nehru" by Liaquat 'Ali while he was replying to a question whether any reorganisation of the Kashmir Government was discussed at the London talks.

When his attention was drawn to fears in certain sections of political opinion that the proposed stationing of Commonwealth troops in Kashmir might make the USSR and China apprehensive, he remarked: "Two or three battalions of Commonwealth troops are not going to conquer Russia and China. Russia and China know it very well."

When he was pressed to clarify the observation in the communique issued from 10 Downing Street, London, at the conclusion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' talks on Kashmir that the points of difference between Pakistan and India on the issue had been "narrowed down," Liaquat 'Ali Khan said: "(Narrowed down) in the sense that instead of talking through the jungle of argument, we came down to brasstacks, and the definite issue of withdrawal of troops (from the State) was dicussed, but Pandit Nehru did not agree to any one of the three proposals made by the Prime Ministers."

In reply to another question, he said: "The Kashmir issue is as important as any other issue can be where disturbance of peace is concerned. I think that has been recognised now by all the right thinking men that it is a very serious threat to the peace of the

world."

Question: "How do you visualise the Kashmir dispute as a grave threat to peace of the world?"

Answer. "When two armies of two countries are facing each other, how do you visualise any threat?"

Question: "Did you enter into any other details of the Kashmir problem?

Answer "The vital question is the question of demilitarisation of the State, and nothing else can happen till the matter is settled."

Question "If the Security Council does not do something to solve the deadlock within the next six months, what would you do?"

Answer. "It will all depend on the circumstances, six months is a long period in this fast-moving world."

"I hope that the Security Council will take some action which will deal with these two parts of the UNCIP resolutions—demilitarisation of the State and holding of a plebiscite."

Asked to comment on the reported withdrawal of Indian troops from Kashmir, he averred "My information is that there are plenty of forces of India in Kashmir today. They may have withdrawn a few soldiers"

Question "What stand did you take at the London talks regarding the Middle East?"

Answer "There was no question of taking any stand regarding the Middle East These conferences are held for mutual discussions and taking stock of the situation. There was no definite decision taken with regard to any matter. Now I am better informed with regard to these matters than I was before"

Question "Did the Sudan and Nile Valley problems come up before the conference?"

Answer "No and yes. No because it was not particularly discussed. Yes because the relationship between Egypt and England over this question was discussed"

Question "Would you like to mediate between Egypt and Britain over this question?"

Answer "I have no such ambition."

Liaquat Ali Khan could not say, "As to what proposals would be made" before the Security Council for resolving the deadlock over Kashmir 'but it is very likely that these proposals (made at London talks) will be brought up in the Security Council by some party or the other, and any other proposal that may be made."

Question : "Suppose a proposal for partial plebiscite is put forward what would be your reaction to it ?"

Answer "I don't suppose anything. . . I have said 'no' to the suggestion for the partitioning of the State made at my London Press Conference by Mr Kingsley Martin, Editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*. I asked the Editor as to how do you reconcile both—partition so far as handing over of Jammu to India was concerned and partial plebiscite in the Valley."

Replying to a question on the American proposal regarding Afghanistan, he said "The matter is still under consideration "

Question "What is the difficulty in accepting it ?"

Answer : "It is a vague proposal When that vagueness is removed, we will reply (America) We are still in communication with the American Government on this matter "

Replying to questions on the demand for quitting the Commonwealth, he observed "We will consider it in due course Pakistan must take decisions as and when the occasion arises "

Asked to clarify his statement in London that there was a good deal of goodwill for Britain in Pakistan, he said "There is a great deal of goodwill and there is a lot of grouse If the causes of ill-will are removed, I have no doubt that Pakistan would be very pleased to be on friendly terms with Britain "

He emphatically denied the suggestion of a correspondent that there was any rift in the Pakistan Cabinet

The same correspondent questioned him on the reported resignation of Ch. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, he replied, "Ch. Muhammad Zafrullah Khan has neither resigned, nor expressed his wish to resign, nor has he been asked to resign."

To another question, he answered The Pakistan Government is still considering the American move for branding China as aggressor in Korea

"We are very anxious to have peace in the world and do whatever we can to bring about peace in that part of the world where it is disturbed at the moment."

Replying to further questions on the possibilities of Pakistan quitting the Commonwealth, he said "If the Muslim League decides (in favour of quitting the Commonwealth) then the Government will follow whatever is decided by the Muslim League In this matter the decision must be taken by the All-Pakistan Muslim League and not by the Provincial Muslim Leagues When it is necessary we shall certainly call a meeting of the All-Pakistan Muslim League Council to

discuss the matter."

Asked whether India had approached Pakistan for another trade agreement, he replied · "There is some talk going on. But I am afraid it is in very early stages, and I cannot say anything more about it."

Replying to another question about China and Korea, he said: "I think there is scope (for further negotiations) and before any final action is taken it is my view that every effort should be made to end these hostilities (in Korea) and bring about a *rapprochement* between China and the other powers in the United Nations"

He added "I have not held discussions with His Majesty's Government during my stay in London regarding the revision of the existing trade agreement between Pakistan and the United Kingdom. The talks left unfinished by the British delegation which visited Karachi in December are being continued"

When his attention was drawn to the report appearing in a local English Daily that the Central Commerce Ministry had not implemented the decision of the Cabinet regarding abolition of preferential tariff rates with regard to certain commodities imported from the United Kingdom which were not covered by the 1939 Indo-UK Agreement, governing trade between Pakistan and the United Kingdom, he said "I have seen the report under a 50-feet banner headline in the newspaper The report is the product of some fertile brain. No Ministry in the Government dare take any action against the decision of the Cabinet."

When an Editor stood up to point out that the report had stated that the decision of the Cabinet had not been "implemented" by the Commerce Ministry, he emphatically asserted: "That is wrong, absolutely wrong.'

Asked whether there had been any change in the attitude of the Pakistan Government towards the Viet-Nam and Viet-Minh States in French Indo China, he said · "We are where we were."

Again questioned on the possibilities of Pakistan quitting the Commonwealth, he replied "Leaving or remaining in the Commonwealth is a very minor issue You can leave the Commonwealth in five minutes We have to see what is best in our interest."

He said he had held discussions with the Egyptian Foreign Minister in Cairo "about our mutual interests."

Replying to a question on the Moscow invitation, he said: "I won't say it is dead, but in the cold storage, that is where it was." He added "I shall visit Indonesia sometime this summer after the

budget session. I hope to visit Turkey one day."

Liaquat 'Ali Khan said, "The Muslim League will poll more than 85 per cent of the votes in the forthcoming elections in the Punjab."

Asked on the agrarian reforms' report of the Muslim League, Liaquat 'Ali Khan, also the President of the Muslim League, said: "There is every possibility of our going ahead with our agrarian reforms. As a matter of fact, we are determined to go ahead with agrarian reforms."

He told a correspondent who drew his attention to a statement by a politician that Pakistan should look to Moscow for solution of the Kashmir dispute, that if the politician "can get permission from Moscow, I shall be glad to allow him to go there and try his luck."

He added "There must have been good reasons" for denying passports to two writers who were invited to Moscow, if the report that passports had been denied was correct.

"I am satisfied that the agreement between Pandit Nehru and me has been working very satisfactorily. According to my information, something between a million and a half and two million non-Muslim refugees who had gone out of East Pakistan have returned to East Pakistan, and I think about 8 lakh Muslims who had come from India into East Bengal have returned to their homes. It shows that conditions in East Pakistan must be normal for such a large number of non-Muslims to come back and resettle in their homes there."

In reply to the last question, he said "Out of the 2 lakh refugees that had entered into East Pakistan from India from February, 1950, about 15,000 have been returned to India."

INAUGURAL ADDRESS AT ECAFE SESSION

Inaugurating the seventh session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East in Lahore on February 28, 1951, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"I am happy to welcome you all on behalf of the people of Pakistan to this ancient city of Lahore which, through the ages, has played an important part in the events which make up the history of this subcontinent. It was founded in that ancient past whose annals have come down as the lores of a mythological period. Whatever its origin, its history has been a colourful one, situated as it is on the well-known

highways leading from the plateaus of central Asia to the fertile plains of the Gangetic valley over which, through numberless centuries, conquerors have marched in the hope of fame and glory. But times have changed and so have human values Men now seek glory not so much in armed victories as in ideological and economic conquests of the world and in attainments of science and knowledge.

"The region, which the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East seeks to serve, has suffered for many long decades from hunger and disease, and here millions of people lead a sub-human existence verging on starvation Their lives have been one long tale of misery, unrelieved even by hope Stricken by famines and epidemics, bowed down with care, they must often wonder why Destiny had made it so hard for them to live, when in other countries life was so different —so full of zest, so full of joy At times like the present when a large mass of humanity is in mental revolt against the conditions of life under which they were born, and which conditions give little promise of a change, when scepticism prevail and when the hearts of men rebel against the injustice of their hard destiny, people become easily responsive to any perverse teaching which offers an easy panacea for their ills. Their ignorance and illiteracy prevent an objective analysis of new ways of life offered to them. Their desperation makes them accept any hazardous path of life, if it only promises relief from their suffering. We must understand and take note of this state of mind if we are to save those peoples from unnecessary hazards, which may promise but never achieve a better way of life and a higher standard of living.

"While the struggle for political freedom was in progress in this area, the people were led to believe that political emancipation would suddenly transform their economic conditions Quite naturally, freedom became associated in their hearts with economic elevation These peoples, who for many generations have suffered untold miseries, naturally demand today that if freedom has to have any meaning, it must bring them release from poverty and from disease, that freedom must ensure for them a full life Let us not blame their impatience, for indeed their suffering has been very great.

"The principal function entrusted to the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, under the terms of reference of the Commission, was to initiate and participate in measures for facilitating concerted action for the economic reconstruction of Asia and the Far East, and for maintaining and strengthening the economic relations of these areas, both among themselves and with other countries of the world. It was, indeed, a noble ideal that inspired the establishment

of the Commission. The opportunity to serve the peoples of these lands being limitless, the scope for achievement was also almost infinite. The accumulated decadence of many generations was a challenge to human effort to bring the state of existence to a reasonable human level. The countries of the area lay in a stupor, and life and progress had passed them by. Their heritage of bondage and poverty had benumbed their bodies. Their minds had shrunk and d cayed. They had to be reawakened to a consciousness of the possibilities latent in human life At last came he day when their destiny took a turn and they awoke to the realisation of the state in which they were, and awareness descended on them what life may be capable of yielding Political emancipation has given them a yearning to reconstruct their lives and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East came into existence to help them to realise that urge and to translate their aspirations into realities. The peoples of this region must necessarily judge the achievements of the Commission with reference to the rise in the level of economic activity brought into their lives.

"The Herculean task entrusted to the Commission should be viewed not only as mere work but as a mission and as a crusade. We appreciate that the task was so great and so difficult as almost to defy human effort to deal with it expeditiously. But the peoples of these lands have a right to ask whether the task has even been begun. The United Nations has given to humanity great promises. The advanced countries of the world have often proclaimed their intent to help the under-developed countries to progress towards the goal of attaining a full life. The countries in South and South-East Asia are no doubt appreciative of the efforts which are being made in several places to give them technical training and knowledge but it is often asked whether in the great ocean of misery and suffering, which comprises Asia and the Far East, the loan of a few technicians, the grant of a few scholarships and a periodical compilation of economic data do, in fact, constitute effectual measures to remove poverty and suffering, so rampant in these areas. In these lands where archaic methods of agriculture produce, perhaps, the lowest agricultural incomes in the world, where even the most elementary medical facilities are non-existent, where illiteracy and ignorance prevail, where the standard of living of the people is sub-human, small measures of technical assistance cannot be an assurance of advance towards that life, where men may live in peace and security without want and fear.

"It is for you, gentlemen, who have gathered here from the many

countries interested in the welfare of the people of Asia and the Far East to design activities which would, in fact, help the peoples of these regions to help themselves in acquiring a better state of existence There are numerous ways in which these peoples can be trained to make use of the material which Nature has given them The scheme of economic co-operation which has lately been evolved by the countries of South and South-East Asia, does make a promise of ushering in an era of prosperity and well being for the peoples of that region. There is some disappointment generally that the Colombo Plan does not promise more than at best, to prevent a further deterioration in the standard of living in the area. Np one is aware better than the people connected with the working of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East themselves that real incomes of the peoples in South and South-East Asia have actually diminished compared with the pre-war level With fast rising populations and stagnant production, the future presents a grim prospect We do not reckon the standard of living in terms of luxuries but in terms of mere subsistance, and even on that basis the Colombo Plan is an endeavour only to sustain the very meagre level of life of the present

"The six-year National Plan of Pakistan itself is far from being spectacular It is essentially a basic plan, designed to prepare the ground for the future phases of development It is not unattainably ambitious Its greatest attraction is realism It will not achieve dramatic results but it will, we hope, take the country a step towards the goal which we all have before us, that is, to raise the standard of living of the common man. The same is true, to a large degree, of other countries in the East Pakistan is anxious to co-operate fully, and to the farthest extent of its capacity, in the economic development of under-developed countries and I take this opportunity of advising every Government in the area that critical times are ahead, and that it is dangerous to defer any longer the task of undertaking work of economic development

"International bodies like, the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East, can play a great part in helping these countries to implement their national plans of development There are certain projects which are not productive in the commercial sense but which constitute social capital for these countries, for example, provision of medical facilities and establishment of polytechnics, pilot projects and laboratories for research relating to soil, agriculture, *etc*. In respect of such projects, it is eminently appropriate that the United Nations and its specialised agencies should provide not only technical assistance but

also financial aid Very few countries have the means to make available to their people medical facilities to the extent necessitated by the unhealthy conditions which prevail there They do not have even resources to purchase adequate supplies of medicines It should be possible for these countries to produce medicines and drugs Similarly, bureaus of research for dealing with menaces like water-logging and soil erosion, should be financed by the U. N. There should also be established such centres of scientific knowledge as would help to bring the benefits of scientific research carried out in western countries to the under-developed countries of the East. International institutions should be established for the purpose of assisting not only one single country but the entire region and the facilities provided there should be available to all the peoples who require them

"Gentlemen, you are meeting at a time when humanity is on the threshold of another crisis. There is a sense of urgency all round. Your decisions and the programme which you chart for your future activities will have considerable effect on the economic life of the countries which you hope to serve Economic factors will to a large extent determine the course of the events to come. I pray that in your deliberations you may be guided by one single motive and that to help the suffering millions of Asia and the Far East to be released from their present state of suffering and to advance towards a life not of ease and luxury but of conditions wherein they may live in security wherein men may, once again, rise to human status and wherein their minds and souls may once again blossom into creativeness as in times gone by. Let us strive to attain such conditions of existence that the peoples of the East may also play their part in carrying human life forward

"With these words, gentlemen and in this hope, I declare the seventh session of the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East open and wish your deliberations all success"

'PAKISTAN HAS AN INDEPENDENT FOREIGN POLICY'

Addressing an election meeting at Gujranwala on March 8, 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan said.

"Pakistan has an independent foreign policy and its policy and decisions are not influenced by any consideration except the maintenance

of peace in the world The corner-stones of Pakistan's foreign policy are establishment of friendly relations with all the countries of the world fraternal relations with Muslim countries, supporting the foreign-yoked Muslim countries to attain their goal of political independence and co-operation with other countries of the world to maintain peace in the world

Pakistan is neither tied to the apron-strings of Anglo American bloc, nor is a camp-follower of the Communist bloc It steered clear of the inter-bloc rivalry and has an absolutely independent foreign policy Pakistan has all along been uninfluenced by the inter-bloc struggle and has supported the cause which it considered to be just The records of the United Nations debates bear a testimony to this fact Sometimes we agreed with the Western bloc and sometimes with the Communist bloc, and as the situation and the matter under discussion demanded Pakistan can pursue an independent course because it is not under the obligation of any foreign country We have not been given assistance by any country of the world and whatever we have achieved has been through our resources Therefore, the question of subservience in foreign policy does not arise"

He quoted the instance of non devaluation by the Pakistan Government and asked his foreign policy critics whether it was possible for Pakistan to stick to this decision, had her policies not been independent of foreign influences Commonwealth had devalued except Pakistan and another Commonwealth country The fact that Pakistan had vindicated her non devaluation decision had proved that the policies of Pakistan were uninfluenced by any considerations other than the public will

Elaborating his argument further, he said that Pakistan had trade and commercial relations with all countries, irrespective of the fact whether a country was in the Communist bloc or in the Western camp It also had diplomatic relations with all the countries and in this matter too it had not been swayed by any such idea that a particular country was a Communist State or a Capitalist State

Referring to the second cardinal point about establishing fraternal relations with Islamic countries, he mentioned the establishment of the International Islamic Economic Conference and Pakistan's leading role in this sphere

About the part played by Pakistan in helping the slave Muslim countries to regain their independence, he said that United Nations records would speak volumes for it Even the statements of the leaders, prominent religious heads and divines of such countries bore

an eloquent testimony of the policy of Pakistan to help the slave Muslim countries to throw off the yoke of foreign subjugation He added "But if these persons wanted the isolation of Pakistan in the world, and that seemed to be the meaning of their independent foreign policy, this will never be done So long as I am directing the destiny of the nation, Pakistan will play its role in the maintenance of peace in the world and figure prominently in the international field "

He said that membership of the Commonwealth did not affect their foreign relations in any way An independent foreign policy and staying with the Commonwealth were not necessarily mutually opposed things He emphasised that Pakistan wanted to model itself on Islamic principles and was not ready to surrender either to Capitalism or to Communism

Mentioning the name of Khan Iftikhar Husain of Mamdot for the first time in his speech, he ridiculed the Khan of Mamdot's Lyallpur speech in which he had stated that Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan was preaching unity to maintain himself in power as Prime Minister Liaquat 'Ali Khan said that if he had desired to monopolise power in his own hands, he would never have tried to unite the people because unity always increased the power of the masses His message of unity was for the purpose of strengthening Pakistan and nothing else An individual meant nothing if compared to the interest of the nation or country he added

He recounted the achievements of the Muslim League Government in the various aspects of national life and claimed a definite improvement everywhere He said that by winning the currency war with India they had proved that economically Pakistan did not depend on India and was one of the strongest states in Asia

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HEALTH IS STATE'S RESPONSIBILITY

The Pakistan Medical Conference, held on March 20, 1951, in Karachi, was attended by delegates from almost all parts of the world including the Soviet Union, Iran, India, Indonesia, the United States and the United Kingdom, besides representatives from the two wings of Pakistan. Inaugurating the Conference, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"It is a matter of great pleasure and pride that so many

distinguished medical men from France, India, Indonesia, Iran, United Kingdom, United States of America aud U S S R are attending this Conference Our cordial thanks are due to them for the fraternal interest they are evincing in our problems It also shows that medical men form a world-wide brotherhood and the service they render is for the benefit of mankind as a whole

"The medical profession, by common consent, is considered to be one of the noblest professions, and medical men, by virtue of the services they render in alleviating human esteem throughout the world Yours is a profession, which renders true service to mankind, irrespective of any distinctions of caste, creed, colour, community or clime In Islam the highest form of worship of God is unselfish service to his creatures, *khidmat-i-khalq*

"The medical profession occupies a very important position in the national life All national progress and advancement, in the ultimate analysis, is dependent on the health and the physical fitness of the individuals comprising the nation A nation of weaklings goes to the wall It not only cannot withstand the onslaughts of the external enemy, it cannot successfully grapple with the thousand and one problems which arise in the course of daily existence and calls for tireless energy and effort The problem of health therefore is of vital concern to every modern Government which holds itself responsible for the safety well-being and progress of the people whom it represents

"Health has come to be recognised as a responsibility of the State It is of utmost importance that there should be the closest co-operation between the Government and the medical profession In this connection I am glad to note that members of the medical profession rendered selfless service during the Punjab floods and for the refugees at Pithoro which are deeply appreciated both by Government and the public

"The Government heartily welcomes the move of medical men to meet in conference and take counsel together with a view to devising ways and means not only for the prevention of disease but also the raising of the general standards of health and physical fitness of the people In all your efforts to promote medical studies and education and to improve the health of the people you can count on the full support of the Government

"The Muslims, as a people, have been known in history for their physical prowess and solicitude for health It is a commonplace that a sound mind exists in a sound body. I would go further and say

that sound character, temperament and courage too depend largely on soundness of physique. A sickly man lacks true courage, firmness of character and cheerfulness of disposition It is, therefore, essential that the problem of health should be viewed not merely as a question of alleviating pain or controlling disease, or merely a scientific problem to be tackled at academic level, but as a vital national and human problem This aspect of the problem has been thrown into bolder relief by the emergence of our people as a free nation possessing an independent, sovereign State I have no doubt that our medical men are fully alive to the responsibilities which devolve on them in the new national set-up

"From the first day of its existence as an independent State, Pakistan has had to labour under tremendous handicaps and disadvantages inherent in the circumstances under which Pakistan came into being Nowhere were these handicaps felt so keenly as perhaps in the medical field I need not go into the reasons, but the fact was that Muslims mostly were denied facilities for medical education As a consequence, there was and still continues to be, an acute shortage of trained medical personnel among Muslims Government is fully alive to this problem In spite of the heavy demands of defence on our finances, we have done our best to attend to the question of expanding medical facilities and augmenting the strength of the medical personnel Though health services are mainly under the provincial Governments, the Central Government has not been slow in assisting them, by advice and financial support in extending the scope of the health service

"We are still in the initial stage of the building of our State, we are not yet out of the woods There is tremendous lee way to be made up, more so in the medical field If we wish to catch up with the advanced nations in the matter of medical aid and health, as we must, we have to work with redoubled speed and missionary zeal Medical men, true to the high traditions of their profession, can set an example in this direction

"Our *per capita* income is low and the generality of our people cannot afford to go in for private medical aid The responsibilities of the Government and the medical profession, whether engaged in private practice or Government service are, therefore, enhanced There is a certain apathy among our people with regard to questions of health. This is an unfortunate tendency which must be checked. An important aspect of the problem is to make people health-conscious and to create in them the realisation that health is a vital necessity

not only from the point of view of individual well-being but also national progress and security.

"The medical profession can play an effective part in this respect. If our medical men make up their minds, as I know they are willing, to go all out to serve our people, even though it involves temporary inconvenience, I have no doubt that the shortage both in the matter of medical personnel and health services will be made good.

"It is not for me to make suggestions for the deliberations of this august body of eminent medical men I have only attempted to draw your attention to some salient features of an important national problem which can only be tackled by your wise counsel and effective co-operation As in other fields, Pakistan offers limitless opportunities for study, research and service in the medical domain The Muslims have a glorious record of contribution to medical science.

"The Muslim tradition with regard to the medical profession has been one of absolutely ungrudging selfless service rendered even at the cost of one's own interests That is the reason why the *hukama* (physicians) were like the *'ulema* (the learned men), held in the highest veneration.

"Pakistan has come into existence for the set purpose of reviving the best Islamic traditions of learning and culture True culture, according to Islamic notions, consists not in merely possessing a fund of knowledge and enlightenment, but in spreading the benefits of one's intellectual and scientific equipment among the common people

"I have no doubt that our medical men, as members of a noble and learned profession, will set an example of true culture and selfless service The rewards of such service are richer than any amount of material gain which one might acquire I have great pleasure now in inaugurating your conference which, I am sure, will form a landmark in the history of the growth and development of medical science and medical services in this country"

LANDLORDS URGED TO CHANGE OUTLOOK

Addressing the Punjab Muslim League MLAs in Lahore on April 3, 1951, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"The Punjab since the birth of Pakistan has passed through turbulent and difficult times. The fair name of this great Province is in the mud not because there is anything wrong with the people but because some self-seeking politicians are quarrelling among themselves for power. For over three years the people have suffered patiently while the disruptors and chaos-creators have a thrilling time They cried from house-tops that the Muslim League was dead like Queen Anne's cat but the recent general elections to the Punjab Assembly on the basis of adult franchise have proved to be the funeral note of their hopes and wishes The result of the general election is a writing on the wall for anyone who wants to read For the first time in the history of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent elections were fought on the basis of adult franchise and the people's will is now mirrored in the unprecedented success of the Muslim League candidates

"The people have not voted for individuals or groups, they have voted for the Muslim League and its programme It is now for the Muslim League Assembly Party to justify the popular confidence by whole-heartedly working for the uplift of the masses

"In the proposed legislative programme top-priority must be given to the agrarian reforms by affording a relief to the tiller of the soil The *zamindars* must quickly adjust their outlook on pressing agrarian problems in the country in accordance with the requirements of the time They should not hold back today what the people would seize from them with force tomorrow The adult franchise has brought to people a sweeping and a new consciousness of their privileges and rights The solution of problems now facing the country cannot be postponed

"This time there was no canvassing by individuals or their supporters to pitchfork themselves into ministerial posts This is what it ought to be This is going to be a single party Government and, therefore, there should be no occasion for bargaining amongst groups.

"As long as the Leader of the Party, whoever he is, enjoys the confidence of the members he should be given a free hand to choose his colleagues in the Cabinet If, however, the Leader loses the confidence of the Party the whole Cabinet must go

"They (Punjabis) are amongst the best human material in the world. They do not deserve the fate to which they have been condemned during the last three years They have, however, borne their suffering with fortitude and courage and have given another chance to the Muslim League and its representatives.

"You must not fail them this time As far as the Centre is concerned it is profoundly anxious to do everything possible for the restoration of the prestige and self-respect of the Province The Centre is not something different from the provinces. It represents the collective will of the people to make Pakistan strong, prosperous Islamic State to serve the cause of the Muslim world and humanity The provinces are there only for administrative convenience, there is no question of favouring one province at the cost of another They are a single united people inspired by unflinching courage and devotion to make the great state of Pakistan a true servant in the cause of international peace and goodwill "

ISRAEL'S BREACH OF ARMISTICE TERMS

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a message to the Syrian Prime Minister Khalid Bey al-Azam on April 13 1951, stated

"The Government and the people of Pakistan whole-heartedly support Syria's cause in her present dispute with Israel and condemn Israel's breach of the armistice terms. I assure Your Excellency that we in Pakistan regard Syria s cause as our own

'The present incident, which is not the first of its kind, only confirms our worst apprehensions Throughout its short existence, Israel has clearly shown that it will not submit to any instructions of the Armistice Commission which might confine Israel's apparent tendency towards expansion at the cost of the Arabs

"We trust that the Security Council will take notice of the acts of named aggression perpetrated by Israel, and will take effective steps to safeguard the rights of Syria and thus prevent this incident from turning into a new conflagration "

THE RAWALPINDI CONSPIRACY (SPECIAL TRIBUNAL) BILL

Liaquat 'Ali Khan on April 16, 1951, replying to the demand for open trial of those involved in the Rawalpindi Conspiracy in the Assembly, said,

"Mr. President, it is not my intention to deal at length with the points that have been raised during the course of the debate My honourable friend, Mr. Pirzada, would reply to the points that were raised by the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition and Honourable Mian Iftikhar-ud-din. I only propose, Sir, in general terms to say a few words about the Bill which is for consideration before this Honourable House

"Sir, although I was not able to give more details of the conspiracy when I made the statement on the floor of this House yet there was sufficient indication as to the nature and the seriousness of the conspiracy and I would have thought that the Honourable Members would have agreed with the Government that the best method of dealing with this conspiracy was what is being proposed in the Bill which is before the House

"Sir, the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition and Honourable Mian Iftikhar-ud-din have both stated that this expeditious trial is being arranged in the interests of the accused That is not so It is being arranged in the interests of Pakistan They should realise that . ."

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya (East Bengal General) "I said expeditious trial is for the interests of the accused. I only said that "

The Honourable Mr. Liaquat 'Ali Khan: "Sir, I am sorry if I did some injustice I mixed him up. He sits so close to Mian Sahib and it is easy to make the mistake on some occasions Sir, I want to tell the House that as I stated the other day the nature of conspiracy is such and the people that are involved in the conspiracy are such that the sooner the whole affair comes to an end, the better it is for the stability of Pakistan and the peace of mind of the people in Pakistan That is why this expeditious trail is being arranged and that is why those ordinary methods which are provided in the ordinary law are being dispensed with.

"Sir, my honourable friend the Leader of the Opposition said that he has been against the appointment of Special Tribunals from 1910 to 1942 From that, one would be right in concluding that since 1942 he has changed his view and since 1942 he probably thinks that appointment of special tribunals is a blessing and not a curse where the accused are concerned. But I suppose he was meaning that he was opposed to the special tribunals while he was actually in practice. Am I right?"

Shri Sris Chandra Chattopadhyaya. "Yes."

The Honourable Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I do not know if it was bad while he was in practice If so, then some uncharitable person might think that long-drawn-out trials are in the interests of a certain class and therefore the moment when he left that class, he changed his opposition to special tribunals also

"Sir, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din stated that we should have an open trail and he gave the example of Reichstag Trial in Germany and he said that in Russia also there are open trials and so there are in U K I am sorry, Sir, that he should have compared this conspiracy with the Reichstag conspiracy That shows a diseased mind If he thinks that this conspiracy, which has been unearthed, has been deliberately done by Government as a trumped up thing like Reichstag trial was put up by Hitler, then I am sorry that he has not done justice to the Government He may regard himself as an honest person in this country but he should give some credit for honesty and integrity to others also who happen to have the responsibility of running the state and keeping Mian Sahib and others in comfort and in peace

"Sir, there is no comparison between the trials that took place in the matters of any conspiracy in other countries and the conspiracy which is going to be tried under this particular legislation Will he point out to me a single conspiracy that was tried in open court of the nature which we are going to try by means of this tribunal either in Russia or in Germany? They would have used other methods There would have never been any kind of trial of anybody in a court of law by the Special court or an ordinary court either open or secret Sir, the Honourable Member should realise that we, being a democratic state, have adopted a method which I can assure him, many countries in the world would not have adopted even today. What we feel is this that whatever may be our view, whatever may be the information in the hands of the Government, those that are accused of such serious offences should be tried by an impartial and judicial tribunal, a tribunal the members of which occupy today the highest judicial offices in our country I would never be guilty of seeing an innocent person punished I shall never be a party to see that a guilty person did not get his due Sir, I would have thought that even Honourable Main Iftikhar ud-din would give some credit to the Government that they have not adopted other methods which some other countries would have done in a case like this but they have adopted a procedure and method which would give as fair an opportunity to the accused person to clear themselves, if they possibly can, as any other method could have afforded them. Sir, the Honourable Mian Sahib has

vexed eloquence on the advantages of an open trial If he had studied the reaction in the country, he would have found that the majority of the people and a vast majority of the people are in favour of the trial being held in camera because they know the serious effect that publicity would have I am not thinking of the world opinion, I am thinking of Pakistan and its stability and of our armed forces and the serious effects that the publicity of a case like this would have on so many elements in the country Certainly it would not be in the interest of Pakistan to have open trial Knowingly or unwittingly Main Sahib, when he has pleaded for an open trial, has lined himself with a section that wants disruption in Pakistan I am sorry that he should have allowed himself to be misled Sir, the Honourable Mian Sahib stated that it was not a question of a few individuals but we should do whatever is for the good of Pakistan

"Sir, now this is, again, a matter of opinion Main Sahib may think that one thing is good for Pakistan May be those very conspirators thought that what they were going to do was for the good of Pakistan Therefore, you cannot judge it according to the views of any particular individual or any class of persons

"I submit, Sir, and I hold that what we are doing is for the good of Pakistan It is in the best interests of Pakistan and as I have stated, Mr President, I want that no innocent person should suffer, because I always feel that so long as I have this responsibility, so long as I have been charged with the duty of serving the State and my people, I must never do anything for which I cannot give my answer to my Creator I always have this in front of me—that one day I will be called upon by my Creator to answer for all my actions and, therefore, it is with that view, it is with that feeling that I want that those—however certain we may be about their guilt--who are involved in this conspiracy should be tried by a tribunal whose integrity and whose impartiality no one would be able to challenge

"Sir, Honourable Mian Iftikhar-ud-din warned us towards the end and he told my honourable friend, Khwaja Shihab-ud-din that he did not want any mercy from the Government, as he had suffered in the past. We all know that he had suffered in the past. I would not say that he is a hardened criminal, because they were not the offences of the kind for which a man is called a criminal He did not want any mercy and he would be prepared to suffer for any misdeed I can assure the Honourable Member that if he does anything which is against the interests of the State, I shall not show any mercy to him,

nay even to my own son if he did anything against the interests of the State.

"Sir, Mian Iftikhar-ud-din stated that I was pained when I discovered this conspiracy He is perfectly correct. I was shocked I was pained not for the reason for which Mian Sahib was pained that there was any friend of mine or anyone that I liked who was involved in this conspiracy. No With me where matters of State are concerned personal likes and personal dislikes do not count I was pained and shocked to find that there was a single Mussalman in Pakistan who could have been guilty of hatching a conspiracy of the type that was unearthed That is why I was pained not for the reasons that Main Sahib has attributed to me which are probably his reasons, that because a friend of his was involved in the conspiracy, therefore he was pained Not at all I was not pained for that reason

"Sir, I entirely agree with Honourable Main Iftikhar-ud-din that Pakistan is stable The action of a few individual does not take away the solidarity and stability of Pakistan Pakistan is today, it is my claim, in spite of this unfortunate incident, the most stable country in Asia and one of the most stable countries in the world, but that does not mean that because Pakistan is a stable country, we should not take all those precautions which are necessary to see that the designs of the enemies of Pakistan do not bear fruit We should see that the designs of the enemies of Pakistan do not take away from Pakistan that stability of which Pakistan and its people are rightly proud Sir, it is with these views, with these ideas that after very careful consideration we have come forward with this legislation which is before the Honourable House

"I might in the end just answer one point that was raised by Shaikh Sadiq Hasan He said that these people should have been tried by a Court Martial Yes, but if in a conspiracy there is any civilian involved together with the military personnel, then a trial by a Court Martial cannot take place and that is the reason why these military officers that are involved in this conspiracy could not be tried by a Court Martial, unless we decided that no action would be taken against those civilians who were equally involved in this conspiracy That is the reason, Sir, why this case of conspiracy could not be tried by a Court Martial

"I hope, Sir the Honourable Members of this House would agree with us that we are giving the accused as fair a trial as is possible in any country If we are taking certain precautions which are a departure from the existing practice in the matter of trial of such

cases, it is because we are convinced that it is in the best interests of Pakistan."

APPEAL TO COUNCILLORS FOR UNITY

Addressing the councillors of the Frontier Provincial Muslim League Council in Peshawar on April 29, 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"The deplorable conditions through which the Muslim League organisation passed during the last three years is quite clear to all of you. It is rather painful to note that the Party which had committed the miraculous deed of achieving Pakistan for the Muslim nation should have suffered disintegration after the coming into existence of Pakistan.

"When I was elected President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League last year everybody knew it was an additional burden on my overburdened self However, I could not decline to accept the will of the people because I myself had honestly felt that Muslim League should not be allowed to disintegrate any further especially at a time when the country badly needed a strong and well-knit national organisation Realising that only Muslim League could lead the country to the goal of national solidarity and progress, I had no other alternative but to readily accept the task of reorganising it with a view to putting new life in it on the basis of changed circumstances

"I need hardly stress that just as the Muslim League successfully brought about a formidable national unity among the Muslims before the establishment of Pakistan under the leadership of the late Quaid-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnah in the same way the Muslim League will bring about the same sort of unity in our nation even now

"It is strange that even now some people consider the Muslim League—our national organisation—and the Government as two separate things It is altogether a wrong conception. In a democratic country like Pakistan the national political organisation and the Government must go together. I have no hesitation to declare that I am a Muslim League Prime Minister of Pakistan and that I will continue to serve my country through this office as long as the organisation wants me to do so. And let me make it

clear that I regard Muslim League greater than my office or rank because after all ranks do not count much in a democratic country Ranks carry little respect for a person unless his acts are based upon honesty and spirit of service It should be understood once for all by my countrymen that spirit of service to nation and the country is the only criterion for being accepted for leadership

" I would further say that political differences should never be based upon personal consideration Even the humblest of the citizens of our State can be as intelligent and wise as the men who are taken for granted as such

' Once the will of majority has been expressed, submit to it It may be in connection with the election of a president or for any other rank After somebody has been chosen, give him your unstinted support Anything contrary to that amounts to indiscipline which destroys even the integrity of the greatest of the political arganisations

" Let there be only one aim before us and that aim should be the progress and consolidation of Pakistan whose establishment at the cost of tremendous sacrifices on the part of our nation marks just the beginning of the glorious end which is still far off We have got to achieve that end which would mean the glorification of Islam

' Pakistan has got to serve as a means of bringing the Muslim world to the level of a force to be reckoned with in the present world There is no doubt that the whole Muslim world is today looking towards Pakistan and as such let us but be content only with the satisfaction derived from the fact that Pakistan is the most stable country of Asia We have got to make it more stable and stronger and this can only be done if we carry on with our task of building up the country with greater efforts and steadfastness The task calls for the best of our service and ability

Undoubtedly the ball has been set to roll and the first concrete proof of this was the recent assemblage [of representatives from 35 Muslim countries of the world at Karachi very recently.

It would be but justice to our noble aims and objects if we say that our country has to serve as a unifying force between the scattered remnants of Islamic glory in the world I hope all of us would determine to work harder and harder in the interest of the coming generation who would be able to enjoy the real fruit of all the labour we are putting in today Let not the posterity think that their fore-fathers did not do the task well

' Firstly, work hard, secondly, strengthen the Muslim League as

a national political organisation of Pakistan, and thirdly, every person must make up his mind to do whatever possible to raise the standard of living of our poor masses."

PAKISTAN WEDDED TO THE CAUSE OF PEACE

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, in a message sent to the United Nations Senior Youth Federation of England on June 13, 1951, said

" I am glad to be able to send a message of hope and cordial greetings to the United Nations Senior Youth Federation Pakistan, as an Islamic State, is irrevocably wedded to the cause of peace We fully share the view that there can be no assurance of lasting continuity for peace, until the world possesses and adopts a sound practical plan built on solid foundations to make the world secure from all future resort to war

" The world, during this century, has made rapid headway with the conquest of forces of nature and the acquisition of speed and power This advance, however, has not been accompanied by a proper cultivation of the emotion and urges of man with the result that there is disequilibrium in his life The world is in sore need of a re-orientation of its sense of values The subordination of all mundane activities and considerations to moral ends alone can eliminate conflict and assure harmony and peace

" I wish the Youth Federation all success in its laudable endeavours to promote genuine and lasting peace in the war weary world "

JUST SOLUTION OF KASHMIR ISSUE ONLY BASIS FOR INDO-PAKISTAN FRIENDSHIP

President Soekarno and Dr Hatta of Indonesia cabled the following to Liaquat 'Ali Khan

' We both earnestly hope and pray that the Kashmir problem will be solved satisfactorily with the assistance of Dr. Graham whom we in Indonesia have good reason to remember.

"It is a matter of supreme importance for all our Asian countries that an agreement should be reached early on this long-pending question and that the relations between India and Pakistan should be established on a basis of sincere friendship"

In reply, he cabled on June 24, 1951

"I deeply appreciate the message from Your Excellency and Dr. Hatta expressing your earnest and sincere wishes for a satisfactory solution of the Kashmir problem with the assistance of Dr. Graham.

"I am in entire agreement with you that it is a matter of supreme importance for the whole of Asia and indeed for the whole world that an early settlement of this long-pending dispute should be reached.

"As you are aware, Pakistan has done everything possible to put into effect the democratic, peaceful and agreed solution of a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under UN auspices, so that the people of the State are enabled to exercise their right of self-determination free of all fears and coercion

"Pakistan has at all stages co operated fully with the Security Council, its representatives and agencies Pakistan has unreservedly accepted the Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951, under which Dr Graham has been appointed and has assured the Security Council of full co-operation with Dr Graham in the task entrusted to him.

"Only a just and peaceful solution of the Kashmir question can provide a firm basis for sincere friendship between India and Pakistan."

'ID ADDRESS

Addressing a huge congregation after 'Id prayers on July -, 1951 in Karachi, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"The True Islamic spirit has been growing stronger among the Muslims not only of this country but of all other Muslim countries since the inception of Pakistan. I do not mean to say that this spirit did not exist among them before But it is a fact that the Muslims were rather shy of speaking of Islam for fear of being dubbed as reactionaries. Since Pakistan's establishment and the open declaration of its people that they are resolved to follow the principles of

Islam and build the new State in accordance with them, a new spirit has come over all the Muslims of the world to raise the banner of Islam boldly and courageously.

"Today they are proud of proclaiming that they have their own ideology and code of life which, according to them, is the panacea of all the ills which the world suffers from They mean to translate Islamic principles into practice to be able to prove to the world that the Islamic way of life is the way to peace and progress. From Morocco to Indonesia the Muslims are showing unmistakable signs of awakening and a new sense of pride in Islam They realise that they have an inherent sense of unity which they must strengthen, so that they may be able to defend their freedom and make their contribution to the peace and prosperity of mankind.

"On behalf of the people of Pakistan I declare that if there is a move on the part of the Muslim peoples to unite with a view to defending their freedom and developing strength to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world Pakistan will whole-heartedly join such a move and play its full part So far we have only been showing sympathy to each other by passing resolutions or issuing statements, but the time has come when we must get closer together and jointly play our part in the councils of the world if we want to survive There are different types of imperialism raising their ugly heads. We must unite to frustrate their evil designs

"If the Western democracies can enter into pacts to protect their way of life and if the Communist countries can form a bloc on the basis that they have an ideology, why cannot the Muslim peoples get together to protect themselves and show to the world that they have an ideology and a way of life which ensures peace and harmony to the world ? . .

"We will not allow the Muslims of Kashmir to remain victims of tyranny and injustice and will secure for them the unfettered right of self-determination, no matter what sacrifices we may have to make .

"We shall never submit to injustice and violence Let me tell you that if once Pakistan bows its head before injustice and violence it shall never be able to retain its freedom. You have entrusted me with the task of serving Pakistan and defending its independence So long as my head remains on my body, it shall not bow before injustice and tyranny

"Thank God Pakistan has gone from a strength to strength every year. The credit for this goes to you and the unity which exists in our

nation Our greatest atom bomb is our unity. So long as we remain united no harm can come to Pakistan . "

INDIAN TROOPS' CONCENTRATION AGAINST PAKISTAN BORDERS

Addressing a Press Conference on July 15, 1951, in Karachi, Liaquat 'Ali Khan stated

" Heavy concentrations of Indian armed forces are taking place in East Punjab and in Jammu and Kashmir As a result of these troops' movement, the bulk of the Indian Army is now concentrated against the Pakistan borders, in particular all its armoured formations have been moved forward within easy striking distance of West Pakistan This constitutes a grave threat to the security of Pakistan and to international peace.

"I have asked the Prime Minister of India, in the interest of international peace and of neighbourly relations between the two countries, to remove the threat created by the forward move of the Indian armed forces to the borders of Pakistan.

" It will be recalled that over a year ago even smaller concentrations of Indian armed forces against the Pakistan borders led to so grave a situation that two countries were brought to the brink of war. Throughout last year I tried my best to persuade the Prime Minister of India to agree to an effective no-war declaration under which all disputes between India and Pakistan would be settled by the recognised peaceful methods of negotiation, mediation and arbitration. Unfortunately, the Prime Minister of India did not accept the formula proposed by me which would have established effective procedures for settling every dispute between the two countries.

" The most important as well as the most dangerous dispute between India and Pakistan relates to the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The most populous and valuable part of this State is under the occupation of the Indian forces.

" In complete violation of the international agreement embodied in the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, India has persistently refused to withdraw its forces from Kashmir and is seeking to perpetuate its unjust

hold on Kashmir by military means.

"Pakistan has co-operated fully with the Security Council and its representatives in securing a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute, that the people of Kashmir should be enabled to exercise their right of self-determination free from all pressure and coercion.

"In keeping with this policy, Pakistan has accepted the Security Council resolution of March 30, 1951, under which Dr. Frank Graham has been appointed as U. N representative This resolution calls upon both the Governments of India and Pakistan to take all possible measures to ensure the creation and maintenance of an atmosphere favourable to the promotion of further negotiations and to refrain from any action likely to prejudice a just and peaceful settlement

"India rejected this resolution and appears determined to flout the wishes of the Security Council by deliberately creating a situation inimical to a just and peaceful settlement. In pursuance of this, extensive propaganda was started that the Press of Pakistan was inciting the people to war against India when in actual fact the Indian Press and Indian leaders were and are indulging in much more serious and violent incitement to war This was followed by a publicity campaign designed to magnify a few minor border incidents beyond all proportion of their context. The fact is that the Indian forces along the cease-fire line in Jammu and Kashmir have been responsible for hundreds of incidents during the last two and a half years

"In the light of the heavy concentration of Indian forces which has taken place on the Pakistan borders, it can now be seen that all this propaganda was part of a pre-concieved plan and was intended as a cover for the forward move of Indian forces It is now for the world to judge India's aggressive designs

"Pakistan has by its actions demonstrated to the whole world its earnest desire for a just and peaceful settlement of its disputes with India. Pakistan will not, however, allow itself to be intimidated or influenced by any threat of force By the grace of God, the people of Pakistan have weathered every crisis successfully. Confident in their strength to resist any unjust demand and to defend every just right, the Government and people of Pakistan will face all situations with the same calm courage and faith that have always characterised them."

After reading out the statement, Liaquat 'Ali Khan replied to a number of questions ·

Q.—"What do you mean by the 'bulk of the Indian Army.'"

A.—"According to our information, 90 per cent of the Indian

Army is concentrated on the borders of Pakistan. A greater portion of it is concentrated on the borders of West Pakistan and in the State of Jammu and Kashmir "

Q.—"Are there concentrations on the East Pakistan border as well ?"

A.—"Yes "

Q —"Have you received a reply from the Indian Prime Minister ?"

A —"I have not received any reply I sent a telegram to Pandit Nehru today "

Q.—"Is only 10 per cent of the Indian Army left in the interior of India ?"

A.—"According to our information, only three Brigades of the whole Indian Army are in the interior of India. The rest of their Army is concentrated on the borders of Pakistan "

Q.—"When did the concentration take place ?"

A.—"Very recently. Of course, as you would remember, last year in March India had concentrated large force on the borders of East Pakistan as well as West Pakistan, and in spite of the fact that, after the agreement that was arrived at between me and Pandit Nehru, I was assured that these big concentrations that had taken place would be removed, they were kept throughout and now on top of that they have concentrated the whole of their armoured units plus other divisions that were in reserve in the interior of India "

Q —"Has Dr. Graham (United Nations' representative in the Kashmir dispute) been informed of this ?"

A.—"Yes. We have informed him of what the position is "

Q —"Are you sure that the concentrations are for the purpose of aggression ?"

A.—"Unless the purpose is to swim in the River just to have an outing. What other purpose can there be ? I leave it to the intelligence of any man."

Q.—"What steps has Pakistan taken to meet this Indian threat ?"

A.—"Pakistan is taking all steps that are necessary to safeguard the country." (This question was repeated in various forms, but the Prime Minister every time gave an identical reply).

Q —"Has the Security Council been informed of it ?"

A —"We have instructed our representative to bring this fact of concentration of Indian troops to the notice of the Security Council."

Q.—"Have you informed the Commonwealth countries as well ?"

A.—"We have informed all the Commonwealth countries and all other friendly countries as well."

Q.—"What are those friendly countries?"

A.—"You know."

Q.—"Does the list include the U.S.A.?"

A.—"Yes."

Q.—"Don't you think it is an Indian bluff?"

A.—"I take things as they are. I cannot read other people's minds."

Q.—"Was it discussed at the high powered conference which took place at your residence for two days?"

A.—"Do you think it was (called) to play marbles?"

Q.—"Does Pakistan propose to close its borders?"

A.—"We will have to consider all the problems that would arise out of this threat to the safety of Pakistan. You will know about all the steps that we will be taking from time to time."

Q.—"Is Dr. Graham now arriving in Karachi earlier?"

A.—"According to our information he is coming on July 17."

Q.—"After the latest utterances of Pandit Nehru that he had informed Dr Graham, that India would not co-operate with him under the March 30 resolution of the Security Council don't you think he has nothing more to do in this subcontinent as one of the parties to the dispute has refused its co-operation to him?"

A.—"It is for Dr. Graham to decide as to how he proposes to proceed."

Q.—"What is the size of the Indian armoured forces?"

A.—"According to our information, India has one armoured division and one armoured independent brigade.

Q.—"Do you think that the situation is more serious than it was last year?"

A.—"Certainly it is a bigger concentration and a more serious concentration. The forces are in places where they are in easy striking position in which they were not last time."

Q.—"Where was the Indian armoured division stationed before it was moved forward?"

A.—"It was stationed at Meerut. It was stationed at Jhansi from where it was moved to Meerut last year."

Q.—"Don't you think in view of the latest statments of Pandit Nehru that India wants to decide the Kashmir issue by war?"

A.—"You can guess, you can conclude yourself. I have stated what

ever I had to say in my statement."

Q —"What would be the position of British officers in Pakistan army if India attacked Pakistan ?"

A —"I only hope that the British officers as men of honour will stand by justice and for justice Th re are British officers (in Pakistan army) who are still part of British army They have been lent to us Some of the British officers are old Indian officers They are on the retired list and they are on contract with us "

Q —"Have you suggested any measure to these friendly countries (referred to in an earlier reply) to be adopted in the matter ?"

A —"The step is very easy Ask India to withdraw the threat "

Q —"Is there any threat to East Pakistan also ?"

A —"There is a threat to East Pakistan also when 90 per cent of the Indian army is concentrated on the borders of Pakistan, but the greater portion is concentrated on West Pakistan's borders "

DEFENCE DAY SPEECH

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, addressing a two-mile-long 'Defence Day' procession *from the window of his Press* Room on July 27 1951, said

". . Remember the lesson of unity, discipline and faith taught o the nation by the Quaid-i-A'zam These are essential for the inde- endence of a nation.

"At this stage, when we are passing through a critical period, we reatly need discipline. I am very pleased to see the discipline of this oncourse

"We do not want to wage war against any country. We want eace But we are not prepared to sacrifice our independence and the xistence of Pakistan for peace

"We have always tried to find a peaceful solution of every prob- m, but if our opponents and our enemies think that the eight crore habitants of Pakistan would bow down to threat and pressure," they ere badly mistaken Liaquat 'Ali Khan, who was speaking in Urdu, ed this expression *"woh billi ki tarah khawab men chhichhre dekh rahe*

hain."

"We have always desired justice and we always want justice, but so long as even one Pakistani has a head on his shoulders, that head will not bow down to injustice and force

"My only appeal to my nation is to be united like an iron wall for the defence of Pakistan, and to carry out each and every instruction that may be given to them

"We do not fight with the help of sword, we do not fight with the help of gun, we fight with the help of God. This is my message to the nation *Insha Allah*, so long as the world exists, Pakistan will exist.

"From today onwards our symbol is this, " and he held out his clenched fist.

REPLY TO GRAND MUFTI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan in reply to the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Al Haj Amin el-Husseini's telegram regarding India's concentration of troops on the Pakistan borders on July 28, 1651, stated

"The Government and the people of Pakistan greatly appreciate your deep concern over India's concentration of troops on the borders of Pakistan. We value your assurance that the Muslims of the world are with us and are determined that righteousness and justice should prevail. Muslims may rest assured that Pakistan will never submit to threats or coercion of any kind from any direction "

GOVERNMENT PRESS, A LANDMARK IN THE PATH OF PROGRESS

Performing the opening ceremony of the Government of Pakistan Press in Karachi on August 2, 1951, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said:

"It is a source of great pleasure to me to have the opportunity of performing the opening ceremony of this, the biggest printing unit in

Pakistan Its opening is yet another landmark in the path of our progress and a worthy achievement in the fourth year of our national existence All those who have toiled and laboured for the establishment of the Press deserve commendation for the determination and perseverance with which they have battled against heavy odds in the service of their country and Government I hope the management and workers alike of this new institution will continue to work in the same spirit.

"My colleague, the Minister of Industries, has rightly drawn attention to the delay in the setting up of this important institution so essential to the running of the administrative machinery of Government Of the items which go to constitute the Press the building materials, plant and machinery, electrical equipment, *etc*, there are several for which we are dependent on other countries and this dependence, as pointed out by the Minister, should serve as an incentive to quicker and more intensive efforts for the attainment of self-sufficiency

"Among the achievements of this Press, a brief description of which has been given by my colleague there is one which I have noted with the greatest satisfaction I refer to the provision of facilities for printing in Urdu by typographic composition This is a move in the right direction I realise that a good deal of spade work still remains to be done in this field of printing, but I do hope that no efforts will be spared to surmount difficulties and find a solution to the problems attendant on the introduction of this very desirable reform.

"Reference has been made to the assistance and co-operation extended by private printers, both in Western and Eastern Pakistan at a time when Government were in great need of such help. I highly appreciate the services rendered by the printers to Government at a difficult and trying period and offer my thanks to them The important part which the printing industry plays in the life of a nation—in its educational, cultural and social activities and in commerce and industry—cannot be overemphasised. From the moment a child goes to the nursery it is the printing industry which provides him with the necessary equipment for his mental and spiritual growth. In short there is hardly any activity in modern life which can be pursued without the aid of the printing industry.

"I do not claim to be a critic of the art of printing but I have a feeling that the standard of printing, as generally practised in this country, leaves much to be desired I hope the day will soon come when our people with their genius for artistic pursuits will rank among

the nations who have developed printing as an art. It is for the industry to stimulate a taste for high class printing and then set about the task of catering for it What is required for the attainment of this objective is a network of efficient organisations all over Pakistan, which would help the printers, individually and collectively, to overcome the difficulties in their way. Chief among these difficulties is perhaps the dearth of skilled craftsmen This one fact alone can be responsible, to a large extent, for the indifferent quality of their out-turn. An organised effort is needed to provide means of technical training It is also very desirable to provide better conditions of employment and service. I am glad to learn that the printers have no doubt in mind that the printing industry has a bright future. Pakistan is a progressive country and the spread of education and the development of industries are but a few of the factors which are going to make extensive demands on the printing industry. It is to be hoped that the industry will rise to the occasion not only in regard to the quantity but also the quality of its out-turn.

"Before I conclude I would like to say a word to the workers who will run this new Press They are the back-bone of the Press. It is my earnest desire that they may be happy and contented and Government, I have no doubt, will continue to make such efforts as may be necessary to ameliorate their conditions of work.

"We are only on the threshold of our progress We have to go a long way yet If we want to see Pakistan as the country of our dreams everyone in whatever walk of life has to work with sincere zeal and work day and night We have to always follow the memorable precept of 'Unity, Faith, Discipline laid down by our Quaid-i-Azam I am confident that, *Insha Allah*, Pakistan will one day, sooner than many people think, become the country that its founder desired it to be—strong spiritually and materially."

MESSAGE TO KASHANI

Liaquat 'Ali Khan, replying to 'Allama Syed Abul Kasim Kashani on August 4, 1951, the renowned religious divine of Iran, who sent a telegram expressing the widespread anxiety which had been caused by the Prime Minister's disclosure of the concentration of Indian troops on the borders of Pakistan, said:

"I deeply appreciate your message of July 31 to me and am grateful to you and the people of Iran for your interest in the welfare of Pakistan and of its problems

"The present crisis in the relations between India and Pakistan has been caused solely by the concentration of Indian troops against Pakistan's frontiers For my part, I have done everything possible to preserve and maintain peace As you have not ced, I have suggested to the Prime Minister of India that the troops on both sides should be withdrawn to their normal peacetime stations and that Kashmir and all our other disputes should be settled in a peaceful manner

"Unfortunately, the response from the Prime Minister of India has been most disappointing since he has refused to accept the Peace Plan which I offered to him and has also not accepted my invitation to him to visit Karachi to discuss any points in the plan that he might wish to explore further.

"Pakistan has firmly followed the path of peace and friendship with all its neighbours This we regard as a foremost Islamic duty. We have striven for good neighbourly retations with India. With the Muslim countries our ties are naturally very close as members of the great Islamic brotherhood."

INDEPENDENCE DAY SPEECH

Liaquat 'Ali Khan addressed a largely attended meeting on the Pakistan Day in Jahangir Park, Karachi on August 15, 1951 In his speech he analysed and refuted point by point the various statements made by the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, in his speeches in public and in the Indian Parliament on Kashmir and the Indo-Pakistan tension caused by the massing of Indian troops on the borders of Pakistan He said

"Pakistani brothers and sisters, today is four years since we achieved our independence. Four years in the life of a nation are like four moments in the life of an individual. Since the very inception of Pakistan, it has had to continuously face various kinds of difficulties, hardships and problems But by the mercy of God, the Pakistan nation faced every difficulty successfully. Today Pakistan is faced with another problem To threaten and intimidate Pakistan, India has

massed its entire army on the borders of Pakistan.

"I wonder how I can thank the nation for the faith, love and confidence manifested by it at this critical juncture. Not only from every corner of Pakistan but from every corner of the world where Pakistanis are living, I daily receive thousands of letters and telegrams from men, women and children, Mussalmans, Hindus, Christians and Parsis. (cheers) I do not know how to pay the nation back for this love and confidence. I do not have riches; I do not own properties, and I am happy that I do not, because these things weaken one's faith. I have only my life with me and that too I have dedicated to Pakistan since the last four years What can I give, then, except this promise that if for the defence of Pakistan and its name the nation has to shed blood, Liaquat's blood will be mingled with it.

"When we discovered that India had massed its entire army on the borders of Pakistan, and I sent a telegram to Pandit Nehru telling him that this act of his was aggressive, he replied that India had taken this action as a defensive measure, because there was talk of *jihad* in Pakistan If I were in place of Pandit Nehru, I would have been more reassured with this that there was talk of *jihad* in Pakistan and not of war, because *jihad* really means to strive for justice and truth whereas war means to fight others for territorial ambitions We replied that because in Pakistan some people said that they would make every effort to get the Mussalmans of Kashmir their right of self-determination, India had massed 90 per cent of its army on the borders of Pakistan

"Can anybody dare say that Pakistan has ever talked of occupying or capturing any part of the Indian territory? We do not want to annex any part of their territory by war. This is in spite of the fact that in India top-ranking leaders and leading newspapers every day assert that they will not rest until Pakistan is reunited with India I ask, who talks of war, the people of Pakistan or of India?

"When this excuse fell flat, Panditjee asserted that in June last Pakistan had moved a brigade to Rawalkot (in Azad Kashmir). This brigade was stationed at Rawalkot till a few months ago when it was withdrawn for rest It went back to Rawalkot in June 1951, with the full knowledge of the U N Even after this brigade's return, our forces in Kashmir were less than one-third of the Indian forces in the Indian-occupied part of Kashmir. I send a brigade to Kashmir which was there before, Panditjee sends 90 per cent of his army to the borders of Pakistan, what would he have done if I had sent two brigades? Either Panditjee thinks that the world is full of fools, or

he is himself so ignorant as not to understand that no sensible person is influenced by such statements

"Sending troops like this (on the borders of Pakistan) is an aggressive act Daily speeches are made in India in which it is said that Pakistan is bad, it has these shortcomings, it has those weaknesses In brief, Pakistan is really so bad that it does not deserve survival I ask you what is declaration of war, this or what I say that the 40 lakh people of Kashmir must have the right to decide freely whether they want to accede to India or Pakistan ?

"Panditjee said that the people of Pakistan are good but the leaders of Pakistan are full of all sorts of vices and weaknesses There are many weaknesses in the leaders of Pakistan. Only God is faultless Yes, there are a number of weaknesses in the leaders of Pakistan, but for one thing they are not hypocrites, and do not have territorial ambitions He says the people of Pakistan are our friends, but the leaders of Pakistan are not good There is according to Panditjee no unity of thought and action between the leaders and the people of Pakistan. I say that the unity of thought and action that there is between the leaders and the people of Pakistan is not found in any country of the world This is my challenge, if anybody can accept it They are unknowing They cannot weaken our unity, our strength and our determination by such statements Pakistanis know that their most powerful weapon, defensive weapon, which I described as an atom bomb on another occasion, is their unity and determination They cannot be influenced by such statements

"The issue is very clear We do not want to fight India We do not want to fight any other country, our Islam has shown us the path of truth and peace, and we want to tread this path and shall tread it But for the sake of the name of peace we shall not sacrifice our freedom. During this period there was continuous correspondence between me and Pandit Nehru The world knows that we tried our best to show the way to peaceful solution of our differences and problems I sent five points to Pandit Nehru. The first was that the Indian troops be withdrawn from the frontiers of Pakistan, and we also would withdraw our troops to their permanent stations

"The second point was about the Kashmir issue. I had suggested that both of us should reaffirm that we shall act according to the UNCIP resolutions of August 1948, and January 1949, which have been accepted by both of us. If there was any difference of opinion regarding the interpretation of these resolutions, it should be referred to arbitration. The people of Kashmir should be given the right of

self determination by means of a free plebiscite to decide whether they would accede to Pakistan or India. The third point was that all our disputes should be settled through negotiation, mediation or arbitration The fourth point was that the Minorities Pact of April 1950, between me and Pandit Nehru in which it was provided that there would be no poisonous propaganda in one country against the other, should be fully implemented. The fifth and last point was that we both should declare that we shall not solve any problem by war and shall never fight each other

"Panditjee thinks that these points are not just to India, but the world has declared that peace plan which was offered sincerely by us is an impartial peace plan and that it is the only way for India and Pakistan to live peacefully together. But the great difficulty is this that Pandijee's world is confined to his own self, that what he says is correct, whatever the world says is wrong.

"In my last (actually, last but one) telegram I said that the correspondence had been prolonged and I would leave it to the world to judge as to who would be responsible for the consequences of this act (massing of troops on Pakistan borders), he or I But Pandit Nehru says that he would leave that to history

'Qisae zamin bar sare zamin.'

"An issue of today should be decided in today's world. But Nehru says that the world of 500 years hence should judge it And if even then any historian would write that Pakistan was in the right, Pandit Nehru would say in the other world that since he himself was not the historian he would not accept the verdict A nation which gets into its head that whatever it does and says is correct and what others say is wrong, meets the fate of Nimrod

"Panditjee-says that in the matter of Kashmir—in fact, in every matter—the U S A and Britain have helped and supported Pakistan unjustifiably. Neither U S A. nor Britain has given us any material free of cost. It is a surprising partiality that America has given two million tons of wheat costing 80 crores of rupees to Panditjee and Panditjee says that America is helping Pakistan. It is strange that during the Governor-Generalship of Lord Mountbatten I was denied all my rights and claims and the Radcliffe Award was in favour of India, and Panditjee says that Britain is helping me The fact is this that when a person has nothing reasonable to say and becomes obstinate at the same time, he takes long strides towards unreasonableness.

"There is not a single country in the world which today does not regard Pakistan's stand as right Panditjee said recently—nowadays

he makes a speech practically every day and therefore, it is difficult to say where and when he said what—that people were running away in Pakistan because brave Indian soldiers were on the borders of Pakistan I ask: Will the people of Pakistan drown themselves in the sea if they are running? I do not understand why he makes such statements. Probably he wants to boost up the morale of his nation somehow or the other. And even if there is panic in this country, we should be worried by it, not he. He should be rather pleased and happy. His motive in making such statements is to assure the Indian people that the massing of Indian troops on Pakistan's borders has set everything right

"Recently Panditjee said in the Indian Parliament that India has won the battle of Kashmir. Panditjee, *dil ke bahlane ko Ghalib yeh khiyal achcha hai* (laughter and cheers).

"No one except the people of Kashmir can win the battle of Kashmir. This battle cannot be over so long as the people of Kashmir do not decide by the exercise of their vote whether they are with Pakistan or with India And the day they will make this decision Pakistan shall win this battle. We will continue to make every effort and to strive in every way to get the people of Kashmir their right (of self-determination) and their independence We shall not let India enslave 40 lakh Kashmiris by the use of force.

"Remember that if once you bow down to injustice and tyranny, you will also lose Pakistan. We are on the path of truth, justice and justice and truth are always victorious.

"You must have noticed that Indian leaders, including Pandit Nehru, and Indian newspapers are repeatedly stating and writing that the Hindus are not being treated well in East Pakistan. They know that it is a lie. Since the Delhi Pact of April 1950, there has not been a single communal riot in Pakistan Can Pandit Nehru make a similar statement about India? Is it not a fact that since the April Pact under which Pandit Nehru had undertaken to safeguard the minorities, there have been many riots in India in which the Muslims were not saved or safeguarded?

"They want to create a sense of insecurity in the minds of the Hindus of East Pakistan by making such statements. This is not beneficial in any way to the minorities of East Pakistan. The Hindu leaders of East Pakistan are publicly declaring that these statements are wrong, that they are not being maltreated and that they are living in complete peace and security. They say that the Government and the people of Pakistan are treating them generously.

"But the Indian leaders are continuously harping on the same theme. This type of misstatement cannot be helpful to the Hindus of East Pakistan They (Indian leaders) should give it up. The minorities have their rights. We have accepted them Islam has taught us how to treat the minorities, and so long as Pakistan is established on Islamic principles, its minorities have nothing to fear.

"Panditjee says that Pakistan wants to be an Islamic country. I say yes Pakistan wants to be an Islamic State, because the Islamic principles are the best principles in the world. We are proud of it, we do not feel shy of it. I would say only this to the nation, do not be worried or perturbed We have faced great difficulties and hardships successfully. We are not afraid of war because the Muslims believe that death is pre-destined and its hour is fixed. It will not come a moment before or a moment after that hour. Therefore, not only these 90 per cent (Indian troops) but even if the entire population of India armed with guns comes (to our borders), we will not be perturbed (Loud cheers).

"But I would ask the nation to be prepared for every eventuality. We should make all preparations for our defence. No one should believe those in whose record books are entered Junagadh, Hyderabad, Nepal and Kashmir. We should not sit idle. We should make our preparations fully. I would ask every Pakistani brother and sister to fully act up to and help in carrying out every directive that the Government might issue.

"Every one should attend to his normal work and duties calmly and with zeal You should push all worries out of your mind. Keep doing your jobs. Do not even think of what is happening and what is not taking place. In the present day world, war is not fought only with armies. Every member of the nation takes part in it. Each person can contribute successfully only when he carries out his duties meticulously and attends to his job sincerely and zealously.

"I would say a word or two to the businessmen Thank God, that no such thing has so far happened in this country, but it has happened in other countries that on such occasions the business community indulges in black-marketing and other malpractices. This is treachery to the nation. I hope such a situation will not arise in this country that the Government will have to take certain unpleasant steps. We have to see to it that the distribution and supply of the necessaries of life continues normally whether there is an emergency or not.

"Pandit Nehru has repeatedly said that he has never accepted the principle that because the majority of the population of Kashmir

is Muslim it should form part of Pakistan. This means that he is now refuting the principle on which the partition of this subcontinent was effected four years ago. If he did not accept this principle, why did he agree to the partition of the Punjab and Bengal? But I want to point out that what we are saying about Kashmir now is not something which Panditjee has not said himself. In 1947, in the course of our correspondence, Pandit Nehru said in a letter to me on November 8 regarding the accession of States:

> 'It is essential in order to restore good relations between the two Dominions that there should be acceptance of the principle that where the ruler of a State does not belong to the community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the State's, the question whether the State finally acceded to one or the other Dominion should be ascertained by reference to the will of the people.'

"Kashmir's ruler was Hindu, the majority of its population was Muslim, he (the ruler) accedes to India, how then can India claim that the question of accession is settled because the ruler has acceded to India? Accepted that Panditjee's memory is short, but it cannot be so short that in four years he has forgotten this principle. This was the principle on which he occupied Junagadh and Hyderabad On an occasion I told Panditjee that the ruler of Junagadh was Muslim, the majority of its population was non-Muslim, the ruler wanted to remain independent, but you sent your forces there The ruler of Kashmir was Hindu, the majority of its population was Muslim, and you sent your forces even there. You must be wrong in at least one of these three cases. But the truth is this that he does not admit anything that he himself does not say. Then how can he accept what I say?

"On this occasion I give the nation a brief account of the activities and achievements of the Government. Unfortunately, this time I had to devote most of the time to this problem. But I would deal with the activities of a few departments of the Government.

"As far as our relations with other countries are concerned they are happy with all of them, excepting of course India and Afghanistan.

"It has been our constant endeavour to strengthen the ties of friendship with all the countries, the Muslim States in particular. We believe that the Muslim countries have a mission to perform—the mission of spreading the gospel of God and the Holy Prophet—and they cannot do it satisfactorily unless they are free, strong and united. In this connection I am glad to say that we have concluded formal

treaties of friendship with Syria, Turkey, Iran and Indonesia. Similar treaties, we hope, we will also have with Egypt, Sa'udi Arabia and Yemen in the near future The Government and people of Iran have shown by their constant friendliness that they are our greatest and dearest friends, and I am happy to say on your behalf and on behalf of the Government of Pakistan that we would do our best to reciprocate these sentiments.

"I, however, very much regret that from amongst the Muslim countries, Afghanistan is the only one whose attitude in regard to us has not been worthy of a Muslim neighbouring State, in spite of our best efforts in that direction. We should not, however, confuse the rulers of Afghanistan with the people of that country who are our friends and well-wishers. The rulers of Afghanistan are playing into the hands of the enemies of Islam. Our friendliness towards the Muslim countries has not been confined to lip service. We materially contributed to the cause of the Arabs of Palestine by providing Rs. 10,46,000 to the Palestine Refugees Fund. Our representatives in the Councils of the United Nations tried to assist in every way the cause of the independence of Libya and Somaliland, and whatever progress has been made in that direction we have played a definite part in it

"Our Army is now a national army and I am sure it will stand to guard the Islamic democracy and the native soil as effectively as the Quaid-i-A'zam had hoped It is also assisting in all other manners possible the progress and prosperity of the country as is evident from the part it played during and after the floods, in the Punjab. The work of nationalisation of the Army is almost completed and now Pakistanis have taken over as the Commander-in-Chief, the Chief of Staff and most of the divisional commanders. Similarly in the Navy the new destroyers and headquarters are manned by Pakistani officers

"Our Air Force has also been greatly strengthened and is now altogether different from the one we had inherited at the time of Partition. ."

In the end, raising his voice to the highest pitch and clenching his fist, he said "Brothers, God is with us because He is always on the side of the righteous, and the Holy Prophet is your guide. You are united as no other nation is united in the world today May you always remain on the right path and may there be no division in your ranks. Long live our determination. Long live Pakistan."

'NO PEACE UNLESS KASHMIR ISSUE IS SOLVED'

Addressing a large gathering in Lahore on August 21, 1951, Liaquat Ali Khan said

"Pakistan is passing through a critical stage There is, however, nothing new in the present situation as regard its gravity or import From the very day of its inception Pakistan has been face to face with situations equally grave and dangerous and equally taxing in their effect on the nerves and patience of its people Since the birth of Pakistan, the Indian leaders, who accepted partition of India with mental reservations, constantly strove to harm Pakistan The planned massacre of Muslims in East Punjab and later their expulsion from that province in millions was motivated by a desire to finish Pakistan at its very birth After that repeated efforts have been made by the Indian leaders to create as many difficulties for Pakistan as possible

"The recent massing of Indian troops on Pakistan borders is only a link in the chain of India's efforts to stangulate, intimidate and destroy Pakistan As in the past Pakistan shall once more successfully defeat the latest Indian threat and prove to the Indian leadership that it is beyond their power to destroy it

"Pandit Nehru's professions that India has no aggressive intentions against Pakistan are illogical and inconsistent with India's action in massing her troops on Pakistan borders Pandit Nehru sees a red rag in the civil defence measures that this country is compelled to take Pandit Nehru's condemnation of our preparation for defence is not quite understandable Does he expect that we should instead present an address of welcome to his troops when they march on us? If Pandit Nehru sincerely desires to avoid war and have friendly relations with Pakistan then acceptance of the proposals contained in the peace plan is indispensable On our part we do not want war but at the same time we are not prepared to offer our freedom as a price for peace.

"Pakistan has all along treaded the path of reason and conciliation It has striven hard to make the maximum contribution to the maintenance of peace and tranquillity in Asia and the world. Even now my peace plan is there for Pandit Nehru to accept and eliminate chances of an armed conflict between the two countries. But let me make it clear that if despite of all this the peace of Asia or the world is disturbed at some time by a conflict between India and Pakistan, the entire responsibility will rest on India, the Security Council and the Nations who control that body As far as we are concerned, if such an emergency arises we shall defend every inch of our

territory with all our might and exterminate to the last man of the invading horders

"Let everybody realise that unless and until the Kashmir issue is settled in a fair and just way there is no hope or possibility of friendly relations between India and Pakistan. Let India allow the creation of necessary conditions for the holding of a fair and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir. She must give an opportunity to the people of Kashmir to give their verdict on the question of accession

"Some people in India hold the view that the Muslims of the Valley are 100 per cent in favour of accession to India while Muslims of Azad Kashmir, at least 95 per cent of them, will vote for India This belief is being endorsed even by very responsible persons in that country. It is, however, very surprising that despite that belief, India shirks a fair plebiscite in the State to decide the issue The fact is that such beliefs and opinions are not even remotely related to the actual state of affairs The people of Kashmir are 100 per cent with the Muslim Conference and not with the National Conference of Shaikh 'Abdullah And whenever they get a chance to cast their votes on the issue of accession in a free atmosphere, they will vote 100 per cent for Pakistan .

"So long as there is a single Pakistani to raise his voice or lift his hand Pandit Nehru's claim will never receive recognition in this country. The question of accession is one for the Kashmiris to decide If Pandit Nehru thinks that he can force into submission the Kashmiris or Pakistanis, he is badly mistaken . .

"I desire to see the zeal and discipline which marked the parade of the Razakars in the morning become permanent traits in the character of Pakistanis For only those nations can survive the struggle today who are well-disciplined and ever ready to defend their country The entire nation should be as prepared as the few thousand Razakars seen on parade earlier in the day Modern war is an all-out war and victory in such a war depends as much on the might of the armed forces as the efficiency of the civilian population on the home front As for the Pakistan Army, it is one of the best armies of the world The armed forces of Pakistan are ever ready for the defence of Pakistan But each individual must make his contribution towards the defence of his country because it is as much his duty as of anybody else's. . . .

"Let every citizen whether in trade or industry, or to whatever profession he belongs to, redouble his efforts. The nation as a whole will only then be in a position to meet the threat of aggression effectively."

DEATH ANNIVERSARY OF THE QUAID-I-A'ZAM

Addressing a public meeting convened to commemorate the third death anniversary of the Quaid-i-A'zam in the Jahangir Park, Karachi on September 12, 1951, Liaquat 'Ali Khan said

"Today it is full three years that the mortal person of the Quaid-i-A'zam left us But really he has not died, he is alive and immortal The real object of commemorating this anniversary is to do heart-searching to find out if we have actually followed the principles of the Quaid-i-A'zam and if the slogan of *Quaid-i-A'zam Zindabad* rises from the depth of our hearts or merely from our throats—because the slogan can rise from cordial depths only if we remember the lesson taught us by the Quaid-i-A'zam

"The Quaid-i-A'zam bequeathed to us a wealth which is invaluable Freedom and independence are invaluable One single person facing the opposition of the entire Hindu nation and bayonets of the British freed the Muslims of this subcontinent and made them the masters of the fifth largest State in the world—this Pakistan How can we to some extent repay the debt we owe?

"There is one and only one way and that is that every Pakistani should honestly and with singleness of purpose struggle all the 24 hours to make Pakistan strong We have struggled. I do not say that we have conformed in our achievement to the standards laid down by the Quaid-i-A'zam No There is still profiteering in Pakistan, there are still dishonest persons to think that Pakistan was established for their benefit only, there are still traitors who do not hesitate from harming Pakistan for the enemy's money But in spite of all these shortcomings and weaknesses the majority of Pakistanis has tried to remember the Quaid-i-A'zam's lesson and to tread the path pointed by him And that is why, in spite of so many difficulties that it has to face and is facing, Pakistan is regarded as one of the strongest and most stable countries in the world.

"The Quaid-i-A'zam told us that to safeguard the minorities was our duty We thank God that so far we have succeeded in carrying out our duty This is why that when India concentrated its troops on the borders of Pakistan every Pakistani whether he belonged to the majority community or to the minority communities, without any distinction of caste and religion, declared and pledged that for the defence of Pakistan he would make the biggest sacrifice. That is why the Hindus in East Pakistan are leading a peaceful life.

"I am sorry that Mr Nehru and his satellites heap baseless and false allegations against Pakistan that the minorities were not being safeguarded there I say to Mr Nehru that you are not being a friend of the minorities by doing this You are being their enemy They are peaceful and safe in Pakistan, but the Indians want to harass them I would ask Mr Nehru to first look after his own house and put it in order You should see what is happening to the Muslims in your country Come to Khokhropar (on the Sind-Judhpur border) and see the plight of the Indian Muslims. Or can you only make long speeches in your country boasting of the secular character of India I say that is the reason (the secular character of India) why India is treading the path of destruction, because it has no faith and no religion

"The Quaid-i-A'zam left behind him another mission for us to complete He accomplished one task He established Pakistan, achieved for it its freedom, put it on the path of progress and then bequeathed it to us so that we should nurture it But there was another mission which the Quaid-i-A'zam had begun and which is not yet complete That is the independence of the forty lakh Muslims of Kashmir Unless and until we complete this mission of the Quaid-i-A'zam we do not deserve to be called the followers of the Quaid-i-A'zam

"Recently Shaikh 'Abdullah supervised the elections to a Constituent Assembly, and that election was like the accession of the Maharaja, that is, it was based on fraud and falsehood The status of the election and of the accession is identical because both are based on fraud The Shaikhjee says that the Constituent Assembly will decide that Kashmir shall accede to India

"Shaikhjee, Kashmir is not your father's property Kashmir is the property of the forty lakh people of Kashmir Not one, twenty such constituent assemblies will not make any difference so long as the forty lakh people of Kashmir by freely expressing their view under the auspices of the United Nations, do not decide whether they shall accede to Pakistan or to India. There cannot be any other peaceful solution of the Kashmir problem And I am confident about what the people of the State would decide There is only one way open to them.

"And if Mr Nehru and Shaikh 'Abdullah are so sure of the support of the people of Kashmir that, as they say 43 out of 45 seats (in the Assembly) were captured by them unopposed, why are they so afraid as to mass their entire army on the borders of Pakistan even when there was already a sizeable portion of the Indian Army in

Kashmir.

"I have said it before and today I again tell the people of Kashmir—today again I send this message to them on behalf of the eight crore people of Pakistan Do not for a moment think that Pakistan has forgotten you Do not think that Pakistan, no matter what the consequence, can sit in ease and rest without liberating you Do not be disheartened We are determined not to rest until Kashmir is liberated

"The Quaid-i-A'zam said in 1947 when despondence was encircling us, when it was being consistently rumoured that India was about to attack Pakistan, when we had neither an army nor equipment for it, at that time that *mujahid* raised his finger of *shahadat* and declared 'I will never bow down to injustice and force' Today I swear by that same finger of *shahadat* that Pakistan will never bow down to injustice and force

"India wants to browbeat us by concentrating its forces on our borders, into leaving the people of Kashmir at the mercy of India. The Indian leaders are making a mistake We are not afraid of such threats At this critical juncture when India has massed its forces on our borders to harm our independence, I shall repeat the words of the Quaid-i-A'zam which he uttered at the Muslim League session in Bombay in 1946

> 'If you speak peace, we do not want war. But if you want war we will accept it unhesitatingly.'"

INVESTITURE CEREMONY OF KHAIRPUR RULER

A 17 gun salute on September 15, 1951, announced to the inhabitants of the capital of the Khairpur State that Cambridge educated 18 year old Mir 'Ali Murad Khan Talpur was invested with full ruling powers by Prime Minister Liaquat 'Ali Khan on behalf of the Governor-General of Pakistan The Prime Minister in his speech said

"My wife and I are very happy to be present on this auspicious occasion It has given me genuine pleasure to invest Your Highness on behalf of the Governor-General of Pakistan with full ruling powers. I pray that this may be the beginning of a glorious future for this very important State of Pakistan and its people

"The history of Khairpur State dates back to 1786 when the Talpurs overthrew the Kalhora rulers under the leadership of Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur, who founded this State The worthy successors of Mir Sohrab Khan Talpur maintained a benevolent rule over the State keeping the well being of the people and the interests of administration uppermost in their mind I am glad to say that the Board of Regency, which consists of the principal Sahibzada of the ruling family, has maintained these happy traditions during the last four years Your Highness can be legitimately proud of your State as one of the first States to accede to Pakistan and receive the blessings of the Quaid-i-A'zam I remember the several visits paid to Karachi for this purpose by the first President of the Board of Regency, Sahibzada Mir Ghulam Hasan Khan Talpur Throughout this period I remained in close touch with the good work of the Sahibzada and your Chief Minister I congratulate them all for the efficiency of the administration

"I am also glad to say that Khairpur State has not lagged behind any other State in associating its people with the Government of the State It has had the unique distinction of being the first State in Pakistan to hold elections on the basis of adult franchise It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that the State Majlis which was inaugurated by me in November last year, has been working smoothly and the experiment of adult franchise is proving successful A representative of Khairpur now occupies a seat in the Constituent Assembly There has been close co-operation between the Administration of Khairpur and the Central Government in the building up of Khairpur into an enlightened and progressive State

"The main task before Your Highness henceforth will be the bringing of the administrative, judicial and constitutional machinery of your State on a par with that of the rest of Pakistan I am very glad that Your Highness has already given thought to these important matters and I can assure you of my fullest support in furthering your noble ideas

"I am glad to say that your State is already showing steady progress in all directions including agricultural, industrial and educational development The State has also taken its due share in rehabilitation of refugees, an appreciable number of whom have been settled on agricultural land offered by the State Special provisions have been made for granting *taccavi* on easy terms to *muhajir* cultivators The schemes of social development which have been submitted to the Centre for advice and financial assistance are receiving the fullest consideration of my Government.

"Our High Commissioner in London has kept me fully informed of the progress made by Your Highness in studies in England. Needless to say I shall continue to keep in touch with Your Highness's welfare. Here I should like to state that satisfactory arrangements will be made for the administration of your State during Your Highness's absence in the United Kingdom and my advice and assistance will always be available to you and the Government of your State.

"In the end I offer Your Highness our heartiest felicitations on this auspicious occasion and pray that you may be spared for long to guide the destinies of your people and the State to a very happy and prosperous future"

APPENDIX I

TELEGRAMS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN, MR LIAQUAT 'ALI KHAN, NOVEMBER 1947

For Liaquat 'Ali Khan from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (3 November, 1947)

I have received no reply yet from you to my telegram dated 31st October, regarding Kashmir

Reference to last paragraph of your telegram, dated 30th October, I have inquired from Prime Minister, Kashmir, about alleged raid His reply sent after investigation is that there was no raid from Kashmir side to West Punjab but there was a raid from West Punjab side into Jammu province This was resisted by villagers and State troops and two Gurkha soldiers were killed in Kashmir territory Apparently their bodies were dragged away by the raiders into West Punjab

I am informed that in Jammu province situation is well in hand except in areas under the occupation of raiders who are continuing their depredations Kashmir Government is protecting Muslims in Jammu and the border would be quite safe but for raids from West Punjab

I have repeatedly requested you to stop raiders from entering Kashmir territory from Pakistan both in Jammu province and along the Jhelum valley road Our information is that these raiders are being helped by high Pakistan officials Indeed Prime Minister of North-West Frontier Province has openly declared that these raiders should be helped We have definite information of senior officials of the Frontier Province giving every assistance to these raiders We put it to you that this not only is against your own declaration but also is a breach of international law We trust that you will take immediate steps not only to stop further raiders from coming into Kashmir State territory but order withdrawal of all those who are already in Kashmir State

We are anxious to restore peaceful conditions in Kashmir and we invite your co-operation again to this end This can only be done after the withdrawal of the raiders who have inflicted tremendous damage in the State territory As soon as raiders are withdrawn there would be no necessity for our keeping our troops there

I wish to draw your attention to the broadcast on Kashmir which I made last evening I have stated our Government's policy and made it clear that we have no desire to impose our will on Kashmir but to leave final decision to the people of Kashmir I further stated that we have agreed to an impartial international agency like the United Nations supervising any referendum This principal we are prepared to apply to any State where there is a dispute about accession If these principles are accepted by your Government there should be no difficulty in giving effect to them.

For Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Liaquat 'Ali Khan (6 November, 1947)

Your telegrams, dated 31st October and 3rd November, regarding Kashmir.

In broadcast I made on evening of 4 November I gave a review of Kashmir situation and of events leading up to it It is hardly necessary for me to go over

the whole ground again or reply to your allegations in detail But I must say that you are singularly misinformed about position in Jammu and Kashmir In particularly your account of border incidents in Jammu and of conditions in Jammu is so contrary to facts that I can only conclude that Jammu and Kashmir Government are sedulously keeping truth away from you Let me repeat that it is the Muslims in Jammu who are being massacred by the thousand every day with active assistance of State police and military, who are also organising raids into West Punjab When Kashmir Government made an offer of an impartial inquiry into these border incidents we accepted it at once The Kashmir Government never broached the subject again Your other allegations and insinuations are equally devoid of foundation and I emphatically repudiate them

A day before your broadcast indicating policy of your Government long discussion took place between Lord Mountbatten and the Quaid i A'zam as a result of which the following proposals were put before Lord Mountbatten for communication to you and your Government —

1 To put an immediate stop to fighting, the two Governors-General should be authorised and vested with full powers by both the Dominion Governments to issue a proclamation forthwith giving 48 hours' notice to two opposing forces to cease fire We have no control over forces of Provisional Government of Kashmir or tribesmen engaged in fighting but we will warn them in clearest terms that if they do not obey order to cease fire immediately the forces of both Dominions will make war on them

2. Both the forces of Indian Dominion and tribesmen to withdraw simultaneously and with utmost expedition from Jammu and Kashmir State territory

3 With the sanction of two Dominion Governments the two Governors-General to be given full power to restore peace, undertake administration of Jammu and Kashmir State and arrange for plebiscite without delay, under their joint control and supervision

Lord Mountbatten promised to let me know your Government's reply to these proposals but we have heard no more about them Your Government's policy is vague I still ask your Government to let me have your reply to our definite proposals

For Liaquat 'Ali Khan from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (8 November 1947),

Your telegram, dated 6th November, about Kashmir was received today

2 I regret that I have to disagree completely with your account of what has happened or is happening in Jammu and Kashmir State We have received and are receiving full information from our own representatives in both Jammu and Srinagar, and this convinces us that your information is wholly wrong

3 I regret also the tone and content of your broadcast of 4th November regarding Kashmir which indicated no desire to find method of settlement It was merely an indictment which has no relation to fact

4 In the last paragraph of your telegram you say that Lord Mountbatten promised to let you know the views of the Indian Government to the proposals discussed between the two Governors-General but that you have heard no more about them On this point there seems to have been a misunderstanding

5 Lord Mountbatten on his return from Lahore gave me a full account of his talk with Mr Jinnah and in particular of two important suggestions which had been discussed namely (*i*) the withdrawal of Indian Dominion troops and tribesmen from Kashmir, and (*ii*) the holding of a plebiscite at the earliest possible

date

6. As regards the first proposal Lord Mountbatten told me that Mr Jinnah desired that the withdrawal of the Indian Dominion troops and tribesmen should be simultaneous but that he (Lord Mountbatten) had pointed out that it was clearly impossible for the Indian troops to withdraw from Kashmir valley until the raiders had left Kashmir soil and law and order had been restored in Kashmir Lord Mountbatten had also made it quite clear to Mr Jinnah that the Government of India had no desire to retain troops in Kashmir for a moment longer than was necessary

7 As regards the second point Lord Mountbatten reported that Jinnah had expressed the view that there was no hope of a fair plebiscite under the present Kashmir authorities To meet this point Lord Mountbatten had suggested that it should be conducted under the auspices of UNO Mr Jinnah had put forward the counter proposal that the two Governors General should be given plenary powers to settle the matter Lord Mountbatten had pointed out that it would be constitutionally improper for him to undertake this duty

8 On the very day that I had this talk with Lord Mountbatten I made a broadcast in which the views of the Government of India on both these proposals were stated plainly and sincerely and I followed it up with a telegram to you indicating that they might form the basis of discussion at our next talk

9 It is thus clear beyond any shadow of doubt that we did in fact put forward definite proposals as a basis for discussion between us, as soon as possible after Lord Mountbatten's return from Lahore

10 I would have been glad to explain to you personally at the meeting that had been arranged for tomorrow, the proposals we had put forward and the reasons for our inability to accept the proposals made to Lord Mountbatten by Mr Jinnah But since, unfortunately you are unable to come, I must let you have my views upon them They are as follows

11 As regards your proposals one and two, a number of well-armed raiders have entered Kashmir to the accompaniment of massacre, arson and loot Our troops have been sent there to drive out these raiders and protect Kashmir So long as these raiders remain there, and law and order have not been established, our troops must discharge their duty Afterwards they will be withdrawn, as I have already undertaken

12 The raiders are either under your control or they are not If they are under your control you should withdraw them, and in any event, stop them coming through Pakistan territory into Kashmir If they are not under your control and you can do nothing to stop them surely we are entitled to deal with them as we think best

13 As regards proposal number three in your telegram of 6th October, (*sic*), we entirely endorse Lord Mountbatten's view (vide paragraph seven above)

14 It will thus be seen that our proposals which we have repeatedly stated are (i) that the Government of Pakistan should publicly undertake to do their utmost to compel the raiders to withdraw from Kashmir, (ii), that the Government of India should repeat their declaration that they will withdraw their troops from Kashmir soil as soon as the raiders have withdrawn and law and order are restored, (iii) that the Government of India and Pakistan should make a joint request to U N O to undertake a plebiscite in Kashmir at the earliest possible date.

15 The above conclusions relate only to Kashmir, but it is essential, in order to restore good relations between the two Dominions, that there should be acceptance of the principle that, where the ruler of a State does not belong to the

community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the State's the question whether the State should finally accede to one or the other of the Dominions should be ascertained by reference to the will of the people

16 The Major-General commanding our forces in Jammu and Kashmir has been given the most explicit orders to do everything in his power to ensure that no victimisation of any community is permitted

For Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Liaquat 'Ali Khan (10 November, 1947)

I have received your telegram No 304, dated 8th November, regarding Kashmir and have also had an account of your discussions with Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Muhammad 'Ali. I have also seen draft agreement prepared by Lord Ismay, Menon and Muhammad 'Ali I agree with you that early settlement of Kashmir question is essential to restore good relations between the two Dominions Indeed every effort must be made to remove all causes of friction For this purpose a very early meeting between us is necessary

If I had been fit enough to travel I should have come to Delhi but, unfortunately, I am still confined to bed I, therefore invite you to come to Lahore at any early date convenient to you for a discussion of outstanding questions and hope that you will be able to accept this invitation

For Liaquat 'Ali Khan from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (13 November, 1947)

On return from Kashmir I have received your telegram No 695-G, dated 10th November I am surprised to see reference to some draft agreement There is no such thing to my knowledge, but some kind of a formula for discussion was placed before me and I was told by Menon that he did not agree with parts of it Lord Ismay also informed me that he did not think it feasible When I saw it I made clear to Muhammad 'Ali that we could not possibly consider it

An essential preliminary is complete withdrawal of all raiders and invaders into Kashmir territory from Pakistan. We cannot withdraw our troops from Kashmir, or cease taking precautionary measures, till Kashmir is free from these raids and there is no chance of further attack Already Kashmir State has suffered greatly My recent visit to Kashmir brought home to me the urgent necessity of every action being taken by us to drive away every single raider from State territory The acts of vandalism that they have committed in Kashmir shocked me beyond measure. No organised authority can permit such savage behaviour in its territory Hospitals, convents, churches, libraries, shops, in fact every place was ruined and looted I saw large numbers of Muslim women with their ears torn because ear-rings had been pulled out The population of Kashmir valley which, as you know, is chiefly Muslim complained bitterly of this outrageous behaviour and begged us to continue to protect them We cannot leave them in the lurch

For Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru from Liaquat 'Ali Khan (19 November, 1947)

Your telegram PRIMIN 338, dated 13th November, regarding Kashmir If you will see document which you state was placed before you, you will find that it is headed "Draft Agreement" This draft agreement was prepared by Lord Ismay, Menon and Muhammad 'Ali and represented conclusions of a solution even though all or any of them might have doubts whether two Governments would accept it. Since you do not agree with it there is nothing more to be said about it.

You have mentioned certain instances of destruction of life and property. No one could condemn them more severely or regret them more than I do. Such acts

must be condemned by every right thinking man wherever they occur But I am pained to see that you appear to have taken no action regarding atrocities which are being perpetrated on Muslims of Jammu and Poonch. I have drawn your attention repeatedly to large-scale massacres of Muslims and to abduction of women The brutality and coldblooded murders and crimes against women of which Dogra troops of Indian Union have been guilty in Jammu and Poonch are of most heinous kind The thousands of Muslims who are pouring into Pakistan from Jammu and Poonch tell tales of woe too horrid to be repeated Your Government appears to be completely indifferent to this murder, rape, abduction, loot and arson, the only purpose of which is to liquidate entirely the Muslim population of the State

I repudiate emphatically the insinuation in your telegram that Pakistan Army authorities are giving help to so called raiders into Kashmir On contrary, we have plenty of evidence that soldiers of Indian Union and of States that have acceded to Indian Union have been engaged in raids into Pakistan territory I suggest you might appropriately have an inquiry into conduct of these soldiers

I notice that you are not prepared to have a discussion until those whom you call raiders have been driven out of Kashmir, and also that anything relating to Kashmir must have approval and consent of Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullah. This is hardly a constructive approach to Kashmir problem In view of stand you have taken I see no other way to a peaceful settlement except a reference of whole question to U N O I sent you a copy of Press statement I issued on 16th November in which I have made this proposal. I hope you will agree that in the present circumstances this is the only fair and peaceful solution.

For Liaquat Ali Khan from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (21 November, 1947)

Your telegram, dated 19 November. I have nothing to add to what I have already said regarding the so-called agreement in my telegram, dated 13th November I have been assured by parties concerned that this was no agreement at all but points noted down for discussion.

2 Immediately after the accession of Kashmir State to India we were entirely occupied, militarily and otherwise, in the Kashmir valley and we were not in touch with the Jammu situation We came to learn later that two convoys of Muslims had been brutally attacked in Jammu. We took immediate steps to prevent evacuation of Muslims from Jammu and to protect them there. Another convoy had started already but this was guarded by our troops and when this was attacked our troops inflicted very heavy casualties on the attackers killing 150 of them, wounding nearly a hundred and capturing 500 of them. Since then there has been no evacuation, no convoys and no attacks. We have issued strictest possible instructions to commanders of our forces that they should do everything possible to protect Muslims in Jammu and these orders have been carried out with success during the last fortnight We deeply regret the attack on Muslim convoys early in November and heavy casualties suffered by them We should like to point out, however, that no troops of the Indian Union have been guilty of offences that you attribute to them They have effectively protected Muslims. It appears that attacks on Muslim convoys were made chiefly by non-Muslim refugees.

8. Your statement that we are not prepared to have discussion until raiders have been driven out of Kashmir must be based on some misunderstanding. We are ready for a discussion at any time All that I have said, and would repeat, is that a settlement of the Kashmir issue cannot take place unless the raiders are made to leave Kashmir State territory

9. I must express my great regret at the remarks that you have made in your

Press statement about Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullah I regard him as a man of high integrity and patriotism You know well his great influence in Kashmir. All communities look up to him but more specially and naturally the Muslims of Kashmir He has faced a very difficult situation with remarkable courage and ability He is now head of the Kashmir Administration and undoubtedly represents in a very large measure the popular will of Kashmir It would be improper in every way for us not to consult him in any matter relating to Kashmir State.

The specific suggestions regarding reference to the United Nations in your Press statement are

(i) "That U N O should immediately appoint representatives in Jammu and Kashmir in order to put a stop to fighting, and to repression of Muslims in the State" Since United Nations have no (repeat no) forces at their disposal, we do not see how they can put a stop to the fighting or to the alleged repression of Muslims. This can only be done by an organised military force, and is being done by our troops The fighting would also stop as soon as the raiders were made to withdraw and I have repeatedly asked your co-operation in stopping transit and supplies to raiders through Pakistan territory

(ii) "To set up an impartial administration of the State" It is not clear to me what U N O can do in the present circumstances in Kashmir till peace and order have been established We are convinced that Shaikh 'Abdullah's administration is based on the will of the people and is impartial Anyone who goes to Kashmir and sees things for himself appreciates this Moreover, we have pledged that, so long as our forces are in Kashmir, protection of all sections of the community will be their first and sacred duty This duty will be discharged without fear or favour

(iii) "To undertake the plebiscite under its direction and control for the purpose of ascertaining the free and unfettered will of the people of the State on the question of accession" I have repeatedly stated that as soon as the raiders have been driven out of Kashmir or have withdrawn and peace and order have been established, the people of Kashmir should decide the question of accession by plebiscite or referendum under international auspices such as those of the United Nations It is clear that no such reference to the people can be made when large bodies of raiders are despoiling the country and military operations against them are being carried on By this declaration I stand

I did not suggest that the Pakistan Army was participating officially in the raids. We possess, however, incontrovertible evidence that members of the Pakistan Army, whether on leave or deserters, have joined the raiders and that the military equipment which can only have come from the Pakistan Army has been in possession of the raiders.

APPENDIX II

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN MR LIAQUAT 'ALI KHAN, DECEMBER 1947—JANUARY 1948

Letter of the Prime Minister of India addressed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, 22 December, 1947

Dear Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan,

1 On various occasions I have drawn your attention to the aid which the raiders into Kashmir State are deriving from Pakistan They have free transit through Pakistan territory They are operating against Kashmir from bases in Pakistan Their modern military equipment could only have been obtained from Pakistan sources, mortars, artillery and mark V-mines are not normally the kind of armament which tribesmen possess

Motor transport, which the raiders have been using, and the petrol required for it, could also be obtained in Pakistan only Food and other suppliers are also secured from Pakistan, indeed, we have reliable reports that the raiders get their rations from military messes in Pakistan. According to our information, large numbers of these raiders are receiving military training in Pakistan, which could only be under officers of the Pakistan Army

2 The forms of aid, enumerated in the preceding paragraph, which the raiders are receiving, constitute an act of aggression against India because they are being used against a State which has acceded to the Indian Dominion. The Government of India, while protesting against the action of the Pakistan Government in furnishing or allowing such assistance to be furnished, and urging that the Pakistan Government should stop such help and at least urge the raiders to withdraw, has so far taken no act on itself which might involve entry by Indian troops into Pakistan territory. They have been hoping, all these weeks, though with diminishing hope, that the Pakistan Government themselves would put a stop to aid to the raiders which is of the nature of help to India's enemies. Since protests have failed to bear fruit, the Government of India now formally ask the Government of Pakistan to deny the raiders —

(1) All access to and use of Pakistan territory for operations against Kashmir,

(2) all military and other supplies

(3) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle.

3. The Government of India have always desired and still earnestly desire to live on terms of friendship with Pakistan They sincerely hope that the request which they have now formally made will be acceded to promptly and without reserve. Failing such response, they will be compelled to take such action, consistently with the provisions of the United Nations' Charter, as they may consider necessary to protect their interests, and to discharge their obligations to the Government and people of Kashmir.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

Letter of the Prime Minister of Pakistan addressed to the Prime Minister of India, [illegible] December, 1947

Dear Pandit Nehru,

Please refer to your demi-official letter, dated 22nd December in which you have

brought formal charges against the Pakistan Government for aiding and abetting the so-called 'invaders' of Kashmir in their fight against the forces of the Maharaja and the Indian Dominion

2 Despite the ominous hint contained in paragraph three I trust I am right in assuming that your letter is not an "Ultimatum" but a fore-runner of a formal reference of the matter to the UNO If so, nothing could be more welcome, for, you will recollect, this is exactly what the Pakistan Government has been suggesting throughout as the most effective method of ironing out our mutual differences I am therefore sincerely glad to find that you propose at last to adopt this particular line of approach to our problems. . .

4 The case of Kashmir is simple and our attitude has been explained frankly repeatedly both in our communications to you and our official statements to the Press The Pakistan Government has not accepted and cannot accept the so-called 'accession' of the Jammu and Kashmir State to India. We have said it before and repeat that the 'accession' was fraudulent in as much as it was achieved by deliberately creating certain conditions, with the object of finding an excuse to stage the 'accession' It was based on violence because it furthered the plan of the Kashmir Government to liquidate the Muslim population of the State. The accession was against the well-known will of an overwhelming majority of the population and could not be justified on any grounds whether moral or constitutional, geographical or economic, cultural or religious

6 As regards the charges of aid and assistance to the invaders' by the Pakistan Government we emphatically repudiate them On the contrary, and solely with the object of maintaining relations between the two Dominions, the Pakistan Government have continued to do all in their power to discourage the tribal movements by all means short of war This has caused bitter resentment throughout the country, but despite a very serious risk of large-scale internal disturbances the Pakistan Government has not deviated from the policy

In view of this background it would not be surprising if some nationals of Pakistan were taking part in the struggle of the liberation of Kashmir along with the forces of the Azad Kashmir Government You must have already heard of an International Brigade composed of representatives of many nations in the world who are likewise fighting on the side of the Azad Kashmir Government In regard to the modern military equipment that you allege to be in possession of the Azad Kashmir forces, our information is that these forces are poorly equipped and such few modern weapons as they might possess have either been captured from the Dogra and Indian troops or have been in the possession of the ex-soldiers of Poonch since the days of the British As you know there are large numbers of Poonchis in the Pakistan Army and if some of them while on leave in their homes rendered assistance to their kith and kin in defence of their hearths and homes, it is scarcely to be wondered at

7 On the contrary, it is the Indian Government which must answer the charges of conspiracy with the Maharaja of Kashmir in repudiation of the very principles on which it had only one month before opposed Junagadh's accession to Pakistan The plea that the accession is only temporary pending restoration of peaceful conditions is too flimsy to stand examination, particularly in the light of recent negotiations in the course of which a perfectly fair and workable plan of withdrawal of opposing forces followed by a referendum under impartial aegis, suggested by us, was turned down by your Government. But all this, fits in with the general pattern of the India Government's political attitude towards Pakistan ever since it became evident that partition was the only possible solution to our constitutional

problems

10 The process of partition itself was marked by all manner of obstructions aimed at depriving Pakistan of its rightful share of financial and other assets Even in cases in which agreement was reached the implementation was delayed or sabotaged

11 At this stage the main chain of events which eventually brought untold suffering to millions of people of East Punjab, Rajputana and the United Provinces was set in motion with a carefully prepared attack on a special train carrying Pakistan Government employees and their families from Delhi to Karachi on 9th August 1947 As the plan unfolded itself it became clear that the Sikhs, encouraged and actively assisted by the Hindus, had determined to liquidate by violent and bloody means the entire Muslim population of East Punjab The object of the plan was to kill or drive out Muslims in order to settle the Sikh population which was being pulled out of West Punjab under a planned scheme The *modus operandi* was to disarm the Muslim population and then to leave it at the mercy of armed bands who were actively assisted by the Army and the police There is abundant evidence that this plan had the full support and active assistance not only of the officers of the Provincial Government but also of the Sikh States such as Patiala, Kapurthala and Faridkot Alwar and Bharatpur had already set the example in eliminating their entire Muslim population, but they were soon outdone Kapurthala which like Kashmir was a Muslim majority State has today not a single Muslim left Similarly large tracts of Muslim majority areas which under the Boundary Award had been most unjustly included in East Punjab were depopulated The whole country was ravaged by fire and sword Vast numbers were butchered and countless women were abducted Indeed decency forbids mention of some crimes committed against women Millions were forcibly and ruthlessly driven out of their homes The process went on sector by sector and culminated in the tragedy that was enacted in Delhi, the capital of India According to the Government of India itself there was a complete breakdown of administration for a number of days The destruction and desecration of mosques, tombs and holy places and forcible conversions on a mass scale were special features of these happenings. .

16. These are not only examples of aggression against Pakistan territory Numerous raids by armed bands assisted by the police and military have taken place across border into Pakistan The Royal Indian Air Force have made repeated attacks on Pakistan territory causing damage to life and property

17 Another illustration of the same attitude is provided by the refusal of the Indian Government to implement the recent financial agreement of all outstanding cases which had been referred to the Arbitral Tribunal. The Indian Government is deliberately withholding the payment of rupees fifty-five crores of the cash balances which is the legal due of the Pakistan Government according to this agreement. This is the latest manifestation of their desire to strangle Pakistan financially and economically which characterised the partition proceedings In the case of military stores there has been a similar refusal to implement the agreement The Supreme Commander who was appointed as a neutral authority under the Joint Defence Council to carry into effect the partition of the Armed Forces and military stores was forced, despite the protestations of the Pakistan Government, to leave by your Government long before he could complete his task At the time this was done the Indian representatives on the Joint Defence Council pledged the word of the Indian Cabinet that Pakistan would receive her due share of military stores. This pledge like other similar pledges of the Indian Government has not been honoured and the slight trickle of military stores to Pakistan shows signs of stopping altogether. . . .

19 I however note with pleasure your assurance that the Government of India have always desired and still earnestly desire to live on terms of friendship with Pakistan On behalf of the Pakistan Government I fully and sincerely reciprocate this desire I am constrained, however, to observe that the Government of India have at no stage afforded any practical proof of their desire to live on terms of friendship with Pakistan, more particularly in the case of Junagadh and Kashmir. On my side I can assure you that the earnest desire of the Government of Pakistan to live on terms of friendship with India has in many instances restrained the Government of Pakistan from taking action which would not only have been legally justifiable, but was in several instances urgently called for, and yet was not adopted in the hope that the attitude of the Government of India might even during these later stages be more favourably affected towards Pakistan I find it more and more difficult to persuade myself to continue to entertain that hope The course of events very briefly set out above, would normally have been treated as a chain of aggression justifying extreme action on the part of the aggrieved Government Now that your letter of 22nd December 1947 has indicated an intention on the part of the Government of India to invite the intervention of the United Nations, a course which the Pakistan Government has so far ineffectively suggested to the Government of India, for the resolving of their differences, I have taken this opportunity to invite your attention to the main heads of the differences between the two Governments that stand in the way of an amicable adjustment of our relations It is my most earnest hope that these differences may be speedily composed and that our relations will thereafter ever continue to be on the most cordial, co operative and friendly basis I trust you will agree that the intervention of the United Nations, whatever form it is to take, should be invited in respect of all these matters, so that all pending differences may be speedily resolved.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

Letter of the Prime Minister of India addressed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan 5 January, 1948

Dear Mr Liaquat 'Ali Khan,

Your letter of 30th December was received in New Delhi on 1st January. I had gone to Lucknow for the day and did not, therefore, get it until the 2nd. On the 3rd I had to visit Ajmer and yesterday, the 4th was fully occupied with celebrations of Burma s Independence and other business. This will explain the delay in my sending you a reply

2 I do not think that any useful purpose will be served by my attempting to answer, at length, the counter charges that you have made against India in paragraph 16 of your letter Pakistan's accusations that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir was procured by conspiracy, fraud and force has been repeatedly made by you and as frequently denied and refuted by us So far as the cases of Junagadh and Manavadar are concerned, we maintain that there is no parallel between them and that of Kashmir

3. Any impartial person familiar with the tragic happenings in the Punjab will recognise the complete baselessness of the suggestion that India organised the wholesale massacre of the Muslim population in any part of its territories. Massacres of non-Muslims began first in 1946 in Calcutta, and in March 1947 in the West Punjab What happened in India against Muslims was by way of retaliation against the atrocities perpetrated on non-Muslims first in Calcutta, and later, in territories which are now part of Pakistan, *e g*, Noakhali and the West Punjab. We have

not only not encouraged, but openly and consistently condemned retaliation We have also done everything in our power to protect Muslim minorities in India We claim that we have done so more effectively than Pakistan

4 I am not aware that there has been any stoppage of essential requirements, such as coal and rail transport, as a kind of sanction against Pakistan Where delays have occurred these have been due entirely to other causes, *e g*, shortage of wagons or, in the disturbed areas of the Punjab, to dislocation of traffic owing to the disturbances

5 There has been no deliberate withholding of Pakistan's share of funds and arms and equipment with intent to apply pressure to Pakistan As I have already tried to explain to you, we stand by the financial agreement that was recently reached Payment has been deferred because we cannot, while operations against Jammu and Kashmir State are being conducted from bases in Pakistan, with Pakistan's connivance and assistance, reasonably, be expected to make available funds which might be used to intensify military operations against us

6. The first two charges, *viz*, that India has never whole heartedly accepted the partition scheme, and that India is out to destory the State of Pakistan which her leaders persistently continue to regard as part of India itself, are completely devoid of foundation, and I must emphatically repudiate them Had we not desired to accept the partition scheme, nothing would have been simpler for us than to refuse acceptance when the scheme was first put forth India has no responsibility for the sequence of events which you regard as evidence of India's resolve to destroy the State of Pakistan The provocation for the events came from Pakistan It is true that some of us have expressed the view that India and Pakistan must draw closer to each other The facts of history and geography fully justify this conclusion Two neighbouring States such as Pakistan and India can either be friends, or live in a state of veiled or of open hostility No responsible Indian leader has ever thought that friendship between India and Pakistan, which is more desirable than mistrust or enmity should be achieved by forcible compulsion of Pakistan into political union with India

In conclusion, I would add that while I fully share your hope that our approach to the United Nations' Security Council will help to lay the foundation of friendlier relations between Pakistan and India, it is not possible for us to invite the intervention of the Council on all the matters which you have mentioned Peace between India and Pakistan is not threatened either by past events or by the entirely imaginary hostile motives that are attributed to us, but by the hostilities that are now in progress in general in Kashmir State between the Indian State Forces on the one and the invaders, tribesmen and Pakistan nationals, operating from bases in Pakistan and with assistance drawn from Pakistan, on the other This is an issue at once clear-cut and urgent, and, unless valuable time is to be wasted on acrimonious debates, this is the issue for the settlement of which the Security Council must, in our opinion, exclusively apply itself.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

APPENDIX III

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA, PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF PAKISTAN, MR LIAQUAT 'ALI KHAN ON JOINT NO-WAR DECLARATION

Draft of a joint declaration, suggested by the Government of India, which was handed over to the Pakistan High Commissioner in Delhi on December 22, 1949

The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples, who have many common ties, hereby declare that they condemn resort to war for the settlement of any existing or future disputes between them They further agree that the settlement of such disputes between them shall always be sought through recognised peaceful methods such as negotiation, or by resort to mediation or arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose of or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both of them It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that the implementation of this declaration in the spirit which lies behind it will serve to maintain good relations between the two countries and advance the cause of world peace

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
January 18, 1850

My Dear Prime Minister,

I am writing to you about the proposed joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan for the avoidance of war

On January 16, we received a copy of a statement, which you were to make in the Pakistan Constituent Assembly in reply to a question regarding this proposed joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan for the avoidance of war in the settlement of disputes In this statement it is said that, 'in view of the Government of Pakistan, the only way to promote peace is to resolve major disputes Even if these disputes cannot themselves be settled before the declaration is made at least the procedure for settling them can be laid down by agreement in precise terms in the declaration' Further, that your Government urge the Government of India to agree to the concrete and precise suggestions of the Government of Pakistan already made regarding the procedure to be followed in the settlement of disputes

I was not aware of any concrete and precise suggestions of the Government of Pakistan or its High Commissioner in Delhi in this respect All that had happened previously was that your High Commissioner had mentioned various matters in dispute and referred to possible methods of settling them No concrete or precise procedure had been suggested We had dealt with the points raised by your High Commissioner, whereupon it was agreed that a tentative draft of declaration might be prepared This draft was handed over to your High Commissioner on December 22, 1949 The first reply to it that we received is the copy of your statement, which reached us on January 13 We were surprised to find in this a reference to certain concrete and precise suggestions, which we had not thus far received

I have now seen newspaper reports of the full statement made by you before the Pakistan Constituent Assembly on January 17 You refer in this to the various

matters which are according to you in dispute As you know the Kashmir issue is before the United Nations and has, therefore, to be considered separately. As regards Junagadh, I am surprised at your reference to it, as this is not a live issue

The Canal Water Issue has been the subject of correspondence between the two Governments and both are practically agreed that a joint Technical Commission should be set up for making a factual investigation On the basis of the report of the Commission, the two Governments will confer with a view to arriving at a settlement If it is not found possible to reach a settlement, we are quite prepared to refer the matter to arbitration or to some tribunal approved of by both Governments You will appreciate that the manner of subsequent procedure as well as the forum can hardly be decided satisfactorily before we know what the results of the Technical Commission are and what the remaining points of decision are We are prepared that the evacuee property dispute should be settled by arbitration, if negotiations and mediation fail

So far as the division of the Reserve Bank assets is concerned the major portion of the assets claimed by Pakistan has already been transferred to the State Bank and in regard to the remaining claims, disagreement has arisen on the question of the mode of payment The question thus is one of the manner in which the claims have to be settled This matter has already been discussed informally between the two Governments and Pakistan suggested a conference to discuss it further There are a number of other issues connected with this matter, all of which would have to be considered in arriving at a settlement

The question of payment of sterling depends upon the amount that is due and of which type it is that is due, that is, whether current or blocked Both these matters are eminently fit for settlement by negotiation and indeed, as I have mentioned above, a conference is envisaged

As you know, the Government of India have large claims of a financial nature on the Pakistan Government These have been pending for a long time without any satisfactory settlement This again should be dealt with by negotiation and in the absence of any settlement, by other peaceful methods

The whole object of the proposed joint declaration was to remove or lessen the unfortunate tension that exists between our two Governments and to produce an atmosphere which is more favourable to the consideration and settlement of particular disputes If these disputes are satisfactorily settled separately, we would welcome it But obviously there has been difficulty and delay in doing this. A joint declaration would no doubt be helpful in bringing us nearer to a settlement of all outstanding disputes between the two Governments, which the Government of India earnestly desire

The procedure for settling disputes cannot be uniform in all cases It is possible that one method may be appropriate for one dispute and another method for another dispute. Apart from negotiation and mediation, the only remaining peaceful methods are arbitration and reference to some international authority or tribunal That is precise enough.

The proposal to make a joint declaration was made by the Government of India in all earnestness, so that we might take an effective step forward towards the resolution of existing disputes between the two Governments Not to take this first step, because the other steps are not simultaneously taken, is to avoid taking any steps at all for the present at least. That is not a very helpful way of proceeding in this matter For us to say that in no event are we going to war for a settlement of disputes is an important and significant contribution to peace between the two

countries

The Government of India are prepared to say that, if the Government of Pakistan is also agreeable Owing to geography and for many other reasons, it is inevitable that many issues arise between the two countries which require settlement A firm declaration that we will in any event settle them by peaceful method will itself be a great service to our two countries and the world, because it will remove fear of war from the minds of our peoples

Any joint declaration that we might make must necessarily be in general terms to cover all cases that may arise now or hereafter. Apart from this joint declaration and the pursuance of it, we can at once begin to consider specific matters separately

I shall be glad to have an early reply from you

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
January 25, 1950.

My Dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your letter dated January 18, 1950, regarding the proposed joint declaration I am examining it and hope to let you have an early reply

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
February 14, 1950

My Dear Prime Minister,

As promised in my letter of January 25, I write in reply to your letter of January 18, to give you the views of the Government of Pakistan

At the outset, I should like to emphasise the principles which guide Pakistan's approach to this question As a member of the United Nations, Pakistan has firm faith in the principles of the Charter and is prepared always to abide by them This membership in itself constitutes a declaration of Pakistan's renunciation of warlike means of settling disputes With her neighbour, India, in particular Pakistan desires most sincerely to remove all causes of friction and to promote friendly relations, without which it is impossible for either country to achieve the full measure of its potential development As I have repeatedly reaffirmed, Pakistan is convinced that war between India and Pakistan would bring utter ruin on both The common good of both countries lies in the peaceful settlement of all disputes between them

Pakistan, therefore, welcomes the proposal to issue a joint declaration, the primary object of which must be to carry conviction to the people of India and Pakistan and of the whole world as to the sincerity of both Governments in renouncing war as a method of settling their disputes To attain this object, it is essential that there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration, since peoples and Governments are judged by their words This action should, in the view of my Government, be the laying down of a clear-cut procedure with an agreed time-table which would make it binding on both Governments to carry through the settlement of their disputes to its final peaceful conclusion

For example, we could lay down that, from the date of the declaration, two

months would be allowed for negotiations The next two months would then be allowed for the settlement by mediation of those matters which negotiation had failed to resolve If, at the end of this second period of two months, any matters remained over, they should all stand automatically referred to arbitration by a method agreed upon in advance A last period of two months should suffice for this process, though its duration would, of course, depend on the arbitration or arbitrators

I am sorry, if, as paragraph three of your letter suggests, there has been any misunderstanding regarding the view which we have consistently held that a concrete and precise procedure should be followed When, towards the end of November 1949, your Secretary-General orally suggested to our High Commissioner that a joint no-war declaration should be made and that if no agreement was reached, the dispute should be referred to a third party for settlement we directed our High Commissioner to reply as in the annexure to this letter (See para eleven) Our High Commissioner reported that he read out his reply word by word to your Secretary General on December 3 You will, I think agree that the reply made concrete and precise suggestions and the statement which I made in the Assembly on January 17 did no more than reiterate the suggestions made to your Government on December 3 However it seems that there was some misunderstanding and that our precise proposals were not placed before you when you prepared the draft of the joint declaration which reached us on January 9 I would most earnestly request you to reconsider your view that an agreement in general terms is alone required and to consider further the advantages of the more precise course suggested by me

The procedure for settling disputes which we suggest is fundamentally a very simple one and is fixible enough to cover all cases which may arise now or in future As you observe, 'apart from negotiation and mediation the only remaining peaceful methods are arbitration and reference to some international authority or tribunal ' If, therefore, a dispute cannot be settled by negotiation and mediation, it must be referred to arbitration Whether arbitration is by a special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose or by an international authority, its essential feature is that an independent authority gives an award which is binding on both parties Resort to arbitration would of course, be had only when negotiation and mediation had failed to bring about agreement and would in each case cover differences over procedure as well In all disputes there is a danger that the party which is in possession of and wishes to withhold the rightful dues of the other may so conduct itself as either to prevent a fair settlement or to cause such delay in settlement as to give the same result Either course produces a sense of injustice, frustration and despair of securing a remedy by peaceful means which is one of the most frequent causes of conflict The procedure which my Government propose is designed to obviate any such contingency

In no spirit of controversy, but as an illustration of the considerations set out above, the Kashmir dispute which holds the key to Indo Pakistan relations may be cited This dispute was referred to the Security Council and after a year's effort the settlement embodied in the UNCIP s Resolutions of August 13 1948, and January 5 1949, was reached, with the agreement of both India and Pakistan and the approval of the Security Council This settlement provided for a cease-fire and demilitarisation leading to a free and impartial plebiscite Differences having arisen over the programme of demilitarisation and the Commission s mediation having failed to resolve them, the Commission suggested arbitration of the points

of difference Pakistan accepted, but India refused with the result that the matter was referred back to the Security Council after the laps of another year

The Security Council then asked its President, General McNaughton, to mediate The proposals which General McNaughtan put forward have again been accepted by Pakistan but not by India In a situation of this kind, when reference to an international body like the Security Council and negotiations and mediation carried out under its authority have failed, no negotiations other than arbitration of points of difference in implementation of the settlement already reached can lead to a resolution of the dispute

Again, the canal waters dispute is a justiciable issue which should be referred to the International Court of Justice if no agreement by negotiations can be reached, and yet India has so far refused to agree to this course It is true that both Governments have practically agreed that a joint commission should be set up, although Pakistan believes that the common objective will be better served if the Commission consists of non-technical statesmen who will enlist services of technical experts than be appointing a technical Commission On the basis of the Commission s report, the two Governments will confer with a view to arriving at a settlement, but if an agreement is not reached, the proper way of resolving differences in a matter of this kind would be a reference to the International Court of Justice What is most urgently needed is to set at rest the fear operating on the mind of the people, likely to be affected, that the dispute may drag on indefinitely while their welfare and prosperity are progressively put in jeopardy They must be assured that, in the event of the dispute not being resolved by the method now being pursued it will be settled by adjudication of the Tribunal best fitted to resolve it Since you are prepared to accept arbitration, there should be no objection to designating the International Court of Justice as the arbitral authority

It will thus be seen that the considerations which have impelled the Government of Pakistan to their proposal for a precise procedure are derived from their past experience of these disputes Other issues need not be dwelt upon in detail, but it s necessary to state that Junagadh is on the agenda of the Security Council to be dealt with after the Kashmir dispute has been settled, and cannot be regarded as a dead issue I feel that you will agree that if the principle of arbitration and a time-table leading up to it is accepted, the exact disputes to be handled under this procedure should be a matter for settlement in advance

As regards the exact forum, mediation or arbitration,could be undertaken by a special agency set up by mutual agreement for the purpose, or by agreed reference to some appropriate international body recognised by both parties I will gladly consider any suggestion made by you to this end, but I suggest that it is desirable that the name of the arbitrator or arbitral agency be decided before the issue of the declaration and included in it I have accordingly left a blank in the draft below for inclusion of names or description of the arbitrators If the Government of India agree, the Government of Pakistan would be prepared to accept the majority decisions of an arbitral Tribunal of three persons, and I suggest for your consideration that the Governments of three friendly countries whom we should now select should be asked to nominate one member each

In the light of these considerations, my Government suggest that the following should be terms of the joint declaration

> The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, being desirous of promoting friendship and goodwill between their peoples, hereby declare that they will not resort to war for settlement of any existing or future disputes between them They further agree that settlement of such disputes

shall always be sought through peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation and if these should fail to bring settlement by resort to arbitration of all points of difference including those relating to the procedure for arbitration They undertake that they will abide by the award of an arbitral Tribunal which shall consist of   for the settlement of all existing disputes In the event of their not being unanimous, the decision of the majority shall be binding Negotiations for the settlement of all such disputes shall begin as early as practicable, and such of them as are not settled by negotiations within two months from the date of this declaration shall be referred to mediation, for which further period of two months shall be allowed Any matters remaining unsettled at the expiry of this period shall be referred to arbitration.

In pursuance of this declaration, both Governments hereby agree to refer to this arbitral Tribunal differences which have arisen or may arise in implementation of the UNCIP's Resolutions of August 13 1948, and January 5, 1949 which both governments have accepted for settlement of the Kashmir dispute Both Governments also agree that the canal water dispute shall, if no agreement is reached by negotiation or mediation, be referred to the International Court of Justice for decision In other disputes outstanding between them such as Junagadh and its neighbouring States, evacuee property, boundary disputes and claims relating to assets, both Governments agree that if no settlement is reached by negotiation or mediation the matter shall be referred to the arbitral Tribunal It is their earnest hope as well as their firm conviction that implementation of this Declaration and the spirit which lies behind it will serve to promote friendly relations between the two countries and advance the cause of International peace

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
February 17, 1950

My Dear Prime Minister,

Your letter dated 14th February reached me last night, and I hasten to acknowledge it I am anxious to reply to it as early as possible because, as you know, I attach the greatest importance to this matter Our Parliament is at present in session and in addition to this we are having a meeting of the All-India Congress Committee during the next two days The Prime Minister of Nepal is also here and will need attention Our considered reply therefore, might be somewhat delayed, but I shall endeavour to send one as soon as possible

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
July 14, 1950.

Dear Pandit Nehru

Will you kindly refer to your letter of 17th February, 1950, acknowledging my letter of 14th February, regarding the issue of a joint declaration to settle all disputes between India and Pakistan through peaceful methods. You stated that you attached the greatest importance to this matter and would endeavour to send your considered reply as soon as possible Recent events in the international sphere

have lent added urgency and importance to this question and I hope you will be able to send your views at an early date

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi
August 23, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

The Government of Pakistan have today sent the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan a communication on the canal water dispute to which I attach great importance I hope it will receive your personal attention

I believe we are both agreed that there should be arbitration if negotiation fails It seems clear now that negotiation has failed Without puffing blame on either country the fact is that after more than two years of negotiation, the views of our governments as to their relative right are, if anything further apart The consequences of this disagreement daily become more serious

In your letter of the 18th January, 1950, speaking of arbitration, you suggested that we should have a report of a technical nature, before concluding that a settlement could not be reached by negotiation and in order better to decide the points that are at issue and the forum suited to resolve those points Since then we have had the benefit of studies by highly competent Indian and Pakistan irrigation engineers and they have met together A meeting of the negotiating committee on the 29th-31st May, 1950, disclosed however, that disagreement is less over technical questions than over the question of the fundamental rights of riparians of international rivers

In a Note, dated the 8th July 1950 from the High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, the Government of India repeat a suggestion made by the Indian negotiators that further steps towards a settlement should be postponed pending factual research by a joint commission of Engineers The discussion of this suggestion at the meeting of the negotiators made it quite clear however that no amount of further factual research would have lead to agreement by negotiation

The factual date already collected has made it clear that Pakistan could not agree to diminution of its share of supplies from the rivers Sutlej with its tributary, Beas Ravi and Chenab On India's part the negotiators announced that whether the research they proposed was made or not they could not agree that the projects designed to diminish the supplies heretofore allocated to Pakistan be suspended Those projects constitute such a threat to the vital interests of Pakistan and the maintenance of good neighbourly relations that if we do not each agree to arbitrate the result will be a situation endangering international peace and security and justice

The differences that have been brought out in the negotiations are differences of a juridical nature This is the case both as to our fundamental rights and the contentions made by the Indian negotiators as to the Interim arrangement of 4th May 1948 Since our differences are juridical the International Court of Justice appears from every point of view to be the most suitable forum

Under the optional clause, the Government of India have agreed to accept the jurisdiction of the International Court on the application of countries which are not members of the Commonwealth The exception doubtless contemplated that there would be Commonwealth machinery equally suited to the judicial settlement of disputes While such Commonwealth machinery is lacking, it would be anomalous to deny to a sister member of the British Commonwealth the friendly means of

judicial settlement that is offered by India to countries outside the Commonwealth

If we can agree promptly to accept the decision of the International Court in the canal water dispute matter, it will, I am sure, facilitate agreement upon other matters that have divided us The latest international developments have, I am sure, strengthened your resolve as they have mine to maintain the most friendly co-operation between our countries

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi
29 August 1950

My Dear Nawabzada,

I must apologise for the delay in answering your letter of the 14th July regarding the issue of a joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan that they will settle all outstanding disputes between the two countries by peaceful methods After our talks on Kashmir last month, I had to cope with an important session of Parliament and since the session concluded, I had had a number of most pressing matters to attend to

I have, in consultation with my colleagues, given the most careful consideration to our correspondence on the subject in particular to the views expressed in your letter of the 14th February We are glad to note that Pakistan desires most sincerely to remove all causes of friction with her neighbour, India and to promote friendly relations without which it is impossible for either country to achieve the full measure of its potential development May I say that we fully reciprocate these sentiments

I am also happy to note that Pakistan welcomes the proposal to issue a joint declaration, the primary object of which must be to carry conviction to the peoples of India and Pakistan, and of the whole world as to the sincerity of both Governments in renouncing war as a method of settling their disputes 'To attain this object " you say, ' it is essential that there should be tangible action to match the spirit of the declaration, since peoples and Governments are judged by their actions rather than by their words '

I may assure you that, in suggesting that we should make the declaration first, and immediately afterwards, consider ways and means of settling outstanding disputes between our two countries it was not my intention that action should not be prompt and in conformity with the spirit of the declaration

To mention the three more important disputes

(i) We have had personal discussions about Jammu and Kashmir and the matter should soon come up before the Security Council,

(ii) As regards evacuee property also, there have been discussions since the conclusion of the Delhi Pact, between our two Governments and my colleague, Shri Gopalaswami Aiyangar hopes to renew these in Karachi in the near future with a view to an early settlement,

(iii) The letter that you have sent me recently regarding the dispute over canal waters is receiving attention now and I hope to be able to address you shortly on the subject

These instances support my contention that individual disputes have to be and can be dealt with most satisfactorily by separate consideration What is, in our view, psychologically important is this that separate consideration of individual disputes should take place in an atmosphere of friendly understanding For this purpose a short but comprehensive declaration to the effect that, whatever the

differences between our two Governments, they will be settled peacefully and that both countries would be spared the horrors of a fraticidal war is desirable and should be adequate I would therefore, in all earnestness, again commend to you, for favourable consideration, the draft declaration that we sent you through our High Commissioner last December

For convenience reference, I am enclosing a copy of the draft declaration proposed by us

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
September 3, 1950

My Dear Nawabzada

I received your letter of August 23rd dealing with the canal water dispute, some days ago In that letter you referred to a communication which your Government had sent to our High Commissioner in Pakistan on this subject I wanted to receive this communication It took several days to reach us

I have naturally read both your letter and the communication with care I need hardly tell you that we are very anxious to settle this canal water dispute as well as all other disputes between us as soon as possible It was with a view to a solution of the Canal Water dispute that we had previously suggested that a technical examination was necessary Whatever the method finally adopted for solving this dispute, such a technical examination seems to me essential I regret that your Government has been unable to proceed on the lines suggested by us in this matter

I confess that I have read the communication of your Government with some surprise We shall naturally answer it fully I should also like to write to you on the subject and draw your particular attention to some matters For the present, I am rather overwhelmed with work, and early tomorrow morning I am going to Assam for a personal survey of the consequences of the great earthquake we had there This has been a terrible affair In addition to this we had heavy floods in three of our States I hope to return from Assam in about four days' time and then will send you a fuller answer to your letter

May I thank you again for your Government's generous gift of 10,000 maunds of rice for the sufferers from the earthquake.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
September 12, 1950

My Dear Nawabzada,

I have already sent you a brief reply to your letter of August 23rd which dealt with the Canal Water dispute After my return from Assam, I have given a good deal of time and attention to this matter Indeed, right from the beginning, I have been personally interested in it You may remember that I was present at the meeting of representatives of India and Pakistan who met to consider this matter in May 1948 It was at that meeting, on the 4th May, 1948 that an agreement was arrived at between the two countries on this subject

An official reply is being sent to your Government through our High Commissioner in Pakistan. I need not, therefore, reply to you at any length. I wish

to assure you, however, that I attach great importance to a satisfactory settlement of this dispute, as of other disputes between our two Governments It was because of this that I associated myself with these negotiations at an early stage. It seemed to me then that, whatever the legal and other aspects, it was not possible to arrive at any correct decision without a full factual survey by experts representing the two Governments. Even if the matter is referred to any tribunal, the first step will have to be to find out the facts through such a survey Because of this, we put forward the proposal long ago that a joint survey should be made This was agreed to by Pakistan, but later your Government felt that they could not pursue the matter. I confess, I was unable to understand this because whatever approach we make, such a survey seems a necessary preliminary

There has been, I agree, unnecessary delay in dealing with this matter, though the consequences have not been and are not likely to be serious, as the normal flow of water has continued.

We have at no time been opposed to reference to a proper tribunal We have felt, however, that a certain preliminary should be attended to before such a reference could be made If, however, it is felt that a reference should be made now, we should agree to it We have suggested in our official letter to your Government the procedure we think the most appropriate for this purpose That procedure has many advantages It is the best suited for this particular canal water dispute It is also eminently suited to another dispute of old standing between India and Pakistan which appears to us to be even more important and urgent than the canal water dispute This relates to the evacuee property problem which, as you know, affects large numbers of persons and is a continuous source of trouble for them and for their respective Governments Both from the points of view of alleviating the distress of these large numbers of persons and in order to remove a serious cause of friction between our two Governments It is of the utmost importance that we should deal with this matter immediately in the way we have suggested

The proposal we have made for the settlement of both the canal water dispute as well as the evacuee property problem has even larger implications This proposal may be adopted subsequently to the settlement of other disputes between the two Governments of a nature which can be dealt with in this way Thus, this procedure would fit in with the proposal we have been considering for the adjustment of present and future disputes between the two Governments in connection with a no-war declaration

I do not wish to deal here with other aspects of the canal water dispute to which reference has been made in your Government's official communication to us But there is one matter which I cannot pass over without comment. It has been stated in your Government's communication that the agreement of 4th May, 1948, was accepted by Pakistan under 'compulsion.' This has surprised and distressed me greatly

As I have mentioned above I was myself personally associated with this agreement. I participated in the discussions and helped in drafting this agreement in co-operation with the representatives of Pakistan present at the conference. Among these repesentatives were Ghulam Muhammad and your High Commissioner in India. There were also present two Ministers of the West Punjab Government. The whole discussion was of a friendly character and both parties approached the question with a desire to find a mutually satisfactory way out We reached this agreement unanimously and it was signed by all those present there. I cannot imagine how any question of compulsion could possibly have arisen in these circumstances. There was then no kind of threat or even suggestion about stopping the flow of water. Ever since then, on numerous occasions, this agreement has been

referred to by both parties and acted upon I am sure that if you go into all the facts you will agree with me that the allegation of compulsion is totally without foundation You can ask Ghulam Muhammad or your High Commissioner in India or anyone else present about it

I earnestly trust that your Government will accept the proposal we have made for the settlement of the canal water and the evacuee property disputes and thus not only help in solving these difficult and troublesome problems, but also lay the basis for a machinery for settlement of future disputes That will go a long way towards improving relations between India and Pakistan

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT S LETTER

Karachi,
26th September, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru

It would not be fair to you if I were to conceal from you the sense of disappointment I had on reading your letter of the 29th August, 1950, regarding the issue of a joint declaration by the Governments of India and Pakistan to settle all disputes between the two countries by peaceful methods My first impulse was to write to you immediately on receiving your letter but I decided to give myself more time to ponder over the matter, may be I had failed to make my meaning clear

The issue is very simple We both agree that it is in the highest degree desirable that our two Governments should settle all disputes between the two countries by peaceful methods We also agree that those peaceful methods are negotiation, mediation and arbitration The only question outstanding is whether both of us also agree that if negotiation and mediation fail to produce agreement within a specified time, we shall proceed to arbitration I had believed that since there was no other way open to us, there could be no difference of opinion over resort to arbitration

I have read and re-read your letter to see if you have really rejected the suggestion but although you have not given positive assent to it, I do not find anything in the letter which should make me conclude that you dissent from it

Disputes between countries arise from a clash of real or fancied interests and if they are not settled peacefully and promptly, international peace and security may be endangered It is, therefore, necessary to make certain of settling disputes peacefully and promptly Such settlement can come about either by mutual agreement secured through negotiation and mediation or, if these should fail, through arbitration by an independent and impartial body There is no other method of settling disputes peacefully If we have no provision for proceeding to arbitration after negotiation and mediation have failed in the judgment of one or both parties, we may continue in a futile and endless round of negotiations and mediation which would put an intolerable strain upon goodwill and friendliness between the two countries Frankly this is what is happening at present All this is so obvious that I feel considerably embarrassed in having to put it to you at such length

You have enclosed with your letter the original draft declaration with which we started the consideration of this matter nearly ten months ago I had pointed out then how this draft by failing to lay down definite procedure would not achieve the object we both so ardently desire To my mind the whole essence of the proposed declaration that all dispute will be settled by peaceful methods lies in devising a procedure by which disputes will in actual fact be resolved peacefully. Without this, the declaration will lose in value and significance and might appear to be a rather

unnecessary repetition of certain portions of the United Nations' Charter to which both our countries are already pledged I had hoped that the many month s thought which you have given to this question would have convinced you of the soundness of the arguments in favour of a precise, prompt and effective procedure such as that proposed in the draft declaration given at the end of my letter of 14th February, 1950 (copy enclosed for facility of reference) If there is anything in this declaration which you consider open to objection or against the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, I would be glad to consider it.

I should perhaps make t clear that the declaration proposed by me will be issued as soon as you give your assent to it It was never my intention to hold it up until outstanding disputes had actually been settled All that I have throughout been concerned with is that a firm procedure for settling disputes should be agreed upon

I would again request you to give further thought to the considerations I have set out above I have turned over this question in my mind for months and I am convinced that a clear-cut procedure which operates equally to the advantage or disadvantage of both sides and which would demonstrate to the peoples of India and Pakistan and to the whole world the sincerity and firm resolve of both Governments to settle all disputes peacefully will serve the best interests of our two countries

My colleagues and I attach the greatest importance to this declaration We regard it not merely as a proclamation of intentions, but as a solemn agreement which no matter what strains and stresses we undergo should irrevocably bind our two countries in a concord of peace and friendship

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU S LETTER

New Delhi,
October 8, 1950

My Dear Nawabzada,

I thank you for your letter of the 26th September, 1950, I received it only on the 4th October, this was due to a mistake in our High Commissioner's office in Karachi and explains the delay in my answering it

I have read the letter with care, and I am as disappointed as you are that what appeared too simple proposition should lead to so much argument and difference in approach

It is obvious that the difficulty arises not so much in the proposition itself, but rather in the complicated background of Indo-Pakistan relations Only two or three days ago I read the speech on the Kashmir issue that you delivered before your Parliament If you believe that our actions are based on fraud or an attempt to deceive, then anything that I may write or any declaration that we might make, cannot have much value for you

How then are we to proceed ? We cannot get rid of this evil background suddenly or by a wave of some magical wand Nor can we devise, any procedure which will remove all difficulties which are inherent in the situation Yet, we can act sometimes during a crisis in a way to break the vicious circle

We live in changing and dynamic times. The world hangs on the edge of a precipice. Our own peoples look with suspicion at each other. There are many problems which come in the way of good relations. I should like to find some panacea for all the problems and diseases from which we suffer, but life is not made that way Even so I do not despair of finding a solution because, in the nature of things,

India and Pakistan will have to find one for their problems. But it would be vain to imagine that we can solve these problems by mere formulae or some form of words. A solution will come sooner or later, but it will have to spring from other sources.

What was the proposal I put to you last year regarding a no-war declaration? It was a simple declaration to be made by the Governments of India and Pakistan to the effect that they will not resort to war for settlement of any existing or future disputes between them. Further, that a settlement of such disputes shall always be sought through peaceful methods of negotiation and mediation and if these should fail to bring settlement by resort to arbitration or reference to a tribunal. You say this was too simple because it did not lay down a strict time-table and the exact procedure to be followed in each case. I confess I do not see how in the complicated world that we live in we can lay down a rigid time-table or lay down an identical procedure for all manner of disputes that may arise. These disputes may be political, economic or financial, they may be justiciable or not. The difference of opinion between us has been as to whether a uniform procedure, including a time-table, should be set out in the proposed declaration as being applicable to all disputes, present or future, or the declaration should be in general terms as proposed by us and the procedure for each dispute should be agreed upon with specific regard to its nature and relevant circumstances.

I am sorry that you should think that the declaration will lose in value and significance unless it describes the procedure by which disputes will in actual fact be resolved peacefully. I still fail to see how one uniform procedure could be assumed to or would in fact cover all disputes, be they existing or future ones. What may be called justiciable disputes, *e g*, those relating to canal waters and evacuee property could and should be referred to arbitration, if other methods of settlements, *viz*, negotiation and mediation, fail.

Disputes that are predominantly political, *e g*, the one relating to Kashmir, can in our view be settled in the last resort only by agreement between Governments. We also feel that a uniform time-limit of two months for negotiation and two months for mediation is likely to break down in practice in many cases. The issues involved may be so complex that, with the best will in the world, negotiations and mediators may be unable to finish their work within two months. It would hardly be fair to suggest that, even when negotiation or mediation holds out reasonable hope of success, the process should automatically be abandoned in favour of arbitration at the end of two months.

I am not aware of any instance where two independent nations have bound themselves down to refer every dispute, whatever its nature, to a particular authority, much less to an external authority. There is the well-known case of Canada and the United States of America. They created an International Commission, consisting of representatives of the two countries for settlement of certain disputes. But that Commission had no outside member in it, and it dealt only with certain specified type of disputes between the two countries. I would gladly agree to any similar procedure for India and Pakistan. But, inevitably, it will have to deal with certain specified types of disputes and a Commission appointed for the purpose will consist only of an equal number of Judges chosen by India and Pakistan respectively.

It is true that there is always a possibility of a lack of agreement between the members of the Commission but if they are judges of the highest standing, they will consider the issues before them in a judicial spirit and are highly likely to come to a unanimous or majority decision. Even if they fail to agree, the area of difference will have been narrowed down by the measure of agreement reached and only the

outstanding point or points of difference will remain to be dealt with The two Governments could then consider the matter afresh, including the question of reference to a third party To think, *ab initio*, of a third party will be to lessen the sense of responsibility of the judges and will also be a confession of our continued dependence on others That would hardly b becoming for proud and self respecting independent nations

Coming to specific disputes, I think that it will serve little purpose for me, at this stage and in this letter, to discuss the Kashmir issue It is a non-justiciable and political issue and cannot be disposed of by reference to a judicial tribunal

Then there is the question of the exchange ratio This is in the hands of one of the specialised agencies of the United Nations, namely, the International Monetary Fund We had hoped that the Fund w uld make recommendations on the subject in the course of its last meeting at Paris Unfortunately this subject was postponed and we have to wait for their decision

This leaves us with the questions of evacuee property and canal waters We wrote to you about both of these sometime ago and suggested a precise method for their final settlement We have had no answer from you to that proposal, but you have referred to it in the course of your speech on Kashmir before the Pakistan Parliament, and I regret to find from that brief reference that you did not view our proposal with favour

Your main objection appears to be that the judges from India and Pakistan may not agree with each other and there is no provision for meeting that contingency You seem to think that such disagreement is almost certain to occur and that only outsiders can decide for us I confess that I am unable to appreciate the force of this argument which, as I have indicated above, reduces us to a dependent status relying upon the pleasure of others This is something wholly repugnant to me and, in my view, incompatible with the dignity of both India and Pakistan

If you read the two last letters that I have written to you, namely, the one dealing with the no-war declaration and the other with canal waters and evacuee property, you will find that in effect, we have suggested not only a general and rather vague declaration but also a precise method of dealing with what might be called justiciable issues I have suggested a judicial tribunal of high standing to consider and decide the questions of canal waters and evacuee property I am perfectly prepared to extend this principle to any other justiciable issue Thus we provide not only for present disputes but for future disputes except those which cannot be considered by a judicial tribunal I think we have gone farther in making this proposal than any two nations have ever gone If we agree on this basis, it will not only be a great thing for India and Pakistan but also something that will powerfully impress the world at a time when despair is seizing it.

I cannot myself see how we can go into greater details either in regard to timing or procedure I regret therefore, that I am unable to accept the draft declaration proposed by you I would beg of you to give thought to the considerations I have urged in this letter I would gladly add to my draft a reference to our constituting a joint tribunal, as I have suggested, for the final decision of the evacuee property and canal waters problems, and to say that the decision of the majority shall be binding Further, I shall be willing to say that this tribunal may also consider any other matters in dispute which are justiciable

A joint declaration of this kind will be complete in itself I have not the least doubt that it would go a very long way in removing the tension that unfortunately exists between India and Pakistan, and would produce an atmosphere of friendliness which would help us to solve every problem or dispute, present or future, which might arise between India and Pakistan. It would affect, of course, our two

countries, but it would also affect Asia and the world. For the scope of the proposal could, in time, be extended to other neighbouring countries This would create a wide area where there would be some assurance of peace, even though the rest of this world were foolish enough to jump into the abyss of war

Last year, when I made my proposal, the world situation was none too good but there was no immediate danger of a world war As I write this letter that danger is far greater, so is the necessity for dispassionate judgment and for a refusal to be swept by others into a bottomless gulf

I am as anxious as you are that a decision in this matter, which has long been the subject of correspondence between us, should be reached without further delay and shall be grateful for an early answer

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
October 11, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

I have received your letter, dated 8th October, 1950 regarding the peaceful settlement of Indo-Pakistan disputes At present the Assembly is in session and immediately after that I have two important conferences. It will, therefore, take me a litte time to send a reply to your letter

For the same reason I have not yet been able to reply to your letter No. 1331-PM, dated September 12, 1950, regarding the canal water and evacuee property questions I hope to send a reply to that letter and to the official communication from your Government on these questions at an early date soon after the Assembly session.

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
October 18, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

I greatly appreciate the personal attention you are giving to the matter of the waters dispute

If I am correct in understanding your letter of the 12th September and the communication of your Government of the 15th September as assuring that Pakistan will receive without diminution its pre-partition supplies until other allocated or agreed to, we are indeed on the road toward a just solution The grave situation to which I referred in my letter of 23rd August to you arose from the fact that until now our repeated requests to respect the *status quo* as of the time of partition have not been accepted and it was even declared by the Indian negotiators that certain projects which cannot be reconciled with continuation of Pakistan's supplies, were going forward whatever we might do

We are studying with great care your proposals for an *ad hoc* court to adjudicate this question, the evacuee property question and possibly other matters It would assist us if we had a draft of the convention governing the composition, the authority, the rules of decision and procedure, *etc.* of the *ad hoc* court which your proposal envisages *We have requested this in a short official communication being sent today.*

I am reluctant to mark the improved atmosphere created by your assurances by harking back to the situation in May 1948 You ask me, however, to review what happened and this I have done It has verified to my mind the correctness of our position that the agreement which was signed then was in no sense a voluntary one for Pakistan Contrary to your recollection and indeed to the recitals in that instrument, supplies of water vital to Pakistan were not restored until after Pakistan signatures were affixed I trust, however, that those unhappy memories can be buried in the past

As to a commission of engineers, am I correct in believing that your Government accepts our view that this feature must not be permitted to delay the adjudication of the underlying issues? With this understood, we have at all times been ready to go forward, and we will give prompt consideration to any concrete proposal your Government is prepared to make It would add to the reassurance given by the Government communication and your note If the proposed commission were authorised to make joint measurements of current flow and withdrawals on both sides of the border to verify that the pre-partition allocations are being respected I feel it to be my duty to invite your attention to official communications of my Government stating the specific instances in which pre-partition supplies have been withheld

We are continuing our study of your proposals, but if we have the draft agreement for the *ad hoc* court, it will assist us greatly in weighing the relative merits of such an *ad hoc* tribunal with those of the International Court of Justice

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
October 19, 1950

My Dear Nawabzada,

I have received your acknowledgment to my last letter to you about the proposed no-war declaration between India and Pakistan I well realise how fully occupied you must be and yet I venture to suggest that it is in the highest interest of both our countries to expedite a decision Apart from the joint declaration, which we have suggested, we have also suggested a judicial tribunal of the highest standing to decide two of our major issues, namely evacuee property and canal waters I would be grateful if some steps could be taken in this direction as soon as possible

I am constrained to write to you, more specially, because of the continuous propaganda in the Pakistan Press in regard to Kashmir Interviews and statements are published frequently demanding war with India over this issue and 'a resort to the sword' Whether these statements are irresponsible or not, I cannot say, but I have seen no authoritative contradiction of them, and they are bound to affect public opinion greatly in Pakistan

I have stated on several occasions, and I repeated this at my Press conference a few days ago that so far as India is concerned, we would not resort to war in Kashmir unless we were attacked afresh That is an unequivocal statement by which we stand If you could also make a similar statement on behalf of Pakistan, this would go far to remove the fears and tension that our countries suffer from at present.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
October 21, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

Your letter of Oct 8, 1950, has given me a somewhat clearer idea of how your mind is working on the question of pacific settlement of disputes but I am still puzzled by your hesitation to refer disputes to arbitration where negotiation and mediation fail to find a solution You have criticised the procedure suggested by me on the ground that it lays down a rigid time-table and an identical procedure for all manner of disputes I suggested two months for negotiation and two months for mediation to prevent indefinite prolongation of disputes or stalling by the party that may be in a position of undue advantage If you think this is too rigid we need not lay down a time-table, but provide that if either party comes to the conclusion that no further progress can be made by negotiation or mediation, it may refer the matter to arbitration

The essential point is to make a firm provision for resort to arbitration when negotiation and mediation fail to produce results There is no danger of the matter being taken to arbitration prematurely, for if a party can obtain a fair deal by negotiation or meditation, it would not go to arbitration where it would have no hand in shaping the decision

Your second objection relates to uniformity of procedure, and this, if I understand you right, is really an objection against having to refer a matter to arbitration if negotiation and mediation fail You apparently feel that arbitration by an independent tribunal is incompatible with the dignity of a sovereign State Undoubtedly, all references of disputes to international bodies are to some extent a surrender of national sovereignty, But this is a concept which has now been accepted by all nations and is the foundation of the U N Charter That disputes should arise at all, or having arisen should not be resolved quickly is a part of the imperfections of human nature One cannot rise above imperfections by ignoring the fact that conflicts of interest do arise and that an impartial person with no direct interest in the matter is in a better position to take a fair and just view than the parties concerned in the dispute

I am convinced that pacific settlement of all disputes is unattainable unless in a conflict of interest between two or more States, they are prepared to abide by the decision of an independent body This is no more than a continuation of the process for extending the rule of law over larger and larger areas of human relations on which ultimately the hopes of mankind must rest A soverign State has within its own sphere of action complete liberty to pursue its interest as it thinks best But where those interests come into clash with the interests of another State and a dispute arises, I maintain that it is not derogatory to their dignity or sovereignty if neither of them insists on being the judge in the matter

Sentiments of national prestige should not, in my view, be allowed to stand in the way of a just and speedy settlement of disputes with one's neighbours Such sentiments have inflicted enormous misery and suffering on mankind For us, in Asia, it is particularly important to learn a lesson from the havoc wrought by the unbridled nationalism of the last century

You have referred to the arrangement between Canada and the United States, whereby they refer certain disputes to a Commission of representatives from the two countries I believe this arrangement was made at a time when the International Court of Justice was not in existence. I am inclined to the view that the creation of the International Court of Justice and the voluntary acceptance of its jurisdiction by various countries marks a much bigger step forward towards

peace and progress In addition, *ad hoc* tribunals are set up for settling disputes between independent countries

Only recently Afghanistan and Iran agreed to refer the dispute over the apportionment of the water of the Helmand river to an independent tribunal of three nations For the matter of that both of us appointed Justice Bagge of Sweden as the Chairman of the Tribunal in our boundary dispute and agreed to abide by his award I do not, therefore, think that the appointment of an independent tribunal for arbitration is in any way inconsistent with national honour, prestige or independence.

There is, however, one aspect in which the proposal that I have made marks an important advance over anything that has happened before in human history and that advance consists in the obligation voluntarily accepted of referring to arbitration every dispute that our two countries fail to resolve by negotiation and mediation Such a provision would, to my mind, provide the greatest incentive towards the success of our efforts to settle disputes by direct negotiation It would encourage moderation and reasonableness on both sides It would be the first example in history of two independent nations agreeing to settle all their disputes by peaceful methods It would put India and Pakistan in the vanguard of human progress

I do not propose in this letter to deal with the question of which disputes are justiciable and which are not or to the kind of tribunal to which particular disputes should be referred I am here merely on the point of principle In the letter I wrote a few days ago regarding the canal waters dispute, I have requested you to elaborate your proposals for an *ad hoc* court, but what I have stated above is relevant in that context also

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

LIAQUAT S LETTER

Karachi,
October 23, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

I was on the point of sending my reply to your letter of October 8 regarding the 'No-War Declaration when I received your letter of October 19 I let my reply issue as it stood and am now dealing with the points in your letter of the 19th In my letter of 21st October, I did not go into the treatment of particular disputes for the reason that if we can agree on a general line of action, we should be able to deal with each individual dispute more successfully

You have referred to the statement made by you a few days ago that you would not resort to war in Kashmir, unless you were attacked I also want to settle all our disputes peacefully As I pointed out in my letter of 14th February, 1950, the fact that we are both members of the United Nations and signatories to its Charter means that we are committed to peaceful methods for the settlement of our disputes, and this applies to Kashmir as much as to any other dispute. I made this quite clear in my speech on Kashmir on the 5th October But the real obstacle in the way of a settlement of the Kashmir question is your refusal to carry out demilitarisation so that an impartial plebiscite can be held Kashmir is the key to relations between India and Pakistan To us in Pakistan, the occupation of Kashmir by India is an attempt to dominate Pakistan and to place Pakistan at India's mercy economically and strategically Perhaps you would appreciate my point of view better if I were to recall to your mind what you said on an issue which you now regard as dead, but which in fact is alive, namely Junagadh.

You said then that Junagadh's accession to Pakistan 'cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on India's sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two Dominions' This applies manyfold to Kashmir *vis-a-vis* Pakistan and India -

All attempts to solve the Kashmir problem have failed because of your insistence to keep Indian armed forces in effective control of Kashmir The dispute has been before the United Nations for nearly three years, but every suggestion for demilitarisation made by any agency of the United Nations has been unacceptable to you Our personal discussions have also led to no results How is then a solution to be reached, if no peaceful method of settlement, neither direct negotiation nor mediation nor arbitration by organs of the United Nations, are acceptable to you?

It is only effective demilitarisation as required by the Resolutions of the Security Council as well as of the UNCIP which both the countries have accepted that can bring about a real sense of peace If you are prepared to do this, it would be a far more powerful contribution to peace and friendship between India and Pakistan than any 'no-war' declaration

Of one thing I can assure you I am determined to endeavour to the utmost to have a peaceful settlement of all disputes including Kashmir

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
October 27, 1950

My Dear Nawabzada,

I have received your three letters, dated respectively the 18th, the 21st and 23rd October The first deals with the disputes relating to canal waters and evacuee property, the other two with the proposals for a 'no-war declaration' and the connected problem of the settlement of all disputes between our two Governments, present as well as future I have also seen an official note dated the 18th October addressed to the Government of India by your Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations through our High Commissioner in Pakistan

2 I have read all these communications with great care Since the disputes relating to canal waters and evacuee property are part of the issues now outstanding between India and Pakistan and the specific method of solving them that I have suggested is susceptible, in our view, of extension to the settlement of other disputes of a like nature It seems reasonable to treat them as part of the general problem I have, therefore, decided to deal with your three letters together

3 *No-War Declaration*—To take up first the question of a 'no-war declaration' and the general problem of settling present and future disputes between our two countries You will forgive me if I say that I have been disappointed by what you have written on the subject If I may ask, Is it not our aim to avoid war between our two countries in any circumstances, and to resolve all our disputes by peaceful methods alone? I do not wish to repeat the arguments that I have put forward in my previous letters You will remember that the 'no-war declaration' suggested by me specifically mentions arbitration by special agency set up by mutual agreement or by agreed reference to some international body recognised by both of us There is no question, therefore, of our ruling out arbitration as you seem to suggest What we pointed out was that disputes between nations are of many different kinds and it is not possible to devise a uniform method of dealing with all kinds of disputes, whatever their nature

In some cases and at some stage arbitration may be desirable, whether by a mutually agreed special agency or by an international body that both India and Pakistan recognise Disputes may or may not be justiciable Some kinds of political disputes are obviously not justiciable nor can all be referred to arbitration

4 To the foregoing, I added a corollary in my letter to you of the 19th October I said that I had stated on previous occasions, and repeated at a recent Press conference, that India would not resort to war in Kashmir unless we were attacked This is an unequivocal statement by which we stand regardless of what Pakistan may say I had asked you to make a similar statement on behalf of Pakistan as this would go far to remove the fears and tension from which our countries suffer I had brought this matter to your notice more especially because the Pakistan Press and the statements of many prominent persons in Pakistan have been full of appeals for war against India for many months past I had hoped that you would condemn this kind of talk in emphatic terms and make a declaration similar to mine That you have not done so is likely to encourage the inference that there is a possibility of Pakistan attacking India, even though there might be no attack by India on Pakistan I can only regard this as unfortunate

5 *Canal Waters and Evacuee Property*—In regard to two of the major disputes between our two countries *viz*, canal waters and evacuee property, negotiations over a protracted period failed to produce any result We therefore, suggested immediate reference to a tribunal of the highest standing, consisting of two judges from India and two judges from Pakistan There was no question of delay in this

6 You ask me to send a draft of the convention governing the composition, the authority the rules of decision and procedure, *etc*, of this tribunal which we have suggested. I am afraid I have not quite followed what you mean by a convention Clearly there must be agreement between us regarding the composition of the tribunal, its terms of reference and powers The composition has already been dealt with As regards the tribunal's powers I think we should lay it down that it should have final authority to deal with the matters referred to it The judges can decide unanimously or by majority They will have all the powers of superior courts in regard to summoning of witnesses *etc* They will settle their procedure and method of working, as such tribunals do We must invest the tribunal with the highest authority and not make it feel that it is just a stepping stone to something else We must agree to abide by its decision in all matters referred to it

7 As to what should happen if, unfortunately there is an equal division of opinion among the judges, our view that the two Governments must first consider those parts of the disputes which have not been finally decided and try to settle themselves or, failing that, resort to arbitration or adjudication either by a mutually agreed special agency or an international organisation recognised by both Governments. Once this principle is accepted, the terms of reference can be settled between the two Governments acting in consultation The procedure, to my mind, is quite simple and straightforward

8 We have suggested that this tribunal might also deal with other justiciable matters that might be referred to it, now or later. When the moment so to enlarge its functions comes we can draw up an appropriate convention or agreement

9 I pointed out in my previous letters how much a tribunal was preferable to any foreign court or tribunal. That did not mean that we should not refer any particular matter or any remaining points of dispute to the International

Court of Justice or any other authority that we select, if the necessity for this arises.

10. *Certain facts relating to Canal Waters* —Before concluding, I should like to refer to certain points relating to the canal waters dispute which you have mentioned in your letter of the 18th instant I am surprised at your statement that supplies of water to Pakistan were not restored until after Pakistan's signatures were affixed to the agreement of May 4, 1948 This is a simple question of fact, which can easily be verified We sent you a telegram on the 29th April, 1948, in which it was stated that orders were being issued immediately for resumption of water supply from the Upper Bari Doab and Dipalpur canals. On the 1st of May you were good enough to acknowledge this telegram Orders to renew the supply of water were issued immediately and renewal of supply actually took place on the 3rd May, the slight delay between the order to renew supplies and the actual renewal was unavoidable as the authorities concerned required a little time to carry out the orders The agreement was signed on the 4th May evening Perhaps I may claim to speak with some anthority on this subject, because I was present at that conference Paragraph 2 of the Agreement itself shows that the East Punjab Government had revived the flow of water into these canals before the agreement of 4th May was signed Moreover, Pakistan's representatives, who included Mr Ghulam Muhammad and the High Commissioner for Pakistan in India as well as a Minister of the West Punjab Government, can testify to the fact There was no question of coercion about this agreement Indeed, it was one of the happiest agreements arrived at in a friendly, co-operative atmosphere and no one then, or for long afterwards, ever raised the complaint which has recently been made on behalf of Pakistan

11 The second paragraph in your letter of the 18th October, is not quite correct and raises certain controversial issues about which we have had a lengthy correspondence in the past. Our position is that we shall continue the supply of water to the two canals, until the dispute is settled in accordance with the agreement of the 4th May, 1948 I sincerely hope that this dispute will be expeditiously settled, indeed I am confident that if we set up quickly the tribunal that we have proposed, a satisfactory settlement will soon be reached I regret, however, that I cannot undertake to stop the new irrigation projects that we now have in hand

12 You refer to a commission of engineers It has been and is our view that no proper consideration of the canal waters question can take place without a technical survey carried out by engineers For this reason, we have been pressing for such a technical survey This was not meant to delay matters but to expedite them In view, however, of your Government's attitude in regard to this matter, we have expressed our willingness to refer the canal waters issue at once to the *ad hoc* tribunal we have suggested If your Government agrees, we can appoint the tribunal as well as the commission of engineers Alternatively, we can go ahead with the tribunal and leave it to that body to appoint the commission of engineers

12 *Kashmir* —As I have written to you previously, we cannot consider the Kashmir issue in this connection I shall always be glad to discuss that with you separately

14 *Conclusion* —To conclude, the position seems to be this If you agree to the no-war declaration that we have suggested we can go ahead with it If you do not agree then the matter will have to be dropped for the present, much though I should regret this In any event, there appears to be no reason whatever why we should not immediately agree to the constitution of a tribunal, on the lines indicated, for the final settlement of the evacuee property and canal waters disputes Both are urgent and the procedure suggested by us for getting them out of the way

is relatively simple I would, therefore, beg of you to consider them independently and reach a decision.

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
November 21 1951

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

If I have taken longer than usual in replying to your letter of October 27, it is because I thought that time would be saved in the long run if I reviewed carefully our correspondence and analysed our respective points of view with the single purpose of finding a constructive course of action

2 For almost a year we have discussed ways of resolving our disputes by peaceful means You have proposed that our Governments declare jointly that, they will not resort to war I have endeavoured to persuade you that such a declaration by itself is not enough and that the way to resolve our disputes without resort to force is to adopt procedures for resolving them peacefully I have proposed specific concrete procedures that provide, for automatic arbitration on all issues where negotiation fails I suggested a substantive 'No-War Declaration' to this effect This you have not accepted

3 It seems to me that if we are to move forward we must face squarely what it is that has prevented India from accepting my 'No-War Declaration' Reviewing our correspondence, it becomes quite clear that the crux of the difficulty is the reluctance of your Government to substitute on any issue impartial arbitration for threatened and actual use of force India has been unwilling to accept the decision of an impartial arbiter on any issue now outstanding Pakistan is and has been willing to accept the decision of an impartial arbiter on every issue outstanding between us

4 By joining the United Nations our countries have already renounced the use or threatened use of non-pacific means of every kind We have subscribed to the statute of the International Court of justice We have agreed in the Charter of the United Nations that our legal disputes as a rule should be referred by us to that Court A bare announcement that we will not declare war unless attacked adds nothing to these commitments, if anything, it detracts from them Against the background of the past two-and-a-half years, an announcement that fails to substitute arbitration for compulsion, whether war is declared or not, will fail to carry conviction that there will be no resort to force

5 During the past years our joint undertaking to accept the decision of a free and impartial plebiscite of the inhabitants of Kashmir has remained a hollow declaration owing to the refusal of your Government to implement this agreement and the resolutions of the United Nations Commission and the Security Council Your Government has rejected every recommendation that their armed forces be withdrawn, while Pakistan has agreed that its armed forces be withdrawn in order to certify that the plebiscite may take place without undue influence or compulsion by either side When it was proposed to each of our Governments that we accept an impartial Arbiter to settle the differences over the interpretation of the agreement brought about by the United Nations, Pakistan agreed. India did not You say that the matter is not justiciable Certainly we do not think as well that the interpretation of an International Agreement is eminently justiciable but even if the matter were not justiciable, this would be only that impartial Arbiter should be other than a Court of Law The fact that a dispute is not justiciable is not valid reason for refusing to accept the impartial decision of experienced and

understanding statesman Your willingness to accept arbitration or the interpretation of our Kashmir Agreement will demonstrate more than a mere declaration of the determination of your Government to resolve this issue by peaceful means

6 At the time of partition, the Indian representatives joined in declaring that there was no question of varying the shares of the two new countries in our common waters required for irrigation Since then India has sought to compel acceptence of greatly increased supplies for India at the expense of irrigation vital to Pakistan Taking advantage of its position as the upstream riparian, India arbitrarily cut off during the critical sowing season in spring of 1948 the supplies of water of every Pakistani canal that crossed the boundary Contrary to information you have received—and no doubt contrary to your personal wishes and orders—the flows were not resumed until after your Government sought to exact certain conditions inimical to Pakistan Not until certain of these conditions were met was the flow restored in the Central Bari Doab Canals, and it has not yet been restored in the Bahawalpur State distributory Even your recent assurance that partition supplies will not again be cut off has since been qualified by the conditions which your Government know that Pakistan cannot accept Our repeated requests to submit the canal waters dispute to the International Court of Justice has not been accepted

7 Only after two-and-a-half years have your Government accepted even the principle that the water dispute should be adjudicated Instead, however, of accepting the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice you have proposed the creation of a new tribunal consisting of two Indian and two Pakistani Judges If, as may be expected, a Tribunal so composed will be deadlocked, you suggest that the parties might then negotiate a new agreement to submit the stalemate to another Tribunal which this time presumably would consist of an odd number of Judges, some of whom would be nationals neither of India nor of Pakistan This counter-proposal contains a double veto and permits of endless delay Meanwhile you intimate that your Government had decided to continue the construction of new irrigation projects designed to appropriate more water at the expense of Pakistan Yet the right to do this is the very issue to be adjudicated

8 Notwithstanding our apprehensions over this alternative to the International Court and the prejudice to Pakistan threatened in expansion of your irrigation projects during the delay involved, we will, as I indicated in my letter of October 18, keep an open mind and study sympathetically the draft of governing convention or agreement which has been requested If this draft provides for a court that will assure effective adjudication, Pakistan will accept I do hope that we may have that draft in the near future

9. Without qualifying in any way what I have just said, I must frankly confess to you that the more we have studied your counter-proposal the more clearly does it appear to us that the International Court would best serve your suggested purpose as well as ours It has the great advantage of independence, impartially and unquestioned competence without being in any sense a forcing court It is our court India and Pakistan by accepting the statute of the court and agreeing to its jurisdiction, far from impairing their sovereignty, exercised it in aligning themselves with those nations that have freely chosen to live under the rule of law By submitting our water dispute to that court and abiding by its decision we again demonstrate that the highest act of sovereignty is to act in conformity with international law The International Court stands for the very same high principles of international conduct with which you have always identified yourselves

10 There are also many practical considerations weighing in favour of international conformity The court is already functioning successfully No detailed

agreement need be worked out to fix its composition, its jurisdiction, its rules of procedure or of decision As you and your advisers consider the actual terms of the draft agreement governing the Tribunal you propose, I believe you will come to apprec ate the full merit of the International Court I, therefore, again request that rather than postpone settlement while seeking to create a new Tribunal as good as 'the International Court, we accept now the jurisdiction of that court to examine the canal waters dispute

11 We have failed by negotiation to reach agreement as to the fair division of our common waters owing to widely divergent views as to our legal rights The International Court would probably not have to go beyond definition of principles involved Once this is done we should have little difficulty in applying the legal principles that are laid down

12 Turning to the matter of evacuee property I have had difficulty in finding what questions of a legal nature are involved To be sure the value of property in a region that requires irrigation depends upon an authoritative definition of that region's rights to a continuation of its water supplies Apart from that the question seems to be factual and economic Furthermore, if India will accept our repeated offers that there be freedom of sales and exchange of urban evacuee property in both countries, the problem will be reduced to manageable proportions You have moreover, our offer to establish concrete procedures to which we would be bound without any right of veto for resolving any matter, justiciable or not, that in the evacuee property question and in the other disputes cannot be resolved by mutual accommodation

13 I will not lengthen this letter by reference to other of our disputes on which negotiations have failed These include the question of Junagadh and neighbouring States that have acceded to Pakistan and the release of the assets of Pakistan now withheld by India

14 My Government are prepared to reaffirm with yours the solemn engagements undertaken when we became members of the United Nations We are willing to do more but we are not willing to do less The path of constructive statesmanship is, for us, to eschew declarations without deeds and to avoid assuming to decide by unilateral act or by veto, the merits of our own contentions The solution to our problems will come, I am earnestly convinced, when each side accepts adjudication of all issues that are justiciable and arbitration of all other issues My Government are prepared to do this on every issue I most earnestly hope that your Government will see fit to do the same

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat Ali Khan

PANDIT NEHRU'S LETTER

New Delhi,
November 24, 1950.

My Dear Nawabzada,

Thank you for your letter of November 21, 1950. I can well appreciate from my own experience how busy you must have been The subject-matter of our correspondence is of sufficient importance to justify the fullest consideration We have indeed given a great deal of consideration to this matter and have corresponded about it for a long time now Unfortunately all this consideration and correspondence has not, thus far, yielded any substantial result Whether further correspondence on this subject will lead to a happier conclusion, I do not know But I feel that I should reply to your letter fully so as to clear up any possible misunderstandings. I am taking the earliest opportunity to do so, in spite

of heavy work and many pre-occupations Tomorrow morning I am leaving Delhi for two or three days.

2. Before dealing with other points, I should like to discuss the *raison d'etre* of our suggestion for a 'no-war declaration We thought, and subsequent events have proved it, that any complicated declaration would lead to interminable correspondence We were anxious for an immediate step forward even though it might only be a first step We were convinced that this would have given Indo-Pakistan problems a new orientation Hence we suggested the simplest possible 'no-war' declaration It is easy to criticise that, but can anyone doubt that such a declaration coming from our respective Governments would have made a tremendous difference in the relations between India and Pakistan and would have lightened the dark and heavy atmosphere that surrounds us?

3 We are fully aware of the obligations that our two countries, in common with many others, have accepted by becoming members of the United Nations But you know as well as I do that in spite of the brave and eloquent words of the Charter of the United Nations, fierce disputes and impassioned arguments are in progress at Lake Success, even as I write Member nations look at each other with fear and suspicion and the world stands on the verge of catastrophe It is even possible that the U N. may change its original shape and character All this is not the fault of the Charter but of fear which envelopes the nations of the world and drives them continuously in a wrong direction

Suppose that the leaders of the Great Powers met, or otherwise agreed, to issue simple no-war declaration, such as I have suggested to you, would not that make a startling difference? There would be a great sigh of relief from hundreds of millions of people and imminent threat of war would, for the moment at least, fade away A chance would be given to the nations to think calmly and dispassionately of their problems and possibly find a way out And yet that simple declaration would contain nothing new It would only be a reiteration of a part of the Charter

4 We have had to contend also, in India and Pakistan, with this pervasive sense of fear and apprehension and the possibility of war between our two countries This has been created by a variety of circumstances and by the persistence of certain disputes between Pakistan and India which remain unsolved I have drawn your attention to the type of propaganda that has been going on in Pakistan and the belligerent character of certain speeches and writings in the Pakistan press about India The Charter of the United Nations has not helped in stopping these speeches and writings or even in improving our relations Nearly eight months ago, you and I met, under a happy inspiration, at a moment of deep crisis for our countries

After some discussion, we arrived at certain simple conclusions There was nothing novel about them But they were the result of an earnest approach by both sides, and, immediately, there was a remarkable change in the atmosphere of both countries There was a cooling of tempers and understanding replaced passion and prejudice This psychological change did not solve any problem, but it went a long way to produce conditions favourable for a solution. After eight months, I think both of us can say with confidence that we did well and the results have justified our action.

5 This encouraged me to think that another move by us, such as the one that I had suggested, in the shape of a simple 'no-war' declaration, would transform the mind of Indians and Pakistanis alike To encumber that declaration with details of procedure and programme would be to weaken the effect, which was the

main purpose of the declaration proposed by us This does not mean, of course, that practical steps, including agreement on procedure and timing, would not be necessary for resolving specific disputes In my previous letters to you, I have attempted to deal as fully as I could with the mode of settling individual issues outstanding between our two countries

6. You say that the crux of the difficulty in our reaching an agreement has been our reluctance to substitute, on any issue, impartial arbitration for threatened or actual use of force. I am greatly surprised at your reference to force and must deny categorically any suggestion that, at any time, we have threatened resort to force to settle a dispute with Pakistan Force has been used by Pakistan and by India against each other in Kashmir I do not wish to repeat the sad story of Kashmir here But you knew well that we sent our troops to Kashmir under stress of grave emergency and when an invasion of Kashmir had already begun I am convinced that we would have failed in our duty if we had not met this aggression and rescued Kashmir from it

After long denial that Pakistan Forces had gone to Kashmir, this fact had to be admitted, and there they are still, with what justification I have completely failed to understand Even so, after the failure of Sir Owen Dixon s mission, I stated unequivocally that India would not attack Pakistan unless she was attacked first I asked you to make a similar declaration on behalf of Pakistan, but to this you did not respond I do not wish to enter into a controversy over this, but you will permit me to claim that my declaration should convince all reasonable persons of the genuineness of our pacific intentions

As regards impartial arbitration I have never stated that we would not resort to it on any issue But there are some issues, *e g*, the future of Kashmir which cannot be settled by arbitration If I am not mistaken, your Minister for Kashmir Affairs, Mr Gurmani, has expressed the same view publicly In international affairs all kinds of issues arise Some lend themselves to adjudication some to settlement only by agreement among the parties To recognise this is not to refuse arbitration on matters which lend themselves to a settlement by this method

7 Coming to the issues mentioned specifically in your letter, I shall take up Kashmir first I have said before this matter is now before the United Nations At no time have we resiled from any statement made or assurance given by us The reasons for our inability to accept arbitration on certain points of dispute regarding the timing of the withdrawal of Pakistan forces, the disbandment and disarming of 'Azad Kashmir' forces, and finally the withdrawal of Indian forces from Jammu and Kashmir territory, have been fully explained from time to time Our contention has all along been that the phasing of the withdrawal of our forces must depend upon conditions that would enable us to discharge effectively our obligation to ensure the security of the State We have certain obligations which we had solemnly undertaken The maintenance of the security of the territory of Kashmir State is the paramount obligation of any Government which undertakes it. To fail in that duty is to betray the people of Kashmir and our own people What forces are necessary for the purpose may be a matter for agreement by negotiation It can hardly be a matter for arbitration

8 In the course of the long discussions that have taken place in regard to Kashmir, we have always pointed out that it was essential for the origin of this trouble to be considered and decided upon, that unless this was done, any conclusion arrived at would lack reality Unfortunately these discussions have concerned themselves with details and have ignored the aggression that has led to this conflict

9. The question of canal waters has been the subject of many conferences and long correspondence. I do not wish to burden this letter with a repetition of

what I have said previously on so many occasions But I must point out that the statement in your letter that, 'at the time of partition, Indian representatives joined in declaring that there was no question of varying the shares of the two new countries in our common waters required for irrigation' is not correct When the matter came up before the Punjab Partition Committee, this was not agreed to The correct position is set out briefly in subsequent paragraphs

Nor, as I have repeatedly pointed out, is it correct that India has, since partition, sought to compel acceptance of greatly increased supplies for India at the expense of irrigation vital to Pakistan I am deeply distressed that the agreement reached between the two countries in May 1948, in a friendly spirit, and our honourable fulfilment of it, should be so distorted and denounced

10 Since we disagree even about facts, apart from interpretation, there is little use in my recapitulating at length what I have said before on the subject of this agreement But I cannot let pass, without challenge, the charge now made that only after 2½ years, India has accepted the principle, that the canal water dispute should be 'adjudicated' As far back as May 1948, the Governments of India and Pakistan agreed 'to approach the problem in a practical spirit on the basis of the East Punjab (now Punjab, India) Government diminishing its supply to the Pakistan canals, in order to enable the West Punjab (now Punjab, Pakistan) Government to tap alternative sources' In the same practical spirit, the Government of India suggested, in August 1949, the appointment of a Joint Technical Commission to make an investigation for this purpose

If I may say so, it is Pakistan's intransigence which has held up this essential preliminary technical investigation Our objection to reference of this canal waters issue to the International Court of Justice has been due not to any desire to shirk settlement of difference by an impartial body but to the honest belief that a matter of this kind can best be settled by a small group of persons of the highest judicial standing, from India and Pakistan, who can appraise all the vital practical factors on the spot

11 I do not see why you should say that as may be expected a tribunal of the kind that we have suggested will be deadlocked. That seems to me to be unjustified reflection upon the impartiality of your judges and ours In any case, we have not suggested that if the members of this tribunal should be divided, the point or points on which there is a deadlock should be referred to another tribunal which would consist of an odd number of judges, some of whom would be nationals neither of India nor of Pakistan All that we have suggested is that the two Governments should agree in advance to abide by the decisions of the tribunal in all matters referred to it, and that if unfortunately there is an equal division of opinion among the judges on any points, the two Governments should try to settle these points by negotiation among themselves and, failing that, resort to arbitration or adjudication by a mutually-agreed special agency, an international organisation recognised by both Governments Since our proposal provides that the agreed or majority decision of the tribunal should be accepted by both parties, our hope is that the points of difference will be so few as to make their settlement easier and more expeditious than the reference of the whole dispute to a tribunal sitting thousands of miles away.

12 You refer to a governing convention for the creation of this tribunal. I cannot do better than quote what I have said on this subject in my letter of the th October

Clearly there must be agreement between us regarding the composition of the tribunal, its terms of reference and powers The composition has already been dealt with. As regards the tribunal's powers, I think we should lay it

down that it should have final authority to deal with the matters referred to it. The judges can decide unanimously or by majority They will have all the powers of superior courts in regard to summoning of witnesses, etc They will settle their procedure and method of working as such tribunals do We must invest the tribunal with the highest authority and not make it feel that it is just a stepping stone to something else We must agree to abide by its decision in all matters referred to it

Once these broad principles are accepted by you, details can be worked out by discussion between your representatives and ours This is all that seems necessary

13. You refer to the construction of new irrigation projects by India To describe as new a project like Bhakra which has been under consideration or preparation for the last 30 years is hardly accurate Such new proposals as we have considered since partition are essential for the development of Punjab (India) and adjoining areas in India As we have pointed out to your representatives repeatedly, in our view, there is a sufficiency of water in the Indus basin for all your purposes as well as ours, provided that we approach the problem in a spirit of mutual accommodation We have persistently urged a joint enquiry to confirm this but Pakistan has avoided such an investigation. That, I venture to say, is no reason why the development of the East Punjab should be held up.

14 I did not suggest reference of the evacuee property dispute to the same tribunal as the one proposed for the canal waters issue because the problem is legal I did so, primarily to expedite an equitable settlement with the help of an agency whose impartiality would command confidence This dispute has formed the subject of prolonged discussions between our two Governments and we attach even greater importance to its early settlement because of the mass of human suffering involved by delay and its consequent repercussion on relations between the two countries We both know how intense the feeling on this subject is. The value of agricultural property in certain areas would, of course, depend on irrigation facilities that might be available from existing or alternative sources, and the proposed tribunal would no doubt take this factor into consideration in suggesting how best the dispute should be adjusted between the two parties

Sale and exchange of urban evacuee property were tried on an earlier occasion but without any substantial result for reasons which I need not go into here After all that has happened, it would not be practicable to revert to an agreement which would leave out large areas of agricultural land affecting the majority of evacuees in each country Frankly, I fail to see why there should be any objection to settling this matter in the manner proposed by us As for the release of assets of Pakistan you are well aware that there are counter-claims

15 I must express my extreme regret that after all the efforts we have made and the lengthy correspondence which we have had, we should arrive at this dead end This is our common misfortune I hope that we may find some way out of this unhappy deadlock in the future

Yours sincerely,
Jawaharlal Nehru

LIAQUAT'S LETTER

Karachi,
November 27, 1950

My Dear Pandit Nehru,

Thank you for your letter of the 24th November, 1950 It reached me last evening after 3 p m I am afraid in this letter you have revived so many issues that I feel constrained to send an immediate reply despite my numerous preoccupations.

2 I shall begin with the 'No-War Declaration' I am sincerely sorry that I have failed to convince you that a mere 'declaration' of good intentions on our part unsubstantiated by concrete acts would carry conviction to no body May I, therefore, seek once again to convince you by drawing your attention to the logical end of an argument you have yourself advanced In your letter you point out that in spite of the Charter of the United Nations, fierce disputes and impassioned arguments are in progress between nations May I request you to pause and think why? I am myself convinced that if the leaders of the great Powers agreed to issue a simple 'no-war declaration' of the type you suggest, it would not make the least difference That is why I suggested and suggest once again that we should put substance and body in our declaration by devising a concrete procedure to solve some pending and all future disputes between India and Pakistan

3 In para 4 of your letter you have referred to the type of propaganda that, according to you, has been going on in Pakistan It is a matter of regret to me that while you allow yourself to be perturbed by what is being said in Pakistan, you omit to note the attitude of the Press throughout India and particularly in West Bengal where the Delhi Agreement notwithstanding, even former Ministers of your Cabinet continue to conduct, apparently without hindrance, a virulent propaganda campaign against Pakistan and against the very Pact to which you have referred These elements have gone to incredible lengths They have set up what they publicly proclaim is the Provisional Government of East Pakistan Mr J P Mitter describes himself with impunity as its President

All this is very disheartening Nevertheless, neither I nor the East Pakistan Government have at any stage slackened our efforts to implement the Delhi Agreement I am glad to say that the life and property of the Hindus in Pakistan is completely safe and thousands of Hindus are every week returning to their homes. The Delhi Agreement did indeed produce a psychological change but I need hardly remind you that it was not a mere declaration of good intentions It devised ways and means of giving form and shape to those intentions and set up an elaborate administrative machinary to implement them It was a closely considered and carefully worked out plan in which considerable attention was paid to details It is because of this that it has met with success Had it been a mere declaration it would have been forgotten by now

4 My statement that the crux of the difficulty is the reluctance of your Government to substitute on any issue impartial arbitration for threatened and actual use of force, seems to have surprised you I must confess, however, that your categorical assertion that you have never resorted to or threatened to resort to force to settle disputes with Pakistan has surprised me even more I sincerely hope and trust that you have not forgotten that your military forces have occupied Junagadh and its neighbouring States which lawfully acceded to Pakistan and form part of its territories

I shall not refer to another sorry episode elsewhere which is still pending before the Security Council but may I remind you that not long ago there was a large-scale movement of the military forces of India and a considerable building up of war-like stores in forward areas very close to the borders of Pakistan This was just before I came to Delhi for the conversations which resulted in the Delhi Agreement. You may recall that on that occasion you made a statement in your Parliament that you were on the brink of a precipice It is with this background of uneasy Indo-Pakistan relations that I have been trying to persuade you that in the disputes that exist between India and Pakistan both you and I should take a more realistic view of the situation and not delude ourselves and our peoples into seeking solace in empty platitudes

You have referred to the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission and have drawn my attention to the fact that you have made a statement in one of your Press conferences that India would not resort to war in Kashmir unless she is attacked This is reassuring since Pakistan has no intention of attacking India I have also declared over and over again that Pakistan wants peaceful settlement of the Kashmir question Only Pakistan is irrevocably opposed to India gaining control of Kashmir by force against the will of the people and since India is in the military occupation of large areas in Jammu and Kashmir including the Valley, it is obviously to India's advantage to prevent any plebiscite being held Pakistan could not possibly acquiesce in this position

5. In discussing the question of Kashmir, you have explained at length why you are unable to accept arbitration on certain points of dispute regarding the timing of the withdrawal of Pakistan forces, the disbandment and disarming of Azad Kashmir forces and the withdrawal of Indian forces from Jammu and Kashmir territory I put it to you that this is precisely the attitude which renders mere declarations meaningless In my letter of the 31st I have stated that during the past years our joint undertaking to accept the decision of a free, and impartial plebiscite of the inhabitants of Kashmir has remained a hollow declaration owing to the refusal of your Government to implement this Agreement and the Resolutions of the United Nations Commission and the Security Council

Your Government has rejected every recommendation that their armed forces be withdrawn, while, Pakistan has agreed that its armed forces be withdrawn, in order to certify that the plebiscite may take place without undue influence or compulsion by either side When it was proposed to each of our Governments that we accept an impartial arbiter to settle the differences over the interpretation of the Agreement brought about by the United Nations, Pakistan concurred, India did not How are we going to get anywhere if you persist that by agreeing to submit the issue to arbitration you would fail in your duty' to and betray the people of Kashmir. It is our contention that the people of Kashmir have a right and should be given a chance to declare whether they wish to be protected by India

6. Ever since the Kashmir question has been placed before the Security Council, India has persistently referred to what you describe as the 'origin of the trouble' But was that not again precisely the point that India repeatedly urged before the Security Council and the UNCIP? Have they not considered it over and over again and not accepted India's contention? Surely no settlement is possible if one of the parties to a dispute persists in questioning the attitude and the actions of a body like the Security Council. If there is any aggression in Kashmir it is by India against the people of that State who are continuously being kept under the Indian heel by means of force

7 This letter has already become too long and I would not like to take too much of your time to go into the details of the canal waters dispute I regret, however, to find that you question the accuracy of my statement that 'at the time of partition, Indian representatives joined in declaring that there was no question of varying the authorised shares of water to which the two zones of the various canals are entitled' In my letters to you I take great pains to ensure accuracy and I repeat that the statement that I have made in my letter is correct Nor, I must confess, do I see how you can deny that since partition India has sought to compel acceptance of greatly increased supplies for India at the expense of irrigation vital to Pakistan As for the Agreement of May 1948, all that I maintain is that it was made under compulsion

8 I am amazed that in paragraph 10 of your letter you have actually charged Pakistan with intransigence May I draw your attention to my letter of the 23rd August? In that letter I have dealt with the question of technical investigation.

In view of what I have stated therein the charge of intransigence is most unjustified My contention is that even though engineers of the two countries have repeatedly met and there is a mass of factual data available this has not resulted in any progress in the settlement of the dispute And how could it when you yourself say that such new proposals as you have considered since partition are essential for the development of Punjab (India) and the adjoining areas in India, while we maintain that these works would inevitably devastate some of the richest areas in Pakistan, and your right to do this is the very issue to be adjudicated

9 My statement that a tribunal such as the one proposed by you will be deadlocked is neither a reflection upon the impartiality of your judges nor on that of ours But this is what we fear And if past experience is any guide a deadlock is almost inevitable In any case it would be wrong to make any plans without taking cognizance of what at least seems a very probable eventuality It is for this reason that we suggested that reference might be made to a tribunal of undoubted standing—and 'sitting thousands of miles away'—so that it could decide the question dispassionately and without getting entangled into the barbed wire of political controversy Nevertheless, we have not rejected the idea of a tribunal We have asked for a draft of governing convention You have merely quoted from your previous reference It was after seeing it that we felt that it was necessary to have a draft of governing convention From my past experience, I can say that unless details are clearly worked out we would find ourselves in the throes of new disagreements. If you would permit me to say so, you are so convinced of the righteousness of your stand on every issue that I seem to have utterly failed to persuade you that there may be another side to any issue pending between us

10 I notice that you have not made any new point with regard to the evacuee property dispute I am, however, glad to see that you recognise that the value of agricultural property would in certain areas depend upon the irrigation facilities that are available to it and in consequence, unless we made any progress with regard to the settlement of the canal waters dispute, which vitally affects the most valuable, the most important irrigated area in Pakistan, it may be futile to talk of any equitable settlement So far as the sale and exchange of urban evacuee property is concerned, if India will accept, as was once agreed upon, our repeated offers that there be freedom of sale and exchange of property, the problem would be greatly reduced

11. You have summarily dismissed the question of the release of the assets of Pakistan by saying that you have counter-claims I wish you had gone more into this question My own view on the subject is that our claims in this respect also are of a character which could have been settled, without any dispute, had India shown an inclination to settle them

12. I agree with you that it is our common misfortune that this correspondence seems to have produced no positive result Despite my deep disappointment I assure you that I still believe that it is in the highest degree essential that our two Governments should settle all disputes by peaceful methods I am convinced and I am never tired of saying so that a war between India and Pakistan would be an unmitigated disaster for both countries and I assure you that I shall continue to work for peace.

13. When you have had an opportunity to consider fully the views I have put forward, I believe it will serve the interests of our countries if we meet personally. I would very much welcome a visit by you to Karachi as soon as your duties permit

Yours sincerely,
Liaquat 'Ali Khan

APPENDIX IV

EXCHANGE OF TELEGRAMS BETWEEN LIAQUAT 'ALI KHAN AND PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU REGARDING CONCENTRATION OF INDIAN TROOPS ON PAKISTAN BORDERS

Telegram from Liaquat 'Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated July 15, 1951

For some time past I have been receiving reports of large-scale concentration of Indian armed forces in East Punjab and in Jammu and Kashmir I refrained from addressing you on the subject until it was clear beyond doubt that the bulk of the Indian army including all its armour was concentrated against the Pakistan borders In addition to the move of infantry division your one armoured division and the independent armoured brigade have been moved forward from Meerut and Nabha to the vicinity of Amritsar This constitutes a grave threat to the security of Pakistan and to International peace

2 The main reason for the existing state of tension between India and Pakistan is persistent refusal by the Government of India to settle disputes between the two countries by peaceful means Pakistan has made every effort for just and peaceful settlement of these disputes and has demonstrated time and again its desire to maintain peaceful and friendly relations with India As I have repeatedly asserted Pakistan has no aggressive designs against any one

3 The maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere is of particular importance at the present time when Dr Graham the U N Representative is endeavouring to carry out the duties entrusted to him by the Security Council in its Resolution of 30 March 1951.

4 In the interest of international peace and of neighbourly relations between our two countries I would most earnestly urge you to remove the threat to the security of Pakistan created by the forward move of your armed forces

Telegram from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat 'Ali Khan, dated July 17, 1951

Your apprehension that there is any threat to the security of Pakistan and to international peace on the part of India is completely unjustified

India's policy continues to be to preserve and ensure peace and to avoid war We have demonstrated this by our reduction of the Indian Army last year in the hope that this might have some effect on Pakistan But, according to our information, continued and intensive efforts have been made to increase the armed forces of Pakistan which have been largely massed on the Indian frontiers

In addition to this, an intensive and astonishing campaign for *jehad* and war against India has been carried on, not only by newspapers but by responsible authorities in Pakistan We have repeatedly drawn attention of your Government to this. During the last five weeks raids into Kashmir State territory across the cease fire line and elsewhere have also intensified As you know, we have drawn the attention of the United Nations to these serious developments. My Government cannot ignore this continuous talk and preparations for war in Pakistan and we would be failing in our duty if we did not take effective defensive measures.

The facts you have mentioned in your telegram are not correct but it is true that certain troop movements have been ordered by us for defensive purposes. As I have repeatedly said before, I assure that there is no intention whatever for any aggressive action on our part, but any aggression on Indian territory will be resisted.

You have referred to neighbourly relations between our two countries. We are exceedingly anxious to have such relations, but the attitude and propaganda in Pakistan is a major impediment in the development of these relations

As regards Kashmir and other disputes between India and Pakistan, it has been our consistent policy to strive for a peaceful settlement and we have made numerous proposals to you in this behalf Our anxiety to avoid conflict with Pakistan is evident by our proposal to have a 'no-war declaration '

I would earnestly urge you to stop the propaganda for *jehad* and war against India in Pakistan This will help more than anything else in improving relations between our two countries

Telegram from Liaquat 'Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dated July 20, 1951

I am deeply disappointed to read your Telegram No 21573, dated July 17 Instead of revoking of concentration of Indian troops on Pakistan frontiers which you have admitted and thus removing a serious threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace, you have proceeded to make a series of allegations and statements unrelated to facts

You have asserted that India's policy continues to be to preserve and ensure peace and to avoid war The use of military forces in Junagadh, Hyderabad and more recently in Nepal are grave warnings against the acceptance of these assertions at their face value The continued denial by force of arms to the people of Kashmir of their right of self determination and repeated threats to the security of Pakistan by the massing of Indian troops against its borders are hardly indications of a desire for peace

You have referred to a reduction of the Indian Army last year The facts proclaim otherwise Your defence budget has arisen from 151 crores in the 1948-49 to 195 crores in the current year Last year the original defence budget was 176 crores but the revised budget rose to 191 crores In the current year's budget an announcement was made of a small reduction in the strength of the Indian Army, counter balanced by increases in the Navy and Air Force But two months later it was reported that even the proposed reduction would not be made Actual defence expenditure in the current year is thus likely to rise to still higher levels.

Your allegation that the armed forces of Pakistan were largely massed on Indian frontiers is completely without foundation This would be borne out by any impartial observer

You have been at pains to distort the significance of expressions of discontent which have appeared in the Pakistan Press over your persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir You have construed the expression of the natural desire for the liberation of Kashmir as propaganda for war against India

At the same time you have either ignored or belittled the continuous and blatant propaganda for war against Pakistan and indeed for the very liquidation of Pakistan carried on by the Indian Press, prominent Indian leaders and political organisations This propaganda has been going on in spite of the Delhi Agreement of April 1950

As any impartial observer will testify, for a long time after the Delhi Agreement, the Pakistan Press strenuously propagated goodwill towards India while the Indian Press and political leaders continued to fulminate against Pakistan and to make attacks aimed at the integrity of Pakistan When I drew your attention to this violation of the Agreement and asked for action against those responsible for it under Clause 8 of the Agreement, you pleaded your inability to carry out the obligation undertaken by you.

You have referred to recent border incidents which you have reported to the United Nations These incidents have been magnified by you out of all proportion and attributed entirely to Pakistan I would draw your attention to the statement made by Gen Nimmo, Chief U N Military Observer, on July 13th, that quite a number of such violations of the cease-fire agreement have occurred on both sides and that the recent incidents were less serious than some of those which occurred in the past Surely it would be a gross distortion of facts to treat these incidents as an evidence of a desire for war

You have also referred to the no war declaration But as you are aware, the proposal for a no-war declaration could not be carried to a conclusion only because of your refusal to agree that if disputes between India and Pakistan could not be settled by negotiation and mediation they should be referred to arbitration

In spite of the clear direction in your constitution calling for the settlement of international disputes by arbitration you maintained that it was beneath your national dignity to agree to this procedure There can be no clearer proof of Pakistan's desire for a peaceful solution of its disputes with India than the proposal I have repeatedly put to you that all disputes should be settled by negotiation and mediation, and, failing that, by arbitration Unfortunately you have preferred the threat or use of force in settling disputes in your favour wherever the opportunity has offered itself

You have admitted that troop movements have been ordered by you but you claim that these are for defensive purposes The nature and magnitude of these movements and in particular the forward move of your armoured division and armoured brigade would not lead anyone to feel that their presence so close to Pakistan's frontiers is for defensive purposes This plea of defensive purposes loses its validity in the face of the fact that Pakistan had made no troop moves before the concentration of your forces against Pakistan borders

There can be no severer strain upon the relations between our two countries than to be subjected time and again to the threat constituted by the concentration of forces I would again urge you most earnestly to withdraw these forces so that this threat to the security of Pakistan and international peace is removed

Telegram from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat Ali Khan dated July 21, 1951

I am in receipt of your telegram dated 20th July I regret deeply that my message of 17th July which I tried to make as frank and straightforward as possible would have evoked answer which I can only describe as propagandist

Your references to Junagadh and Hyderabad are wrong and irrelevant I do not propose to discuss those issues because our position in respect of both has been repeatedly explained

Your reference to Nepal is extraordinary and wholly unjustified Nepal Government itself has issued a strong protest against it At the request of the Nepal government, small Indian forces are co-operating with Nepalese forces near the border in rounding up some terrorist gangs engaged in looting and other acts of lawlessness and violence

As regards our defence forces, the central fact is that our army was reduced in 1950-51 by over 52,000 men This is easily verifiable

Your reference to our budget figures is irrelevant and misleading as these reflect certain economic factors such as rise in the price and change in exchange value We frame our budget every year in the hope of reducing our army still further If further reduction in our forces proposed for the current year has not been carried out this has been due to Pakistan's war propaganda and the absence of any reduction in her armed forces You have not controverted our statement

that the size of Pakistan forces has been steadily increasing Thus while we have been reducing our armed forces you have been increasing yours

I have neither ignored nor belittled what you say about the Indian press Outside small and irresponsible section there has been no such propaganda as you suggest in the Indian Press. I am quite willing to leave judgment on this to any impartial student of the Press of two countries.

I am surprised that you should dismiss the virulent and persistent propaganda in favour of *jehad* in the Pakistan Press as expressions of discontent over our persistent refusal to allow a peaceful solution by a free plebiscite in Kashmir

Threats of war over Kashmir in the Pakistan Press have occurred almost daily for many months I would quote only a few extracts from reports of view publicly expressed by persons in Pakistan holding the highest offices

> "You can take it from us that the day we become desperate and lose all hope of a just solution of the problem not only entire Pathan population of Pakistan and tribal areas will rise up for the holy *jehad* in Kashmir but our brothers from aross the Afghan frontier will also throw in their lot with us for the cause" (Khan 'Abdul Qayyum Khan, Prime Minister of N.W F P)

> "So long as a single Pakistani is alive nobody dare snatch Kashmir from Pakistan by force . If problem was not settled immediately whole of Asia would be engulfed in flame of war which might lead to a world conflagration" (Sardar 'Abdur Rab Nishtar, Governor of the Panjab)

> "I say this with full responsibility that India has now over several months taken up the attitude with regard to Kashmir which deliberately blocks progress along peaceful lines What does India desire. It has no right to complain if it gets something else " (Chaudhri Muhammad Zafrullah Khan, Foreign Minister of Pakistan)

> "Prime Minister Liaquat 'Ali Khan told a Press conference in Karachi that the Kashmir question cannot brook any delay, he said there were only two courses open to Pakistan to settle the issue 'one was to pursue the matter in the Security Council, the second I would not tell you' ".

The charge that India has persistently refused to allow a peaceful solution through a free plebiscite in Kashmir is as we have repeatedly pointed out wholly baseless It is the armed aggression of Pakistan against Kashmir and continued presence of Pakistan armies there that has come in the way of a peaceful solution. Progress towards a peaceful settlement has not been made because of the non-fulfilment on the part of Pakistan of the conditions under which alone free and impartial plebiscite could be held

In these circumstances it is difficult to draw any other conclusion from the views of Pakistan's spokeman and the violent and frequent comments of the Pakistan Press that Pakistan is preparing to seek a settlement of the Kashmir dispute by resort to force.

This and this alone is responsible for wholly precautionary and defensive measures that we have taken After what happened in Kashmir in 1947 we should be failing in our duty if we did not take adequate steps to safeguard ourselves against a repetition of those events and far-reaching consequences to which these would lead.

I would once more affirm in complete sincerity that military movements on our side have not been inspired by any aggressive intent or design on our part against Pakistan. India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan or of seeking the solution of any problem by force but if Indian territory, including Kashmir, is invaded by Pakistan, then India will take all measures in self-defence. It, as you say, is also Pakistan's policy not to attack India, I see no reason why

peace between our two countries should be in any way threatened

My proposal for a 'no-war declaration' by both the countries was a simple and straightforward one without strings attached You did not accept this and added many conditions

What is needed to ease the present tension is a declaration by your Government that on no account will they attack or invade Indian territory

Even now anyone can contrast war propaganda and preparations in Pakistan with the absence of any such activities or propaganda against India and if talk of war in Pakistan cease I am confident that not only will the present tension ease but the way will be prepared for a calm discussion in a peaceful atmosphere for the disputes outstanding between our two countries and for their amicable settlement

Telegram from Liaquat 'Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated July 26, 1951

I am in receipt of your telegram, dated July, 24

In my last telegram which you have chosen to describe as propagandist, I merely stated certain facts, unpleasant perhaps, but none the less true

The present crisis has been caused by the massing of Indian forces against Pakistan's borders, and the removal of this threat to peace should be our first concern. But as a number of issues have been raised in the course of this correspondence, I must perforce deal with them briefly

First, as to Junagadh, I need hardly remind you that Junagadh acceded to Pakistan, was invaded by Indian forces and its occupation by India is a continuing act of aggression against Pakistan The case is pending before the Security Council Similarly, India's aggression against Hyderabad is also before the Security Council Nepal's independence was undermined by operation conducted from Indian territory and Nepal is now virtually a dependency of India The protest of the Nepal Government against my reference to the operation of Indian forces within Nepal is only further proof of this dependence, if such were needed

You have referred again to the alleged reduction of the Indian Army in 1950-51 In the first place, the military strength of a country depends upon the strength of its armed forces as a whole and not merely upon one arm of it Your Navy and Air Force have admittedly been substantially increased and it is undeniable that the strength of your armed forces as a whole has been on the increase since partition

Secondly, even in regard to the army, the so-called reduction is not an effective reduction in its fighting strength, but merely a reorganisation and weeding out of Indian State forces which have been integrated into the Indian army These State forces were always in the past considered as second-class troops, and their reorganisation and integration as part of the Indian army has actually increased their fighting power

The truth of the matter is that the effective fighting strength of the Indian army has been enhanced, particularly by a notable increase in the Indian artillery which is the major hitting weapon of the army In the debate on defence budget for 1950-51, your Defence Minister gave the assurance that 'at present there is no desire to reduce the strength of our Army, Navy or Air Force ' This is borne out by the fact that in respect of the army, the original budget estimate in 1950-51 was Rs. 131 crores and the revised budget went up to Rs 144 crores

The strength of India's armed forces at the time of partition was double that of Pakistan You have since persistently tried to increase that disparity, not only by constantly building up your armed forces but also by attempting to hamstring Pakistan forces by denying them the stores which were their rightful share under the partition agreement

Pakistan has, therefore, been forced to spend considerable sums on the

purchase of equipment wrongfully withheld by India

In spite of this, the increases in Pakistan's defence budget are less than half of those in India's defence budget

To suggest, therefore that you have not carried out a reduction in your armed forces because of Pakistan's actions is a complete travesty of facts Because of the disparity between the armed forces of the two countries it is fantastic to suggest that there is any danger of aggression against India from Pakistan The greater size of India's armed forces, the manner in which they have been used from time to time in neighbouring territory and the threats to the security of Pakistan by the massing of your troops against Pakistan's frontiers can leave no one in doubt as to where the potentiality of aggression lies

I am astounded at your statement that outside a small and irresponsible section there has been no propaganda for war against Pakistan in the Indian Press Surely, you cannot be unaware that the second largest political organisation in your country, the Hindu Mahasabha the wide pread influence of which is well-known, has openly adopted as an article of faith the undoing of partition, which is synonymous with the liquidation of Pakistan It has been carrying on intensive and persistent propaganda for this object But the Hindu Mahasabha is not the only party in India doing this

One has only to cast a casual glance at the Indian Press to see the virulence of the propaganda against Pakistan In this, as in all other matters, I am prepared to abide by the judgment of any impartial person

Your references to propaganda in Pakistan are misconceived All that Pakistan has stressed is a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under U N auspices so that the people of Kashmir can exercise their right of self determination free from fear, pressure and coercion It is the persistent denial of this fundamental right by your Government and the continued occupation of that State by your armed forces which is driving not only the people of Pakistan but all peace-loving people throughout the would to despair It is the expression of this despair to which you take exception

You wish to impose a solution on the people of Kashmir by force, and if the people of Pakistan and Kashmir say that they will not allow this imposition, they are doing no more than asserting a just and inalienable right

The quotations from the speeches or statements of responsible persons in Pakistan that you have given are capable of this and only this interpretation They have been evoked by highly provocative speeches by yourself, your Ministers and others, such as Mr Tandon, the President of the Indian National Congress. Again, I am prepared to abide by the judgment of any impartial person who reads your speeches and mine over Kashmir and relations between India and Pakistan to say where the responsibility lies.

Speaking in the Indian Parliament last year about Kashmir and Bengal you said with reference to Pakistan 'If the methods we have suggested are not agreed to, it may be that we shall have to adopt other methods ' It was clear to your hearers and to the whole world what 'other methods' you were referring to In March 1951, in reply to a question at a Press Conference in New Delhi as to what guarantee there was that Indian troops were not withdrawn simultaneously, you asserted that 'it was their business to occupy the whole of Kashmir if there was any danger to any part of it '

In June 1951, you made three objectionable speeches on Kashmir in the course of which you said 'We will tolerate no nonsense about Kashmir, come what may ' Incidentally, it was in reply to this that the Foreign Minister of Pakistan made the statement you have quoted in your telegram.

Soon after this, Mr Gopalaswami Aiyangar, the Minister for States, referring to minor border incidents, which had taken place on both sides, said 'They were calculated to furnish an excuse for the outbreak of hostilities between India and Pakistan '

Mr. Jain, another of your Ministers, speaking in the Indian Parliament in April, 1951, said 'If Pakistan does not behave properly, we shall have to do something to make them realise and behave in a civilised fashion '

Col Raghbir Singh, Chief Minister of PEPSU, referring to the possibility of war between India and Pakistan, said 'If it took place the battles would be fought on Pakistan soil '

The *major* cause of tension between India and Pakistan is India's *refusal* to honour its international commitment for a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under U N auspices. The record on this point is clear and well-known to the whole world Every effort to implement the two UNCIP resolutions of August, 13, 1948 and January 5 1949, has been defeated by Indian intransigence

These two *resolutions* provide that '*the question of the accession of the State* of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, and lay down a clear procedure for the withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan forces and for the creation of other conditions for a free plebiscite to be held under U N auspices.

The U N Commission, the Security Council, the U N representative, Sir Owen Dixon, and the Commonwealth Prime Ministers have all made efforts to get this international agreement for demilitarisation and the holding of a free plebiscite implemented Every one of the proposals made by them was accepted by Pakistan and rejected by India In the circumstances, it is completely contrary to facts to suggest that the presence of Pakistan forces comes in the way of a peaceful solution Under the international agreement we have agreed to withdraw our troops along with the withdrawal of Indian forces We abide by and are prepared to carry out every letter of that agreement provided India will do the same

The root of the whole trouble lies in your persistent refusal to withdraw your forces from Kashmir in an attempt to hold down Kashmir by force in utter disregard of the wishes of its people and of international obligations The occupation of Kashmir by your armed forces under cover of a wholly invalid instrument of accession offered by the Maharaja was an act of aggression against Pakistan and against the people of Kashmir

May I remind you that when Pakistan accepted the accession of Junagadh in peaceful circumstances and without any opposition from the people, your Government wrote to us

> The Pakistan Government have unilaterally proceeded to action which, it was made plain, the Government of India could never do or acquiesce in Such acceptance of accession by Pakistan cannot but be regarded by the Government of India as an encroachment on Indian sovereignty and territory and inconsistent with friendly relations that should exist between the two *Dominions*
>
> This action of Pakistan is considered by the Government of India to be a clear attempt to cause disruption in the integrity of India by extending the influence and boundaries of the Dominion of Pakistan in utter violation of the principles on which Partition was agreed upon and effected

You have only to read Kashmir in place of Junagadh and India in place of Pakistan to realise in what light your action in respect of Kashmir appears to us and to the rest of the world.

Your claim that Kashmir is a part of Indian territory is wholly wrong and

untenable and utterly opposed to the international agreement accepted by India and Pakistan, according to which the question of its accession to India or Pakistan is to be decided by a free plebiscite

Your efforts to perpetuate your occupation of Kashmir by means of force constitute the gravest threat to international peace

You are now attempting to bolster up this false claim by means of a puppet Constituent Assembly, stage-managed by an Indian-controlled administration under the shadow of Indian bayonets You are aiming thereby to present the world with *fait accompli* in utter violation of international agreements and in spite of condemnation by the Security Council

Pakistan cannot allow India to grab Kashmir by force It is only the people of Kashmir, in a free and impartial plebiscite held under U N auspices that can decide whether Kashmir is to accede to India or to Pakistan Pakistan will continue to make every effort to secure to the people of Kashmir the right freely to decide their own future and will not rest until that right has been effectively secured to them This determination and this attitude towards the problem of Kashmir have found repeated expression in Pakistan They are inspired by the deepest regard for the democratic principle of self-determination and for international peace

Because Pakistan demands self-determination for the people of Kashmir and presses for the implementation of the obligations undertaken by India, you choose to regard this as sufficient justification for you to mass the vast bulk of your forces against Pakistan's borders The surest indications of the intentions of a Government for peace or for war are its actions

Pakistan had not made a single troop movement towards India's frontiers when India set out to mass its forces against Pakistan's borders In fact, for months before this, you have been collecting equipment and stores, establishing bases and making roads in preparation for the massing of your forces on Pakistan's frontiers All this was part of a carefully thoughtout plan and the preceding propaganda drive against Pakistan was a prelude and a cover to the demonstration of Indian armed migfight over which the Indian Press is gloating and which it vainly imagines will intimidate the people of Pakistan and of Kashmir

You assert that these are wholly precautionary and defensive measures The concentration and disposition of your forces and the massing of your entire armour within easy striking distance of Pakistan are clearly offensive in character But again, I am prepared to accept the judgment of any impartial observer on this point

You say that even now anyone can contrast the war propaganda and preparations of Pakistan with the absence of any such activities in India The massing of 90 percent of the Indian army, including all its armour, against Pakistan's borders, would not strike any impartial observer as absence of warlike activity As to propaganda, I would only ask you to read the leading article in the *Hindustan Times* of New Dehli dated July 23, 1951, with its utterly baseless and false allegation that Pakistan has agreed to give bases to the Western bloc in return for the latter's support over Kashmir

Regarding the no-war declaration, the fact of the matter is that you are not prepared to accept any effective no-war declaration which would rule out the use of force in its various forms in the settlement of disputes, and which would establish effective procedures for the settlement of disputes It is wrong to suggest that I have added many conditions All that I asked you was to accept arbitration if negotiation and mediation should fail to settle any dispute

You have said that India has no intention whatever of attacking Pakistan

I assert categorically that Pakistan has no intention of attacking Indian territory Both of us have made similar declarations before These have produced no result because time and again you have threatened the security of Pakistan by demonstrations of force

The first and most essential step for relieving the present tension is for you to withdraw your forces to their normal peacetime stations If you do this, I am also prepared to cancel the troop movements which I was obliged to make after the concentration of your forces against Pakistan's borders

For the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere and the establishment of friendly relations between our two countries on a permanent basis, I make the following proposals

The troops now concentrated on the borders should immediately be withdrawn back to their normal peacetime stations

(ii) As soon as this has been done, both India and Pakistan should reaffirm their agreement that 'the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite' held under U N auspices To this end both Governments should state their readiness to implement without obstruction or delay the obligations undertaken by them under the UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5 1949 which include the observance of the cease-fire agreement and the withdrawal of their armed forces from the State and to accept the decision of the Security Council in the event of any difference in regard to the interpretation and execution of these agreed resolutions

(iii) Both Governments should also declare their renunciation of the use of forceful methods in the settlement of any o her disputes and to refer such disputes to arbitration or judicial determination if they are not resolved by negotiation or mediation

(iv) Both Governments should reaffirm the obligation undertaken by them in the Delhi Agreement of April 8, particularly in Clause C (8), that they shall not permit propaganda in either country directed against the territorial integrity of the other or puporting to incite war between them, and shall take prompt and effective action against any individual or organisation guilty of such propaganda '

(v) Both Governments should make a declaration that they will on no account attack or invade the territory of the other

This is the peace plan which I offer for your acceptance I hope that in the interest of international peace and friendly relations between our two countries you will accept it without reserve or qualification If, however you would like to discuss any provisions of this plan further I cordially invite you to visit Karachi as soon as the first essential step toward the restoration of a peaceful atmosphere namely, the withdrawal of concentration of forces, has been carried out

Telegram from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat 'Ali Khan, dated July 29, 1951

Please refer to your telegram, dated July 26 A repetition of allegations which have been refuted frequently on previous occasions does not give greater substance to those allegations, but only confuses the immediate issue If we both aim at on easing of tension between our two countries, that purpose will not be achieved by a continual exchange of argument and counter-argument

I am exceedingly anxious that this situation should be so handled as to remove the fears and apprehensions that darken the relationship between our two countries I am convinced, as I have always been, that it is inevitable that India

and Pakistan should work closer together and co-operate in common tasks to their mutual advantage

Our whole past outlook and our long struggle for freedom, our Constitution and the policy we have pursued have the one aim of building up a State which, within its own borders, treats everyone alike and without difference of religion and seeks friendly co operation with other countries

As you know we have a very large Muslim population, over 40m, as well as large Christian Sikh and other religious groups and we have endeavoured to give them an equal place in the life of the community and in Government and other activities In practice people make mistakes and foolish persons make irresponsible statements, but our fixed and determined policy has the backing of vast numbers of our countrymen

In consonance with the past history of our struggle for independence and the policies that we pursue today, we seek the friendship of all our neighbour countries, more specially we desire friendly relations with the people of Pakistan who, though politically separated from us yet have and must continue to have so much in common Unfortunately the leaders of Pakistan were associated with movements which encouraged feelings of separateness and hatred between different religious communities,

We had hoped that after the partition these feelings and passions would die away and we would develop the closest co operation between two neighbouring independent and intimately connected countries To our great sorrow this has not taken place The old policy of promoting communal hatred continues to guide the authorities in Pakistan

After the tragic major upheaval consequent on the partition we had again hoped that the worst was over and gradually we would develop normal relations

But in the months and years that followed non-Muslims were driven out of Pakistan till ultimately we have arrived at a stage when all but a handful of the large non-Muslim population of Western Pakistan have come away and become refugees in India That same process started later in Eastern Pakistan but was furtunately checked by the agreement arrived at between us in April 1950 Conditions, however, from this point of view, deteriorated later and recently another exodus of non-Muslims from Eastern Pakistan has begun

I draw your attention to these matters in no spirit of controversy but to point out the basic difficulty that we have had to contend against during these last four years

We have endeavoured to follow a policy of peace internally and externally and of curbing the spirit of narrow minded communalism which must do grave injury to any country that adopts it We have had our difficulties and we have faced them without flinching and have not deviated from our policy

The question of Kashmir would have been decided peacefully long ago in accordance with the wishes of the people there, as we desired right from the beginning, but for the major fact that Pakistan first encouraged and then actively took part in violent aggression againt the State and its people This is not just an odd fact but a dominant consideration Pakistan tried to take possession of Kashmir by violent means

You are aware also that during the past 20 years a movement for freedom from autocratic rule developed in Kashmir State For long years the struggle for freedom continued and a powerful mass movement came into existence aiming at political and social progress It is out of that mass movement that the present Government of Jammu and Kashmir took shape as a genuine people's Government,

progressive, autonomous, and seeking to build up a State on the basis of harmony and co-operation between different communities

It has made great progress in administrative, social, educational and economic matters Land laws have been changed to the great benefit of the vast majority of the population All this could only be done with the active co-operation and support of the mass of the people On the other side in the so-called 'Azad Kashmir' areas, conditions are entirely different

It is not for India or Pakistan, whatever our wishes, to decide the future of Kashmir Kashmir and people of Kashmir are not commodities for barter or for bargain It is their inherent right to determine their own future It is this right that we openly acknowledged long before Pakistan came into this picture We stand by that declaration and even in our relations with the Kashmir State, we have shown that, in spite of the abnormal conditions that have prevailed, that State has had the fullest autonomy to develop according to the genius of her people

We are convinced that only the people of Kashmir could finally decide their future and we stand by every assurance we have given to the U N in this behalf

But we have laid stress on one fact that proper conditions must be created first before they can decide fairly and according to their wishes It is on this subject of preconditions that India and Pakistan have differed thus far

You have invited me to visit Karachi, but you have made this visit conditional on India withdrawing her forces from near the border I am led to think that your invitation could not have been seriously meant because the condition that you attach to it was obviously such that, in present circumstances, could not be accepted by us The condition in effect was that we should accept your main argument, which we challenge and consider wholly wrong It was only after very serious and earnest thought that we, as a Government responsible for peace being maintained and realising the conditions requisite for the fulfilment of that responsibility, decided to move certain troops towards the frontier

Whatever the reasons we had previously for the step we took surely the open war preparations in Pakistan and the general hysteria that prevails there are compelling reasons for us to continue our precautions With a clenched fist raised against us, do you seriously expect us to leave our frontiers unguarded and open to possible aggression ?

We have said before, and I repeat with all emphasis and earnestness, that not the slightest step of an aggressive character will be taken on our part so long as no aggression takes place on Indian territory on the part of Pakistan I wish to make it clear that this includes Kashmir.

Either we are going to settle the various issues between us, including Kashmir, by peaceful methods or by war. I want to rule out war and I invite you to do the same If you agree on this basic fact, then other consequences easily follow

You have invited me to meet you conditionally and the condition attached, as I have stated above, is such that the invitation has no meaning I am perfectly prepared to meet and discuss every matter of concern to us without any conditions attached

I would welcome you, therefore, to come to Delhi at any time convenient to you to discuss these matters without any preconditions.

You say that the present crisis has been caused by the massing of Indian forces against Pakistan borders. May I remind you that even the normal disposition of Pakistan forces all the way from Rawalpindi, Sialkot, Jhelum, Lahore and beyond has been right near the Indian border. This applies to some parts of Eastern Pakistan also. These forces are always in a position to commit aggression

without any further preparations or delay and, with the calls for *Jehad* in Pakistan and the statements of men in responsible position, no country could afford not to take precautionary measures against the possibility of such an attack which was being urged all the time

Or even now our forces are much further away from the border than yours The whole difficulty has arisen because your Government is continually saying or hinting that you will resort to force to settle the dispute We have to take precautions against this threat

If your declaration that Pakistan has no intention to attack India explicitly includes Kashmir and the temper of war so manifest in Pakistan is cooled, then the danger of war between the two countries will cease

I pointed out to you in my last telegram the contrast between the widespread preparations for war and the deliberate attempt that is aimed to excite the people of Pakistan by blackouts, civil defence measures, and generally creating an expectation of war on the one hand and, on the other, conditions in India where we have resorted to no such measures and life goes on evenly There is a complete absence of war phsychosis in India because we neither want war nor prepare for it

Our activities have been largely concentrated on great plans for development We have just been giving thought to a great Five-year Plan for the building up of the economic and other resources of India We are busy also with arrangements for general elections which are going to be the most clossal in the history of democracy These activities, apart from others, absorb our attention How can they be fitted in with war, which will upset all the great schemes which we have in hand?

I must firmly deny your charge that India refuses to honour its international agreements for a free and impartial plebiscite in Kashmir under U N auspices

It was we who first offered to let the people of Kashmir decide their future and we stand by that pledge The delay that has occured in implementing the UNCIP resolutions has been due to the non-fulfilment of assurances on which the two resolutions were accepted by us The very first condition laid down by these resolutions was the withdrawal of the Pakistan Army from the Jammu and Kashmir State territory.

As regards what you call your peace plan, I have already dealt with

(i) The withdrawal of our forces which have recently been moved towards the Pakistan border, and

(ii) settlement of the Kashmir dispute

As regards (iii), we are ready to affirm again that the Government of India renounce the use of force as a method of settling all disputes. We have not rejected either arbitration or judicial determination as a method of settling disputes which are not resolved by negotiation or mediation All that we have contended is that the question of arbitration or judicial or some other method of determination should be decided with due regard to the merits of each case. You will remember that we made proposals for the judicial determination of two of our major disputes, namely canal waters and evacuee property. But you did not accept these proposals

(iv) We accept again the obligation undertaken by the two Governments about propaganda against the territorial integrity of both countries. In taking action we have to act within our own Constitution and in accordance with judicial pronouncements about freedom of expression, which limit our action. Our Government's policy, however, is clear and has been repeatedly affirmed

In this connection, may I draw your attention to the type of propaganda

which has been and is taking place in Pakistan, propaganda which often calls not only for war but the conquest of India by Pakistan

We are not troubled by these fantastic outbursts, but inevitably they produce some reaction here You refer to the Hindu Mahasabha and some like organisations You will permit me not to agree with you about their strength or influence in this country May I draw your attention to the Hindustan Hamara Party in Pakistan which demands the incorporation of India into Pakistan ?

(v) I entirely agree with you that we should make a declaration that neither Government will on any account attack or invade the territory of the other I must ask, however, that this declaration should cover the State of Jammu and Kashmir, the future of which must be decided by peaceful means

Telegram from Liaquat Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated August 1, 1951

Your telegram, No Primin 21602, dated July 29, opened with the expression of a desire to eschew allegations and counter-allegations and immediately proceeded to make a series of baseless allegations against Pakistan I have no desire to enter into a fresh controversy and shall make no further comments beyond categorically denying these allegations I shall if necessary deal with them on some other occasion The present crisis demands that we should apply our minds with the utmost seriousness to finding a constructive solution of our problems I urge you most earnestly to give careful consideration to the peace plan which I proposed to you and which you seem to have brushed aside

As I stated before the first and most essential step is that the troop concentrations should immediately be withdrawn to their normal peacetime stations. This applied equally to both sides I do not know how you came to the conclusion that I had asked only for the withdrawal of Indian troops and had made this a condition of my invitation to you to come to Karachi I had stated clearly that if you withdrew your forces to their normal peacetime stations I would also cancel the troop movements, I was obliged to make after the concentration of your forces against Pakistan's borders

When two opposing forces stand face to face across a border, even a trivial incident might touch off a conflagration. Indeed judging from the manner in which you magnified minor border incidents out of all proportion and reported them to the Security Council, it is to be apprehended that your armed forces which stand poised for attack would utilise any incident as a pretext for launching their aggression

If, however, there is no such intention, it is ordinary prudence to withdraw forces on both sides to their normal peacetime stations to avert the possibility of a clash

That was why I invited you to come to Karachi after the immediate threat to peace had been removed It is not a question of conditions it is a question of creating a peaceful atmosphere With guns pointing at each other, it would be unrealistic to discuss ways and means of settling outstanding disputes and of establishing friendly relations on a permanent basis.

You have referred to preparations for civil defence in Pakistan and to the absence of similar preparations in India. It is not civil defence preparations that make wars It is armies with guns and tanks that wage wars Without any action on our part to justify it, you massed almost all your army against us. Now you feel offended that people in Pakistan should prepare for defence and make that a reason for not withdrawing your forces even though I have offered to cancel our consequential troop movements.

You have suddenly discovered that the presence of Pakistan troops in their

normal peacetime stations is also a danger to India. Lahore, Sialkot, Jhelum and Rawalpindi to which you have referred were all cantonments in pre-Partition days and our troops have been stationed in them for the last four years without exciting any apprehension in your mind Jhelum is over 100 miles and Rawalpindi 180 miles away from your frontiers Since West Pakistan is about 300 miles broad, can anyone in reason maintain that the stationing of troops in these places is any threat to India?

The second point of the peace plan deals with Kashmir You have said that it is not for India or Pakistan to decide the future of Kashmir, that Kashmir and the people of Kashmir are not commodities for barter or for bargain and it is their inherent right to determine their own future These are admirable sentiments which I whole-heartedly endorse But India's actions in Kashmir are in contradiction of these sentiments

Your claim to Kashmir as Indian territory does not rest upon the free will of the people of the State but solely upon the action of the Hindu Maharaja, who, despite the clearly expressed wishes of the people for joining Pakistan, conspired with the Indian leaders, led genocidal attacks by his Dogra Army against the people and when they threw off his yoke, signed a wholly invalid instrument of accession in return for military help from India to subjugate the brave fighters for Kashmir's liberation

By what right could this tyrant barter away to India the freedom of the people of Kashmir and yet it is only upon his signature that you base your claim to occupy Kashmir by military force and to impose upon the people of the State a government wholly subservient to you and obnoxious to them

The occupation of Kashmir by your armed forces was an act of aggression against the people of Kashmir and against Pakistan and was immediately denounced by us Nevertheless, when as a result of the efforts of the UN Commission, an international agreement embodied in the resolutions of August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949, was reached, we did not let these past facts come in the way of implementing that agreement

That agreement, I would remind you, was reached after the entry of Indian troops, after the entry of tribesmen and after the entry of Pakistan troops All these facts were taken into account in arriving at that agreement to which India is a party They cannot now be urged by India as arguments against the implementation of the agreement

I drew particular attention in my last telegram to provisions of the Agreement relating to cease-fire and demilitarisation. The former has been effected and must continue to be observed by both sides There are UN military observers to watch and ensure its observance

The next stage in the agreement is demilitarisation requiring the withdrawal of Pakistan and Indian forces. Pakistan has repeatedly reaffirmed its willingness to withdraw its forces provided you will carry out your part of the agreement relating to the withdrawal of Indian forces

The sole obstacle in the way of progress towards a free plebiscite under UN auspices is your refusal to withdraw your forces. Every effort made by UN and its agencies or their impartial statesmen, *e g*, the Commonwealth Prime Ministers, to persuade you to honour your obligations has failed.

You attribute the delay in holding plebiscite to differences between India and Pakistan regarding the preconditions for a plebiscite These conditions have been laid down in the International Agreement But you refuse to carry them out seeking shelter behind untenable interpretations of your own invention. How then is progress to be made? This is only possible if both parties accept the

decision of the Security Council in regard to any differences that might arise in the interpretation and execution of the agreed UNCIP resolutions.

My third point related to the renunciation of the use of forceful methods in the settlement of other disputes and reference of such disputes to arbitration or judicial determination if they are not resolved by negotiation or mediation You say that you have not rejected either arbitration or judicial determination, and that you made proposals for judicial determination of the canal waters dispute This means that you accept that this is a dispute for judicial determination.

Nevertheless, you are not prepared to refer it to the International Court of Justice which is the appropriate organ for judicial determination of such international disputes Instead you proposed the creation of a new tribunal consisting of two Indian and two Pakistani Judges but when it was pointed out to you that a tribunal so composed would inevitably be deadlocked you were not prepared to agree to the addition of a neutral judge

In short, you were not prepared to accept any effective way of arbitration or judicial determination but merely wanted more delay so that, taking forcible advantage of your position as upstream riparian, you could continue the construction of new irrigation projects designed to misappropriate water at the expense of Pakistan

The next point in the peace plan referred to the obligations arising out of the Delhi Agreement of April, 1950, and I drew particular attention to the clause providing for cessation of propaganda in either country against the territorial integrity of the other or purporting to incite war. Here again, in violation of the clear provisions of this clause you have persistently refused to take action against individuals or organisations carrying on such propaganda

If your constitution and judicial pronouncements about freedom of expression put such limits on you that you cannot take action even against the most flagrant breaches of the agreement, it was not fair to us that you should have undertaken an international obligation of this character which you were not in a position to implement

Lastly, I have proposed that both Governments should make a declaration that they will on no account invade or attack the territory of the other Your reply to this is that I should include Kashmir in Indian territory But this begs the very question which is at issue

According to the agreement embodied in these resolutions, Kashmir is not Indian territory, since the question of its accession to India or Pakistan has yet to be decided and can only be decided by a free plebiscite under U.N auspices. Pakistan is and has always been ready to implement this agreement in full.

If you will do the same and will not insist upon your own interpretation but will be guided by the Security Council in giving effect to the agreement, the whole problem of Kashmir and indeed of relations between India and Pakistan would be speedily solved in a peaceful manner.

To sum up, the peace plan proposed by me, provides for the withdrawal of forces on both sides to their normal peacetime stations, peaceful settlement of Kashmir and other disputes, cessation of hostile propaganda and a declaration that neither country will attack or invade the territory of the other.

Unfortunately, you have not accepted any one of these provisions without qualifications which practically nullify the effect of the provision. In particular you are not prepared to agree to the withdrawal of forces which is essential for removing fears and apprehensions that darken the atmosphere between our two countries, for what then do you invite me to Delhi.

Last year I went to Delhi in an endeavour to preserve peace at a time of great

stress regardless of the fact that even then you had concentrated your forces against Pakistan, although not on the scale and with the offensive dispositions of today It is, therefore not any considerations of a false prestige that prevent me from going to Delhi I would go to the end of the earth for the sake of peace But it is too much even for me to undertake an annual trip to Delhi each time you decide to threaten the security of Pakistan

I have analysed in some detail the provisions of the peace plan offered by me There is not one among them which does not apply equally both to India and Pakistan or which equally any peace-loving person would hesitate to accept I once again urge you to accept the plan proposed by me in the spirit in which it has been put forward It is, I assure you, inspired by my deep conviction that war between our two countries would bring ruin to both and that the only right course for us is to strive for close co-operation and lasting friendship

I am convinced that your acceptance of the plan would immediately relieve the present tension and lay the foundations for friendly relations between our two countries on a permanent basis Should you, however, wish to discuss any provision of it further I repeat the cordial invitation I extended to you to visit Karachi

Telegram from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat 'Ali Khan, dated August 4, 1951

I am in receipt of your telegram of first of August What stands out conspicuously in this telegram is that you reserve the right to yourself to use your armed forces against Kashmir The statement of Ch Khaliquzzaman published in this morning's papers expresses the same thought Our views in regard to the method of settling Kashmir dispute are thus diametrically opposed to yours You have continually envisaged the possibility of using your armed forces to attack Kashmir For us such an attack is an attack on the Indian territory which will have to be met fully, if it takes place It is because of your constant threat of *jehad* and war to achieve your purpose in Kashmir that we were compelled to take precautionary measures and make certain troops dispositions So long as that threat remains no Government in India can avoid taking all necessary defensive steps

The issue is simple We do not agree about the merits of Kashmir question Do we agree or not that there must be no further resort to warfare for the settlement of the dispute ? We have offered to do so and you have refused to accept that position or to give the necessary assurance

We have adhered in the past and shall continue to adhere to all assurances that we have given to the United Nations We shall keep to our undertaking to implement UNCIP's two resolutions provided the assurances given to us by that Commission are also implemented This is not the question of our interpretation but of formal assurances given to us by the UNCIP on the basis which we accepted its two resolutions In any event we stand by our pledge to the people of Jammu and Kashmir that they should decide their own future.

I have raised no objection to stationing of Pakistan troops at various places you have mentioned I have only pointed out that they are right near our border and that in view of your aggressive attitude threatening war we have to take defensive measures You mention that Jhelum and Rawalpindi are far away but both are very near Kashmir border, which you are constantly threatening to attack

You refer to two opposing forces standing face to face across the border and to the danger of a trivial incident leading to a conflagration I do not know where you have stationed your troops, but under your revised disposition now, no unit of our forces is less than at least 20 miles away from the border. There is no question,

therefore, of these forces creating any incident that may lead to a widespread conflict

You say that our armed forces stand poised for an atrack and would utilise any incident as a protext for launching their invasion Our forces are not poised for an attack, and will not, as I have repeatedly told you, take any action unless they are attacked New positions of our forces were not begun till we had an evidence that Pakistan was preparing for an aggressive action

In this connection I might point out to you that on June 28, we learnt that Pakistan was moving a Brigade from Peshawar to Rawalkot which is 15 miles from Poonch This move directly threatened Poonch and could have no other purpose We drew attention of United Nations observers to this on July 3

The move was physically completed on July 7 Till then we had not taken any steps to move our troops Indeed these movements began only on July 10 This is a further proof of purely defensive character of the new dispositions of our forces

Your reference to our proposal for the decision of the canal waters dispute is far removed from the facts of the case Our proposal was clear and provided for any possible deadlock This could have been made precise if you had not rejected the proposal outhand We are still prepared for proper judicial determination of this canal waters dispute as well as of the evacuees property problem

May I in conclusion suggest to you that peace is not offered with clenched fists not with threatened aggression and resounding cries of *jehad*

Telegram from Liaquat 'Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, dated August 6 1951

Your telegram No Primin 21613, dated August 4, 1951, I regret to say, again seeks to confuse and evade the issue The peace plan proposed by me rules out war and agression by India and Pakistan not only against each other's territory but also in Kashmir My previous telegrams have made it abundantly clear that both India and Pakistan must adhere to and carry out the peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute embodied in the two agreed UNCIP resolutions of August 13, 1949 and January, 1949

In marked contrast to this is your attitude which, in violation of the solemn international agreement on Kashmir and in defiance of the Security Council claims Kashmir as Indian territory and seeks to enforce this unjust and unfounded claim by military means This attitude is a challenge and a grave threat to international peace

You are now threatening Pakistan with your armed might to intimidate us into acquiescence in your claim to Kashmir

Pakistan repudiates this false claim in the most emphatic terms and will never submit to threats of force It is only the people of Kashmir in a free plebiscite held under U N auspices who can decide whether Kashmir is to accede to Pakistan or India Pakistan is determined to strive to the utmost for this peaceful, just and democratic solution of Kashmir dispute

Your allegation that Pakistan's refusal to acknowledge Kashmir as part of Indian territory implies warlike intentions is utterly unjustified

2. The issue in Kashmir is not a mere difference of opinion about the merits of an abstract question The issue is that India is in wrongful occupation of Kashmir and is trying to perpetuate this occupation by means of force

3 You say you will keep to your undertaking to implement UNCIP's two resolutions provided the assurances given to you by the U N Commission are also implemented. You add that this is not a question of your interpretation, but of

formal assurances given to you by the Commission The fact is that the Commission gave clarification of the two resolutions both to India and to Pakistan These clarifications have been debated before the UN the Security Council and the UN representatives

In no case do they contradict the provisions of the two resolutions, nor do they release the two Governments from any of their obligations under these resolutions You are seeking to evade those obligations by construing them—not on the basis of the clarifications given by the Commission but on the basis of your own interpretation of these clarifications

The Commission itself after making vain efforts for months to persuade you to honour your obligations finally suggested arbitrations by the Plebiscite Administrator, Admiral Nimitz, of the differences in the interpretation of the resolutions

If you had any faith in the assurances to which you refer, you would have welcomed the opportunity of putting them before Admiral Nimitz and convincing him of the correctness of your contentions You did not take that course because of the wholly untenable character of your interpretations You are not prepared to accept the judgment of any impartial authority in the value of your interpretations of the agreed resolutions and of these so-called assurances

Nor are you prepared to face verdict of the people of Kashmir in a free plebiscite Your statement that your stand by your pledge to the people of Kashmir, that they shall decide their own future, is belied by each of your actions during the last two-and a-half years You are now engaged in an effort to perpetuate your hold on Kashmir by manipulating a puppet Constituent Assembly under the control of your armed forces

4 You say that because your forces are stationed 20 miles away from the Pakistan border, there is no danger of their creating an incident that may lead to conflict You cannot be unaware that hundreds of border incidents have taken place during the last two-and-a-half years even with much smaller forces under UN observation Any minor incident could be utilised by your armed forces to launch immediate aggression

5 You have now put forward the excuse that you massed almost the whole of your army including an armoured division and a number of infantry divisions against Pakistan's borders because of the movement of a single Pakistan brigade in Azad Kashmir in June, 1951 The excuse will not bear examination In the first place, it is not correct that till then you had not taken any steps to move your troops In May, 1951, you reinforced your armed forces in Kashmir by your battalions

Secondly, the Pakistan brigade to which you refer had been withdrawn from Kashmir a few months earlier for rest and it returned to Azad Kashmir with the full knowledge of U N military observers Even after this replacement, the Pakistan forces in Kashmir were much smaller than at the time of cease-fire and were less than one-third of Indian forces in Kashmir. In the light of these facts it is not possible to maintain that there was any threat to your security when you started to mass almost the whole of your army against Pakistan

6. Regarding the canal water dispute, you say that your proposal was clear and provided for any possible deadlock The facts contradict this After an argument lasting over two years when at last you admitted that the question was one for judicial determination, you proposed that it should be referred to a tribunal consisting of two Indian and two Pakistani judges. When we pointed out that a tribunal so composed would inevitably be deadlocked, you said that in such an event the two Governments should again try to negotiate a settlement and, failing that, resort to adjudication by a mutually agreed agency or organisation.

You were not, however, prepared even to accept the principle that the second tribunal should have on it a neutral judge As we pointed out to you this proposal contained a double veto and permitted an endless delay Nevertheless we asked you to put your proposal for effective adjudication more precisely in the form of a draft agreement This you have not done

7 This analysis shows that you continue to evade the issue The real issue before us is to preserve peace and settle our disputes in a just and peaceful manner I put forward a plan to attain this object but you have not accepted any of its provisions It is clear from your reply that you are not prepared to agree to the withdrawal of forces on both sides which I proposed This refusal on your part leaves the situation full of the most dangerous possibilities

You appear determined to put in jeopardy the peace of the subcontinent and of the world for the sake of staging a political farce and forcing through your programme of aggression in Kashmir I have tried my utmost to point the path of peace The world must now judge between us

8 The peace plan I have offered is still open for your acceptance Briefly, it seeks to secure

(i) Withdrawal of forces on both sides to their normal peacetime stations

(ii) Peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute in accordance with the two agreed UNCIP resolutions under the guidance of the Security Council which both countries should accept

(iii) Settlement of all other disputes by negotiation and mediation and failing that by arbitration or judicial determination

(iv) Cessation of hostile propaganda

(v) Declaration by both India and Pakistan not to invade or attack the territory of the other

These proposals are clear and unambiguous They rule out war altogether As I have pointed out before, they are equally applicable to both India and Pakistan They are inspired by a most sincere desire to place the relations between our two countries on a firm basis of co-operation and friendship

Telegram from Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru to Liaquat 'Ali Khan dated August 10 1951

Your telegram dated August 6 This correspondece has already grown voluminous and repetitious and that it is with utmost reluctance that I permit myself some brief comments on some of the points raised in your telegram

You have disputed the correctness of my statement that I had taken no steps to move our troops until the movement of your Brigade in June towards Poonch For this you rely on what you describe as reinforcement of our armed force in Kashmir by four battalions There were no such reinforcements There were in some cases, reliefs Our total force in Kashmir was reduced after cease-fire by nearly 40 per cent After that for every battalion that went in one came out

With our force in the State reduced to three-fifth of their original strength, no one could regard the mere relief of four battalions in that reduced force as evidence of any offensive intention against Pakistan *Per contra* the recent movement of your Brigade could be capable of no other interpretation than intention to attack Poonch

You continue to accuse us of threatening Pakistan with our armed might and describe what you call 'occupation of Kashmir' as wrongful and as an act of aggression against Pakistan

I regret I cannot go on arguing endlessly against persistent distortion of facts and allegations which are the very reverse of the truth.

Everyone knows that not a single Indian soldier went to Kashmir till it was in-

vaded from Pakistan and a part of Kashmir State had been subjected for days to loot, raping and massacre It was only then that Indian soldiers went at the request of the lawful Government and people of Kashmir to defend them against brutal aggression

In spite of your invasion of Kashmir and sharp military operations that followed not single soldier had set foot on Pakistan territory

May I remind you that the U N mediator, Sir Owen Dixon, had held that Pakistan s action in Kashmir was contrary to international law

You say that the peace plan proposed by you rules out war and aggression But in effect you reserve freedom to yourself to attack Kashmir on the ground of our alleged aggression against the people of the State and against Pakistan unless we accept settlement of the dispute on you terms Considering that Pakistan is the real aggressor in Kashmir that Pakistan denied that aggression until it became too obvious to be denied that Pakistan is constantly proclaiming *jehad* as the only effective means of solving the problem and making feverish preparations for it no other conclusion is possible that the real alternatives you offer us are surrender to your wishes or resort by you to force

This is not a genuine attempt to settle the Kashmir dispute peacefully

So long as this remains your attitude no Government of India can relax its precautions which are purely defensive

You also charge us with defiance of the U N This is as baseless as your other charges It is not defiance to ask that U N honour their assurances to us

Your newspapers continue not only to preach war but some of them demand conquest of India

In spite of the provocation to which we are being deliberately subject d by distortion of facts by baseless charges and by warlike propaganda, I assure you that we shall adhere to the unequivocal assurance that we have repeatedly given namely that we wish to live in peace and friendship with Pakistan and that we are resolved not to attack it

With that assurance honestly and firmly reaffirmed I am content to leave our conduct and our intention to judgment of history

Telegram from Liaquat 'Ali Khan to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dated August 11, 1951

I am in receipt of your telegram number Primin 21623 dated 10th August, 1951 I have equally no desire to prolong this correspondence in which you continue to side-track the real issue between us by repeating incorrect and irrelevant allegations

2 In my last telegram to you I stated clearly that the Pakistan brigade to which you refer was withdrawn from Azad Kashmir for rest without any replacement and in June it went back to its original position Its return to Rawalkot where it was previously stationed could not possibly be interpreted as intention to attack Poonch Nor could it justify the movement of almost the whole of your army against the borders of Pakistan Your statements that you reduced your armed forces in Jammu and Kashmir after cease-fire by 40 per cent and have not subsequently reinforced them are not correct It is hardly necessary to comment on your statement that your reinforcements to Kashmir are mere reliefs, while our replacements are aggressive moves

3 In spite of all the myths propagated by you about events in Kashmir, the world now knows how the Hindu Maharaja embarked upon a massacre of Muslims, how he conspired with Indian leaders against the known wishes of the people of the State and invited Indian forces to subjugate them It was to support

the tottering tyranny of the Maharaja that Indian armed forces rushed in to occupy Kashmir and to impose Indian rule on the State

It is not strange that you who claim to have defended the people of Kashmir against aggression, dare not face their verdict in a free plebiscite under U N auspices No amount of distortion of the views of the U N Commission or U N representative can obscure the fact that you are obstructing a free plebiscite in Kashmir

4 I am not asking you to accept a settlement of the Kashmir dispute on my terms All I ask you is to honour the obligation undertaken by your Government in the two UNCIP resolutions Since you seek to evade your obligations by fanciful interpretations, I ask you to accept the guidance of the Security Council This is a settlement of the dispute on U N terms and not on my terms You say you rely on the assurances of the U N It is only the U N that can be the judge of what those assurances are, but you refuse to accept this position It is complete defiance of the United Nations when you reject every proposal made by the U N authorities The latest example is your rejection of the Security Council resolution of 30th March 1950

5 You charge me with reserving freedom to attack Kashmir when all I seek is the implementation of the international agreement on Kashmir under the guidance of U N It would be true to say that you reserve freedom to yourself to attack Pakistan unless I accept your unfounded claim to Kashmir as Indian territory

6 Indian leaders and the Indian Press have intensified their campaign for the liquidation of Pakistan They have also stepped up propaganda to destroy communal harmony and peace in East Bengal They do not hesitate even to make the blatant assertion that there is an exodus of Hindus from East Bengal when in actual fact a considerable influx of Hindus into East Bengal is continuing

7 The people of Pakistan would have much greater faith in your assurance of wishing to live in peace and friendship with them if your actions matched your words Peace and friendship can only be achieved by methods of peace not by massing troops and other forceful methods

8 I note your assurance that you are resolved not to attack Pakistan But instead of moving your forces back to their normal peacetime stations you continue their build up on a war footing

9 You have refused to accept the peace plan proposed by me on the ground that you have offered the alternative of surrender to my wishes or resort to force This is utterly wrong The plan offered by me rules out war and provides for a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir dispute under the guidance of the Security Council and of all other disputes by arbitration which your constitution lays down as a directive principle of State policy in settling international disputes

It seeks to impose no obligations on India which Pakistan is not equally prepared to accept and requires both not to insist on being the final judges of their own claims Although you have closed the door on it, this sincere and genuine offer of peace and friendship is still open for your acceptance In this as in every other matter I am prepared to abide by the judgment of an impartial person

APPENDIX V

Nawabzada Liaquat 'Ali Khan's speech on the Indian Finance Bill, dated March 26, 1945

"Mr President, the policy of the Muslim League with regard to the Finance Bill has been consistently uniform since 1941 We have always opposed the measure on the ground that so long as we have no real share in the power and authority of the Government, we cannot take the responsibility of placing funds at their disposal to be spent in any way that they may like Some people seem to be under the impression that the Muslim League has changed its policy with regard to this matter only since the presence of the Congress Party in this House It is not so The number of votes or the result of division is not the consideration with the Muslim League If we believe in a principle, we stand by it irrespective of the fact whether the votes are a dozen or whether they are one hundred

"Sir, I am sorry that in spite of my request, made through my Honourable friend Mr Essak Sait to the Whip of the Government, the Honourable Dr. Khare, has not chosen to be present in the House,"

Dr P N Banerjea "Censure him in *absentia* "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am sorry about it, because there is nothing I hate more than to say anything about the speech of an Honourable Member when he is not present But as time and tide wait for no one, I am afraid on account of the short time which I have at my disposal I shall have to say whatever I have in this connection

"The Honourable Dr Khare complained that he heard a whispering campaign that the reduction of the Demand for Immigration (External) was due to some personal reasons and not on merit The Honourable Member flatters himself too much if he thinks that we on this side of the House give our decisions on account of our personal likes or dislikes of any individual Member of the Government There were, Mr President, during the last Budget Session three Demands that were rejected in full by this House apart from the Demand for Executive Council, one of these was Immigration (External) We rejected that demand because we found that it was the only way in which we could show our strong resentment against the policy of the Government in ignoring the unanimous opinion of the peoples of India with regard to the recall of the Agent to the Governor-General in South Africa

"Now, Sir, as regards planning, it is not that we dislike our friend Sir Ardeshir Dalal more than we dislike anybody else, or that we like him less than we like other Members of the Executive Council But it is because we felt that the future planning of the country could only be done satisfactorily by a Government which had the backing of the peoples of that country The second consideration with us was that the Honourable member had also refused to accept the decision of this Honourable House wherein it was resolved that a Committee of this House should be appointed to examine all the plans that may be prepared with regard to future planning

"Now, Sir, the third demand which was rejected *in toto* was with regard to the Department of Information and Broadcasting There also it was not on personal grounds It was because in spite of the decision of this House that the Department of the National War Front should be abolished, the Government had decided to continue with the same nefarious activities under a different name.

"Sir, the Honourable Dr Khare, whom I am glad to see in the House, was nc right when he said that we had chosen certain individuals to show our particula resentment against them As a matter of fact, we were very particular that it ma not be considered that the members of any particular community were selected We had a Muslim, we had a Hindu and a member of the minority community

"Sir, the Honourable Dr Khare was annoyed because on the last occasion had quoted some of his remarks which he had made to a press representative an which were published in all the papers wherein he had stated that he accepted th office in the Executive Council because he wanted a job I am sorry, Mr President, for having made the mistake of giving Dr Khare credit for his believin in what he says I apologise to the Honourable Member It is indeed my faul I should have remembered the wise saying of a sage 'Don't readily believe fool, you cannot be sure if he is not a knave' Sir, the Honourable Membe suggested in his speech that the stock of the Muslim League has gone down an that is why we in this House have adopted a particular attitude Let me assur him and the Honourable Members of the House that the stock of the Muslir League is higher, if anything, today than what it was before We do not car whether we have a ministry or not That is not our aim and object When w find that the name of the Muslim League is being exploited by certain intereste persons, then we do not hesitate to take the strongest action which is provided i our constitution against that person It does not weigh with us whether ou standing by our principles would make us lose the label of Muslim League Ministr in a certain province The Honourable Dr Khare stated that the Premier of th Punjab had even refused to see the General Secretary of the All-India Muslir League and he said that it was evident from the articles in *Dawn* which wer published last summer Sir, I am not surprised that the Honourable Member i ignorant of what is happening in the country when he is completely ignorant o what happens in his own Department Here I have, Mr President, a lette written by the Honourable Member's Secretary in reply to the one which was sen by Sir Muhammad Yamin Khan on behalf of the Muslim League Party anc addressed to the Honourable Member himself But the other day during questior time it was made clear by the replies of the Honourable Member himself that h was not aware of the contents of this letter Now, although this letter has beer written on behalf of the Honourable Member and at his desire, still the contents o this letter are not known to him "

The Honourable Dr N B Khare (Member for Commonwealth Relations) "There is nothing surprising in it "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan Nothing as far as you are concerned I have stated that It is signed by R N Banerji The letter reads like this

'Dear Sir Muhammad,

'I am desired to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated the 5th March, 1945, addressed to the Honourable Dr N B Khare and to say that '

"Now, I would like to know by whom was this gentleman desired? Was he desired by one of the peons of Dr Khare or by the Honourable Member himself? So Sir, I am not really surprised that the Honourable Member is totally unaware of what is happening in the country Some secretary or steno-typist must have said 'Sir, you are having a written speech just put this in also' The Honourable Member did not take the trouble of finding out what the facts were. Perhaps it is too much to expect intellectual honesty in the Honourable Member But there is, Mr President, such a thing as parliamentary honesty that when a Member of this House makes a statement on the floor of this House he should be sure of his facts,

"Sir, the Honourable Dr Khare has related a cock-and-bull story of some alleged secret agreement between myself and the Honourable the Leader of the Opposition, and he also gave details of that agreement Mr President, I should like to say most emphatically that it is an absolute fabrication It is absurd on the face of it There cannot be any agreement between two individuals who are not political orphans like the Honourable Indian Members of the Viceroy's Executive Council but who are members of the two most powerful All-India Organisations in this country If there is to be any agreement with regard to the Hindu-Muslim problem or the constitutional question, it can only be between the Congress and the Muslim League "

Mr Ananga Mohan Dam (Surma Valley *cum* Shillong Non-Muhammadan) 'Has any agreement been made ? '

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend will go and find out in a dictionary the meaning of the words 'absolute fabrication '

"Sir, the Honourable Member said that we on this side of the House have make-believe unity The Honourable Member is absolutely wrong We are not so ignorant of the position as the Honourable Member would imagine us to be We know that the differences between the Congress and the Muslim League still exist but it does not mean that because of our differences we should go into different lobbies in this House even with regard to those matters which are for the benefit of the peoples of India as a whole Differences should not mean that we should not take into consideration those measures, those proposals which are designed for the benefit of the country at large We are not here to be exploited by the Congress nor is the Congress here to be exploited by us We are both here to serve the peoples of India We are here to do whatever we can under the present constitution for the benefit of the country at large and if we happen to be in the same lobby that is the only consideration with us and there is no other consideration "

Mr Ananga Mohan Dam 'Is there consideration of any future Government to be formed in this country ? '

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I do not know what the Honourable Member means by 'consideration of any future Government being formed in this country ' That, I think, the Honourable Member should go and ask the Secretary of State for India If I were in a position to say that such and such a Government shall be formed only then the Honourable Member could have asked me that question '

Mr Ananga Mohan Dam Are you trying to form a Government ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "If he will say in what way I am trying to form a government then I will be able to answer it But, as I said, some of the Honourable Members have read some news somewhere, by some mischief-mongers and they take it as gospel truth without trying to find the truth about it It has always been the policy of the Muslim League and it shall continue to be the policy of the Muslim League to support any measure irrespective of from what quarter it comes, which is for the good of the peoples of India as a whole This has been our policy throughout and this shall continue to be our policy irrespective of any other consideration

"Sir, the Honourable Dr Khare related at great length the achievements of his Department That reminds me of a story A traveller with his family arrived at a village when he found that his son was not well So he went to the village physician and before he could bring him to examine his son, he asked the physician, 'Are you a good physician ?' This physician ordered his bullock tonga, sat in it, asked the traveller to sit by his side and he drove out of the village till they reached a plot of land He asked the visitor to get down and the latter found that

it was a plot of land full of graves. The physician turned round to him and said *yeh tumhare bap ne abad kiya hai* '

"The Honourable Dr Khare mentioned the lot of the Indians in South Africa We all know what the condition is there He has mentioned his wonderfu achievements with regard to the last Haj pilgrimage I would advise him to reac the speech of my Honourable friend Mr Ghulam Bhik Nairang

'Then he talked about the great things that he had done for the evacuees . '

An Honourable Member "Nothing"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "My Honourable friend says nothing' but I will refer to something about which everybody knows The administration in these evacuee camps was so 'perfect' under the Honourabl Member's Department, that in one camp alone there has been discovered (I am giving you official figures, Mr President) an embezzlement to the extent of 73 lakhs So these are the achievements of the Department under the Honourable Member charge for which he wants this House to thank him

"Sir the Honourable Sir Sultan Ahmad while speaking in the debate on th cut motion in connection with the Executive Council, stated that by sticking to ou jobs we have advanced the cause of India's freedom ' I do not know how th Honourable Member says that they have advanced the cause of India's freedom I think the Honourable Members are in fact deceiving themselves, if they think that all the assistance that India has given in this war is due to the fact that the Honourable Members are sitting on the Treasury Benches It is not so It is a fact The two million soldiers who have gone to the army have not gone through the efforts of any one of those Members The funds that have been subscribed to the war funds have not been subscribed because of the efforts of these Honourable Members They have been subscribed through the efforts of the Patwari and the Naib Tahsildar who should really claim it as their achievement in the cause of India's freedom and not the Honourable Members opposite Statements like this would indeed be on a par with the statement of those chaprassies who are standing round this chamber if they were to say that by our presence in this House we have advanced the cause of Parliamentary Government in India Why make these claims when they have no truth about them Do not think that you have advanced the cause of freedom of India ? There is no truth in that You may say that according to your light you have done what you thought was your duty but do not be under the delusion that by your presence on those benches the cause of freedom of India has in any way been advanced

"I will give one instance, perhaps Honourable Members did not attach much importance to it The other day the Honourable Secretary for War stated that it was the opinion of the military authorities that right type of Indians were not coming forward for officers' posts in the Army for all the Services generally but particularly for the Air Force Mr President, I ask, do Honourable Members of this House realise the significance of this statement ? Does it not mean that preparation is being made by the British to deprive India of its freedom ?

'India cannot be free unless it has its own national army, whether it is one India or whether it is two Indias We cannot be free unless we have armies of our own and if there are no officers to command, how can we have an army which can be called national in any sense of the word Mr President, three years after the war began, in 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps came out to India and made proposals which are quoted by my European friends as having conceded the freedom of India. The proposals which he made were that India was to frame its own constitution and that India was to have complete freedom In other words, the British in 1942 realised that there was enough material in the country to officer the Indian Army

But today, after the great efforts of the Honourable Indian Members of the Executive Council, we are told that the right type of Indians are not available to officer the Indian Army Either they are in the country, or they are not If they are in the country then the influence of these Honourable Members is next to nothing, because in spite of there being present in the country right type of Indians have not come forward to offer their services

"Sir, my Honourable friend, Sir Jeremy Raisman, is going to retire shortly, and I would like to say a few words about him He has been in charge of the finances of the country at a most critical time He has been complimented for his achievements, he has also been criticised, and the criticism perhaps has been harsh in certain respects But I would request him to look at it from this point of view He should think, thank God, it has not been worse, because a man in his position, whoever it might have been, would, in these days, never have been able to satisfy India, even if India was a free country, and when India is not a free country, then suspicion is natural, and I do not think the Honourable Member can blame us that in spite of his efforts, he has not been able to satisfy us I would only say this do not care about criticism or praise If you believe you have done your duty honestly, if your conscience is clear, well, I think that satisfaction of your own conscience should be a sufficient reward for the services you have rendered "

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "Does not that apply to Indian Members ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Mr President, my Honourable friend, Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava asks, 'Does it not apply to Indian Members ?' When the present Indian Members of the Executive Council are politically and administratively dead, I shall deliver the funeral oration "

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "That is a long time yet

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "The Honourable Sir Jeremy Raisman said that people take a detached view of the war He made this statement on the 7th March, 1945, and I would really request him to examine this statement of his Is it that we take a detached view of the war, or is it that you do not allow us to take an attached view of it ? As far as the Muslim League is concerned and I want to repeat it once again, because I find that in spite of the policy of the Muslim League having been made very clear, from time to time, there are still people who seem to be ignorant about it—from the very beginning it realised the seriousness of the war before you realised it In 1940, when still the British Government in this country was very complacent, it was the Muslim League that drew the attention of the Government of India and His Majesty's Government that the resources of India should be mobilised for the defence of this country, because we realised at that time that these flames of war would not be confined only to Europe, but were bound to spread all over the world I want to make this perfectly clear to these Honourable gentlemen, because they have got into the habit of beating the Congress and the Muslim League with the same stick, be honest, I do not mind it, say we do not want your co-operation, but why confuse the issue, everywhere when any Member of Government makes a speech he says that the main parties refused to co-operate "

The Honourable Dr N B Khare "Did not the late Punjab Premier resign from the National Defence Council at the instance of Mr Jinnah ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "Quite right We realised then, as we realise today, that to be a member of the National Defence Council, to be your recruiting sergeant and, your broker for collecting money, was not enough to mobilise the resources of India for this war, and we said we are not going to be

deceived in this manner, and it has been amply shown that the attitude that we took up was perfectly right.

"Mr President, I was only saying that I beseech the Honourable Members on the other side of the House not to confuse the position of the Muslim League We have at no stage stated that we would non-co-operate with the war effort All that we have said, and which we say even today, is that it is not possible for the Muslim League organisation which represents one hundred millions of Muslims in this country, to take up the responsibility of asking the Muslims and the peoples of this country to make sacrifices unless they had the right to share in the authority and power of Government People come to me now—although I do not ask them, they come to me,—a number of Indian officers who have joined the Army—and pour out their tale of woe how they are being treated, how they are being dealt with I am helpless, I cannot do anything, but I feel that is not my responsibility Therefore, it has been the position of the Muslim League throughout that we are not against the war effort It is not because you are winning the war now that we are saying this, even in your darkest hour the policy of the Muslim League was the same Sir, I would ask you, when you talk of the parties and peoples of this country, kindly to make a distinction For whatever one party may have done, do not blame the rest of India and try to get away with it If you have not been able to secure the honourable co-operation of the Muslim League and such other parties in the country that wanted to co-operate with you, the responsibility is entirely yours, and you cannot today come forward and tell me that the people take a very detached view of the war You have not made it possible for us to do anything more

"There is just one point with regard to the financial position expenditure in this country is going up by leaps and bounds, specially the defence expenditure. We all realise that at a time of war the expenditure must rise But the people are very restive, because we are not given any information, and therefore, I would request the Honourable Member to consider this carefully, if it is not possible for him and for his successor to take at least the Leaders of Parties in this House into confidence with regard to the expenditure Surely you could not expect the peoples of India to take it as gospel truth that whatever you say about the allocation of expenditure and so on is all right We can realise, we can understand that it may not be in the public interest to place all the proposals openly before this House, but you must satisfy the peoples of this country, on whom you are putting burden to bear

'My Honourable friend Sir Henry Richardson referred to the San Francisco Conference. He said that nothing should be done or said which would undermine the position of India's representatives at the conference. It is indeed very unfortunate that the Government were not able to allot an official day for the discussion of this important matter I must say that they were more accommodating in the other House—an official day was allotted "

Dr P. N Banerjea "Because they have a majority in the other House "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan " . for the discussion of a non-official resolution But whatever the reasons may be—and the reasons are obvious—as reference has been made to the delegation to this conference, I should like to say a few words. When this matter was being discussed in the other place, the Honourable Sir Olaf Caroe opposed that resolution which wanted that non-official Indians should be in the delegation, and he opposed it on two grounds. One was—and I suppose he was meaning the Congress—that those who have not helped in the war effort have no business to take part in the establishment of peace after the war. But what about those who had not been opposed to the war effort?

Surely the whole of India has not been opposed to the war effort Surely there have been other people who have not been opposed to the war effort Then the Honourable Member said—and there I think he was referring to the Muslim League—that if any representatives of the Muslim League went, will they talk of one India or of two Indias ? I want to ask my Honourable friend a question—of what India will these two gentlemen talk at the San Francisco Conference ? Sir Olaf Caroe recognised that in this country there are two opinions, one is for one united India, and the other is for two Indias or more as the case may be He says that these parties cannot be represented at this conference because of these differences I was not sure before I heard this speech that these united nations are collecting at San Francisco to frame the future constitution of India—I was not aware of that fact I only thought that this confer nce was being held to devise ways and means of keeping peace in the future Whether there is one India or whether there are two Indias everybody will be nterested n maintaining peace in future So I do not know how that remark of the Honourable Member was relevant I want to know, as I said just now, which India are these two gentlemen going to represent at this conference

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava, "One India "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "The Honourable Member for Food says 'One India' Which India ? He has not replied to my question—which India ?"

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "The India which exists today "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "The India is now being represented at this conference The India which is being represented at this conference is the India which is kept under subjection with the help of British bayonets in this country Why do you not say that ? What is the use of talking of the India that exists and of one not as a representative of the peoples of India This Government is there of an India which is kept under subjection with the help of British bayonets and the delegation is representative of that India So, what contribution will they make at this conference ? They will only make a contribution which an India like that, which is kept under subjection with the help of British bayonets, can make, and yet Sir Henry Richardson says that we should not say anything which would prejudice their representative character at this conference Let me tell him that the world today is wiser than what it was a few years ago These gentlemen might have been passed off as India's representatives a few years ago But today everybody knows—and when I say that I am not lowering their prestige or their position—but I do not want the world at large to know that the agreement which may or may not be signed or any arrangement which may be arrived at by these two representatives is not an agreement which India is going to accept, unless it is an agreement which is approved of and accepted by the peoples of India Therefore, I want the Honourable Members to be quite clear as to the representation of India at this conference The Honourable the Food Member who, as a rule, is very silent, is today full of beans "

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "Did you say beans ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan ? "Yes, beans. you are in charge of the Food Department ."

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "French beans "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I do not know which beans you like, The Honourable the Food Member, when Dr Banerjea was saying that inefficiency and corruption exist in all the departments, said 'Not so in the Food Department'. It is a claim which is not based on facts. There is corruption and

nepotism in the Honourable Member's department There is discrimination where the servants in his department are concerned. When a question was asked of the Honourable Member if he would be good enough to give the number of contractors in his department and as to how many of them belong to one community and how many to the other, he refused to disclose that information And now, let me give him the information He knows nothing about his department "

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "Come and be the Food Member then "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "There are 500 contractors in the Honourable Member's department and only 11 out of them are Mussalmans There are a number of contractors who are directly connected with some of the officials in your department What is the use of coming here and saying that there is no corruption and favouritism ?"

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "I deny that "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I challenge the Honourable Member to deny that my information is not correct I challenge the Honourable Member to appoint an impartial committee of this House Is he prepared to accept my challenge ? It is no use his merely saying that this is not correct and that is not correct If we have been quiet all this time, he should not get away with this idea that all is well in his department If we have not chosen to attack his department particularly, it is because we know that the same state of affairs obtains in every department When Dr Banerjea referred to corruption in all departments, my Honourable friend got up and said that it is not true in regard to his department He did not say that it was not true of other departments also "

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava "It was not at the expense of other departments that I referred to the Food Department

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "He said that corruption did not exist in the Food Department, thereby meaning that it may be in other departments

"My Honourable friend Mr Chattopadhyaya made an appeal to the House and to us particularly He said, 'Why do you say you want Pakistan Why don't you say you want freedom' Sir, if my Honourable friend had carefully studied some of the latest speeches that were made by the President of the All-India Muslim League as well as by my humble self he would have realised that Pakistan means freedom Pakistan does not mean foreign domination in this country Pakistan means freedom both for Hindus and for Mussalmans

Sardar Sant Singh (West Punjab Sikh) ' Question '

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan ' My Honourable friend Sardar Sant Singh says question' It is easy to question a proposition but it is difficult for the Honourable Member to establish the validity of his question."

Sadar Sant Singh "This is not the place to establish it "

Nawabazada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan ' Sir, I have only two minutes left."

The Honourable Sir Jwala Prasad Srivastava ' When are you going to deal with the Finance Bill ?"

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "I am explaining my attitude to the Finance Bill Sir, it is difficult to deal with a problem like this in two minutes. I say, Sir, that the Muslim League stands for the undiluted freedom of India. We believe that peace and prosperity in this country can be established only if the two major communities at least, the Hindus and Mussalmans, are given equal opportunities of sharing the benefits and the fruits of this country "

Sardar Sant Singh "We agree there."

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "That position cannot be achieved unless we have separate States for the Hindus and Mussalmans "

Sardar Sant Singh "There we differ "

Nawabzada Muhammad Liaquat 'Ali Khan "We want separate States, so that each of these communities may develop in accordance with its own culture, its own ideology and ideals Let me tell you that Pakistan is not a demand for the slavery of India It is a demand for the freedom of India It is a demand for the freedom of Hindus, Mussalmans, Sikhs and every one else that is the proposition which we have put forward as the solution of the Indian constitutional problem Some of my Honourable friends may not agree but I assure them and I am saying this with all the sincerity at my command, that it is not out of sheer cussedness that we have put forward this demand We want freedom for every one in this country and it is because we want freedom for all that we have put forward this proposition We feel that this is the only way in which you can achieve freedom for this country at the earliest possible moment We believe that this is the only way in which the future prosperity and peace of this country can be maintained And therefore, when I talk of Pakistan, I am indeed talking of freedom for India Therefore, Mr President, I do hope that the day will come, sooner than most people expect, when India shall be free and both Hindus and Mussalmans will live in peace Sir, I oppose the motion before the House."

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